









## THE SOCIALIST DISCLOSURE OF SPIRITUAL SOURCES.

The Religion of the Future Must Take Its Articles of Faith from the Bible of Life and Labor—We Wait for the Co-operative Commonwealth to Liberate Soul and Body Alike—Individual Freedom to Come Through Collective Action.

In order to move with the movement of history, and light and lead it on its way, the religion of the future must take its articles of faith from the Bible of life and labor. It must not read this Bible with no fear of the unknown to darken its pages, and boldly interpret what it there reads for brave adventure. Its highest ideals must spring from serene trust in the divinity of known facts. They must follow these facts with infinite daring, and walk in the common day. They must not fly on the mystic wings of old faiths, nor speak in their language of supernatural authority, for men know that the gods of the skies are dead. They must touch the world with a strange and unworldly gladness—the gladness begotten by freedom of mind and face the truth after the dark centuries of tyrant faiths and menacing fears. And we shall see, after our eyes have grown used to the truth, that the detailed facts and struggles of life are raising the arches of the new heaven which the apostle saw.

At this particular human juncture, spiritual knowledge can be best understood by what seems to be a materialistic interpretation of history. It is no paradox to say this for all coherent thinking and aspiring must henceforth base themselves upon the identity of spirit and matter. To regard the facts of life and labor as the safest guide to the spiritual life, to start religion with the economic struggles from which progress starts, is surely to totalize one's faith in universal good and get down to the working bases upon which God works. If the need of true spiritual knowledge is ever to take root and grow into a tree of life for the healing of the nations, it must be in the soil of economic fact and development, for that is where God is. In acknowledging this we face the most stupendously responsible and pregnant spiritual fact which the human race has reached. When we have looked at it long enough, we may see that the working class Socialist must, of necessity, have a new religious synthesis out of which a new religious synthesis can be woven. With all its atheistic professions and materialistic terminology, Marxian Socialism carries in itself that esoteric faith in the all-potency of universal facts and forces which the soul of man today so sorely needs for its rest and peace, the great battle for a new world, the human future.

The sources of life which it discloses are identical with the spiritual forces which Jesus revealed, but the identity is unrecognized because Socialism has come to us in the scientific terms of class-struggle philosophy.

### THE PRESENT NEED.

But before trying to analyze these spiritual sources, let us recall the historic connection of the religious need with the Socialist movement. The economic crisis and the religious crisis spring from one and the same cause. The human crisis which calls for a new economic synthesis is the same need that calls for a new religious synthesis. The unity of the economic and the spiritual life is one of the joinings together which are really from God, and which cannot be put asunder without disaster and desolation to the whole human fact. In vain has the church again and again sought to divorce them, for the gain of ecclesiastical influence and money; the connection has never been permanently broken; it remains for a new religious synthesis to forever seal the union by working with the material economic development, and by converting material faith with the spiritual resources that development uncovers. If Socialism represents the next historic development, then the new synthesis must travel with the Socialist movement as far as this movement goes, no matter how far beyond Socialism it may lead. And if we are to plainly see the most development of things, and so be able to interpret the spiritual life in the terms of it, our first question must not be as to what road we would like to have humanity travel; we must seek to know by what road humanity is actually traveling, without regard to our liking.

Some of us may feel that we are looking and working for a free and noble society, yet thoroughly distrust Socialism as a safe way of reaching it. We do not share in the fears that Socialism will merely exchange the tyranny of the individual over society for the tyranny of society over the individual. In the contrary, I can find no historic road to liberty except the highway of economic unity which Socialism must and does represent. But granting that there are great risks and disappointments in our society along the Socialistic way, we granting that Socialism will put no discipline through a long period of needless discipline under the law before it reaches the gospel of liberty, even so, the Socialist highway is the one pre-arranged by the historic development, and we shall have to start our spiritual journey on that highway. If we have a faith that deserves a home, we must take the road that leads us on, and stay of that road with those people who get to the end of the road. To believe that God is in the use of development, to look into our eyes, and to deny the bid divinity and goodness, to manifest social evolution to be in an atheistic attitude that is fatal to the spiritual work with either God or man, to let me here frankly say that I am not asking for a wholly free life and society that lie away beyond Socialism.

Equally, I am with me not a goal, but a road, and through the wilderness, and I am asking you to get it built as soon as possible. It is the only divine highway that leads the Lord of love to be in the world, to lead the people into that quietude of life and liberty which is the final goal of all human striving. The kingdom of God is not a thing to be won, but a thing to be lived. I would keep off the Socialistic road, and take a short and direct road to the end.

right, but upon sheer economic might. Man only needs to come to himself, to become self-conscious and rational, in order to see how irrational and immoral is the society which permits the few to own the things upon which all depend. One cannot really think or feel at all about life, without seeing the immensity and indecency of an economy which permits an owning class to organize the labor of humanity for its own enrichment, while the vastness and freedom of life are labor's only sane and worthy motive. A civilization that is built upon the robbery of the whole world, and upon a robbery of the resources by which labor might enjoy a good life, is a civilization that is built upon a robbery of the bread of life. Only needs to be clearly looked at, to be dismissed from the service of mankind. Even the hideous joke of its laws and punishments for stealing, the grotesque of its pomp, the grim humor of its moral pretensions, cannot believe its aspect of universal tragedy. And the longer the capitalist order stays, the more fearful will be the tragedy of its departure.

### THE SCOPE OF THE NEW FAITH.

No one can give a definition of Socialism that will be conclusive. The Socialist idea comprehends more than any definition of it; more than any man's social philosophy or economic theory; more than is represented by any creed or sect; more than is intended by any party or propaganda. There are many different forethoughts, and these will be many different afterthoughts about the issues to take root in the socialist soil, and about the things of seeds to be planted therein. Among equally thoughtful and faithful Socialists, there are diverse and widely apart opinions as to the best methods of reaching essentially the same end. Still, from whatever quarter the Socialist idea comes, it always looks for the Co-operative Commonwealth and the Free Individual.

As comprehensively as we can define it, Socialism first means the co-operation of the whole of society in the production of the economic goods upon which each member of society depends. It next means that men shall freely and equally receive of these goods, according to the ability of each to use them in bringing forth into realization his utmost and most useful possibilities of strength and spiritual beauty.

It also means a collectivism that shall be through and through democratic; a co-operation that shall come from beneath the human fact and not from above it; an administration of society that shall bear and heed each man's free and authoritative voice. It further means what the Sermon on the Mount means; that society cannot be content with less than the full blossoming of each individual life, and that in perfect liberty; and then that each individual can be content with giving to society no less than the full and richest output of his life, and that as his glad and reasonable service.

Turning now to the more specifically spiritual sources disclosed by Socialism, we are first impressed with the immense spiritual service rendered by the very materialization of its economic philosophy. It is by this philosophy that the human soul is for the first time cleared of imposed and coercive faiths, of superstitions and the tyrannies built upon them, so that an inherent and courageous faith may spring up and bear the fruit of free and noble action. Having given no hostages to either past or future, being free from obligation to any creed, Socialism may survey all the facts of life without fear or hesitations, and approach whatever is good or true in every fact. It may relate these facts and faiths in a human synthesis that shall for the first time make truth the sole religious authority. Without knowing it, the Socialist idea grounds itself on a profoundly religious basis by affirming its faith in the good of fundamental being, and in our power to cooperate with it; it makes no difference, to start with, whether we call that being spirit or matter.

And Socialism takes up into itself the prophetic and apocalyptic elements of the Hebrew scriptures when it looks and works for the happy outcome of human experience and evolution. It need not depart from the strict facts of life, but only be sure that it takes in all the facts, to find in its own class struggle a new form of the idealism of Jesus, so long and faithfully rejected by the church which bears his name. By being but a little more scientific than the sciences, socialistic science may see that the love principle is the most elemental and persistent fact of life; it may further see that the co-operative society is the realization of this principle.

The forcing of this co-operative ideal upon human attention is the most obvious and commonly noted spiritual service of Socialism. Co-operation has always been the open secret of the universe, but the Socialist is making it our judgment throne; he has shown us that we co-operate or perish in increasing slavery. And when we think about it, harmonious co-operation is the sum and essence of spirituality and the ground of all liberty; it is the love principle, spiritualized, the word of love made flesh and fact. Perfect love, perfect goodness or religion, perfect worship or spirituality, perfect fellowship or association, or whatever term we prefer for wholeness and growth of life, is simply co-operation perfectly realized; it is harmony with each other, and with the universe, through an inclusive and mutual adaptation of each to all and all to each. The truly free and co-operative society would be nothing else than that which the theologians call the divine self-realization—God finding himself through losing himself. In standing

for such a society, Socialism is in the wisest and deepest sense—a religion, no matter what it may call itself. The Socialist commonwealth is a spiritual organization of life in place of the present wholly materialistic order. A spiritual democracy that shall associate all, with dominion over none, a common good that shall exhaust the joys and self-directed serving capacity of each life—that is what Socialism comes to, if it is true to its genius. Only such a society can make possible the realization of full and free individuality; only such a society can summon to the service and glory of the whole, each man's utmost spiritual output, for individuality cannot be fully and truly realized except on the scale of universality. A man does not become truly himself until he takes into his life the whole immediate and historic life of the world, and consciously co-operates with it; in order that he may give his life back to the world as its own perfect blossom.

### WILL NOT STOP WITH ECONOMICS.

We may be sure that the co-operative ideal will not stop with economic organization and social administration; all that is merely the beginning. So soon as it has subdued unto itself the productive and distributive functions of society, it will proceed to organize the whole range of what is called the higher life; for that, too, is filled with the waste and disorder, as well as the evil passions, of the competitive ideal. Rarely has it ever been possible to get a co-operative consideration or sympathetic discussion of any question. Men have yet to learn how to put things together, and each look at what the other sees or seems to see, in order to democratically and co-operatively arrive at the truth. The history of human thought shows it to have been a continuous struggle between independent propositions and actual facts, between abstract ideas and the concrete human fact. Yet no proposition, however truthful, is true independently of other and very often opposite propositions. It is only in co-operative relations with other propositions that any statement of the truth is wholly true. The word of thought and search for truth needs a co-operative mode of spiritual growth and inquiry quite as urgently as society needs democracy in production and distribution.

For instance, consider the curse of religious competition, with its wasteful waste of spiritual energy, and its grotesque mistake of brute might for divine authority. As economic competition brings forth the sectarianism which destroys the soul's liberty and makes spiritual honesty and liberty a crime against God and faith, Socialism is an attempted monopoly of God's truth supply; just as the great oil combination is an attempted monopoly of the world's oil supply, with the difference that the oil combination succeeds. The principle which creates the oil monopoly is the identical principle which builds up a great religious denomination. So far as the monopoly of the thing good, there is no right of difference between the oil monopoly and the Presbyterian general assembly, or the Roman and Methodist hierarchies. One is just as wicked as the other, except that the oil combination will be easier to deal with in the end, while the religious monopoly is more humane and spiritually destructive. The success of an economic monopoly, which is the survival of the strongest competitor, depends upon destroying the free and common use of the productive means of the thing it monopolizes. The success of a religious monopoly is likewise the survival of the strongest competitor, depends upon destroying the citadel of spiritual being; upon putting out even the desire for that free individuality which is the motive of man's creation, and the only excuse for being a universe. Indeed, this sectarian delusion of special privilege in God is now the chief moral support of economic monopoly.

The co-operative ideal of Socialism is thus the distinct and urgent need of the individual soul. The economic needs of labor are but the sign and symbol of our common and deeper spiritual needs. While the bodies of men are slowly starving in slave labor, their souls are also starving and dying in the same chains by which labor is bound. Both soul and body wait for the Co-operative Commonwealth to spiritualize and liberate the whole of life. Only the hope of it can deliver man from the confusion and aimless into which he has been driven by religious and economic systems alike. Only the effort for it will bring forth a living faith strong to save man from the devastating effects of his salivations. And when we co-operatively become the bread of life to each other, every heart of us having a response of promise and gladness for every voice or foothold, we shall be fed and have to spare, and the joy of the Lord of love shall be our common strength.

### THE WAGE SYSTEM IN MORALITY.

But there is a still more revolutionary service which Socialism is likely to render to the spiritual life, though it is not so obvious as the service of the co-operative ideal; and that is the deliverance of religion from the wage system of rewards and punishments. We here come again upon the identity of the economic and the spiritual life. Wherever we take a cross section of the whole human fact, we find the evil principle of the economic system to be destroying the freedom and value of every kind of action. This is especially true in what we call religious activity, where our motives touch the low water mark of immorality. The Christian teaching concerning rewards and punishments is the wage system of production and distribution, carried over into the wage slavery of the human soul. As the economic system is the capitalization of productive means and resources, so the religious system is the capitalization of spiritual means and resources. As capitalism sustains itself by the wage slavery of labor, so the church sustains itself by the wage slavery of the spiritual life. As capitalism increases itself by absorbing the economic output of labor, so the church increases itself by absorbing

the spiritual output of faith. As by the wage system, capitalism pauperizes and debauches labor power, so by its vicious standards of rewards and punishments the church pauperizes and debauches soul power. So soon as you have done away with the wage system in industry, you will find it already banished from spiritual or ethical motives. And from the soil of Socialism, even in its materialistic stages, will spring up standards of ethical value that will at least prepare us for spiritual decency, and be worthy of manly respect.

At best, the religion of rewards and punishments exists on the very ground of obligation and menace; and that is always a police state of religion, fit only for slaves. Even the virtues begotten by such a religion are at the expense of spiritual integrity, and of the freedom which springs from the love of truth. To be kept within moral bounds by the fear of anything here or hereafter, or to serve a religious system for rewards that are to accrue to belief and conduct, is to ground religion in a fundamental and groveling immorality. To seek piety as an escape from dratted consequences is to choose the slave lash for the soul's freedom. To do a good act because one is to get something out of it, is to destroy all that makes the doing of it good. To pursue goodness because it is profitable, either for this life or some life to come, is to thoroughly discredit goodness, and to debauch it into a coin of exchange. The universe has nothing wherewith to pay a man, for doing right, or for loving his brother, because it has nothing of equal or even comparative worth. The ability to know and be and do what is right, the capacity to love others with a love so great that it is the question which is the best, and all the universe has to give; it is all there is in the universe, and all there is of it. The reward of doing right is in being right; the reward of love is in loving; the reward of service is in serving; the reward of telling the truth is the joy of being true; the reward of standing for one's freedom at great cost is the sweetness and power of being free. Nothing is higher or more worth while than being the best that is thinkable, and no one is a truly spiritual being, until he finds in the thing he does the all-sufficient reward for doing it. In a truly spiritual life, nothing will be done for a value outside of itself; each thing will be done because it is intrinsically worth doing. And when one depends on nothing outside of the thing done, he finds in every act a North and Joy which no blind religion can take from him, since the power outside of himself has given them to him; they are the gift of the Lord of love who reigns in his own soul. To thus find in service his own reward, to find the value of doing in each deed as it is done, and to find the joy of life in the living of it—this is the spiritual gospel, the glad tidings of good news, which will spring from the life sources uncovered by the Socialist movement. Socialism comes to deliver religion as well as labor from the commercial curse, to obliterate the marks of this apocalyptic beast from education and ethics, from literature and art, and from the whole range of human activity and motive.

### THE CAPITALISTIC RUSE.

The Socialist movement can lay no means fulfill its religious mission, in merely disclosing the hid spiritual sources of life; there is urgent and immediate need that it receive these sources as its own dynamic. If Socialism is not long delayed or tardily disfigured, the economic crisis would certainly culminate in a clearly defined issue between capitalist despotism and democratic capitalism, were it not that the capitalist system is now going on by any power which it possesses within itself. Even if it could continue for a long time yet, capitalism would finally suck dry the body of humanity and perish in the catastrophe of the world which it had ruined. But capitalism knows better than to try to go on of itself. It will seek to perpetuate itself by fastening itself upon the new Socialism. In order to save itself, capitalism will go into partnership with Socialism, with Socialism as its political pack horse. Already is capitalism prepared with programs of benevolent designs for its own firmer establishment—city waterworks, municipal milk wagons, boards of arbitration, art museums and good government clubs. Carefully written out and doctored, ready at hand for each emergency, are the traffic of peace, which capitalism will undertake to destroy Socialism by befriending it. By the wit of its highly hired retainers, in legislative halls and churchly councils and academic chairs, and by the lack of wit and spiritual nerve in the Socialist movement, a shorn and blinded Socialism may be bridled and saddled by capitalism, and made to carry it to another age-long goal. The owning class may thus either by crafty favors the movement which it cannot withstand by its mightiest weapons of defense.

In all of this, the capitalist instinct will be the identical instinct of the ruling class in all crises. When the early Christian movement was well on its way to undermining the empire with Jesus' idea of life and property, the Roman robber class, engrafted itself upon that movement so securely that Rome ruled the world to this day, through the laws and class-consciousness of those robbers, whose chief aim the Caesar always was. So completely did the Roman upper class blind and ride the essentially proletarian and class-conscious party of Jesus that official Christianity has performed capitalist police service ever since from the day the monstrous criminal Constantine decreed the orthodoxy of the church, down to this Sunday morning's sermons from American pulpits. In like manner, when the beautiful Franciscan movement menaced the world with a renaissance of apostolic ideals of the Christian life and of property, the church destroyed the soul and meaning of the movement by adopting it, and thereby breaking the heart of Saint Francis' holy dream. By such methods did the maliciously cruel hand of the bourgeoisie, under the lead of Henry the Eighth at their supremely st. chief, ride the Lollard movement to the greatest capitalist depredations of history. In the name of the movement which Wycliffe and John Ball thought to lead towards communist democ-

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racy, practically the whole of England was stolen from its yeoman owners, or from the communistic monks, who were also robbed of the fruits of centuries of free co-operative labor. In this way, have the great democratic movements of the last two centuries been made to prove so disappointing. Upon every high tide of democracy the institutions of capitalist despotism came into renewed power, floating catch-words of the self-governing idea on their ensigns. The American constitution, the mangled and snubbed thing which England calls democracy, the stripped and manacled unity of Italy, the Prussianized German Empire are alike conscious and deliberate property class devices for preventing the common life from coming to a consciousness of the self-governing idea.

### THE WAY TO VICTORY.

What is to save Socialism from a like capitalist fate? Nothing less than the profound spiritualization of its whole attitude towards life—a spiritualization in perfect consonance with its pre-Marxian sources. A mere economic propaganda will never carry the Socialist forces to the Co-operative Commonwealth. Socialism must become a religion, a spiritual as well as an economic ideal, a great and unifying faith, a true and omnipotent revival of the human soul. Not a letter of the economic philosophy or historic interpretation need be sacrificed in order for Socialism to avow itself as the historic approach to an ideal reaching away beyond itself. Nothing but a faith that will awake the idealistic instinct in the average man, and attach to itself the glad and immense response of his whole being, will safeguard the movement for economic freedom from pleasing under some new yoke fashioned for it by the alert capitalist spirit. If Socialism would break forever the spell that binds and uses labor for capitalist gain, and feed the human spirit that has starved until the capacity for spiritual desire is almost starved out of it, it must first give back to the heart of the universe the answer of yes to the question which our divinest brother went to the cross to ask—the question whether human life is able to accept the leadership of the will to love, which alone maketh free. And now is the psychological moment to speak this word, and speak it as a word of world-making faith.

Already have Socialists wrought better than they knew; they have uncovered spiritual resources long hid by the church; they have made possible a working, economic of the kind of life, which Jesus defined as the kingdom of heaven; they have laid foundations for that quality of public order which the apostle called the holy city, coming down out of heaven from God. Let them not say what may not be built upon the foundations which they have laid; let them not bid the faiths or prayers which may rise from the soil which they have cleared; let them not stand aloof against the winged ideas that may flit upon the highway which they have prepared.

And then, the Socialist movement may so grow in the wisdom of the will to love, in the beauty of freedom and the grace of truth, that it shall speak the word that is to begin a new world, just as Jesus spoke the word that began the world now ending. It may so grow in faith in the divinity of life, and in the knowledge of how to make that faith its working power, that it shall at last speak a greater word than Jesus spoke—the word that shall set the world to building out of human facts the kingdom of heaven, which Jesus planned. It may rescue the blighted and church-rent pattern of that kingdom from its official keepers, and spread it before the world as the daily vision of who and what man is.

so that he shall grow until the winds and the waves and the stars shall obey his mighty will to love. And, without a world-making word of faith calling men to a social glory far beyond itself, Socialism will never be able to inherit its own immediate promises. For the walls of the Co-operative Commonwealth will not be built until the sacred altar fire of the ideal is first kindled in the song of labor.

### ADVICE IS CHEAP.

General Wheeler Deals Out a Lot, Slightly Shop-worn, but Guaranteed by High Authorities.

General Joseph Wheeler put on a full-dress suit the other evening and went down on the Bowery to tell a number of workmen how to succeed in life. The workmen are reported to have worn shabby clothes, so they were probably in condition to listen for good advice from a well-dressed superior. This the general dispensed to them in good measure, for advice of the kind is cheap and a lot can be given away without causing hardship on the part of the givers. Summed up, the men were advised not to drink or smoke or go to the theater or do anything else but work. "Work," said the general, "is the most harmless kind of dissipation." If that is the case, Joseph didn't stop to explain why his friends the capitalists prefer that the workmen should do all the dissipation in that direction. Neither did he say whether or not the men or their wives and children should eat or sleep or wear decent clothes. This is the sort of dissipation very properly reserved only for the non-working class.

The example of Mr. Schwab, of the Steel Trust, was held up as one worthy of emulation; but again the general didn't state that Mr. Schwab's success was built upon the failure of countless other men, that he was at the top because thousands of workers were at the bottom, giving of their blood and sweat so that one man could be great.

Again, his listeners must have been delighted to learn from their adviser that the Philippines afforded rich opportunities for the young man who went there without capital. Just why young men should go to the Philippines for opportunities, while all that is needed for success at home is abstinence from drinking, smoking and theater-going, was a point Wheeler neglected to make clear.

Fortunately, such stuff as was dispensed by him on this occasion has long since become shop-worn, and has little effect upon workmen whose experiences deny every assertion of their advisers.

### A LOVELY MESSAGE.

Said a poor woman, washing out by the day: "They're all talking about Socialism where I live, and I think it's just lovely."

For the poor, and especially the poor women, it is indeed the loveliest message ever heard in this hard old world. To be delivered from the terrible grind of work, work, work. No rest, no recreation, no pleasures, but just one eternal infernal treadmill. Women prematurely old, with bowed shoulders and slave faces, leading about sickly children.

To these, Socialism brings promise of plenty of food and clothing and shelter and leisure. Oh, for the "Right to be lazy" once in a while! Give us the luxury of Ease and Leisure and Abundance. Indeed, that is a "lovely" story. Talk away, fellow workers. Socialism is no dream. Get your men to vote for it and we will have it.—The Seattle Socialist.

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NEW YORK CITY.



## The Worker.

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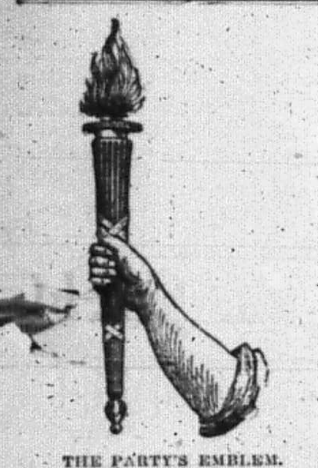
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## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) . . . 2,088  
In 1890 . . . 13,381  
In 1892 (Presidential) . . . 21,157  
In 1894 . . . 33,133  
In 1896 (Presidential) . . . 36,504  
In 1898 . . . 82,204  
In 1900 (Presidential) . . . 93,450

S. D. P. . . . 96,918  
S. L. P. . . . 33,450



## THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

With this, our May Day number, we assume our new title of "The Worker."

Of the circumstances which have made the change seem advisable at this time it is not necessary to speak at length. Our older readers know how bitterly and malignantly the partisans of "rule or ruin" have controlled the Socialist Labor Party, have, since July, 1899, attempted to ruin this paper. They also know that, on account of the confusion of names in the minds of the workers outside the party, we have had to bear much of the blame for the foolish and destructive policy of De Leonism. That we have withstood the persistent assaults of the ring is due to the righteousness of our position and to the devotion of our comrades. We have gone far to show the difference between Socialism, as represented by the Social Democratic Party, and disruptive De Leonism, as embodied in the S. L. P. We can now afford to drop the old name and thus avoid henceforth the stigma which the "unions squanders" have fixed upon it.

This first issue of "The Worker" is not all that we could have wished. We hope it may not fall, however, to do good service for the cause of Socialism and for the labor movement.

The paper has been greatly improved in the last two years. Of that our readers leave us no doubt. There is still room for improvement. Of that we need no reminder. We have plans for such improvement, which we shall do our utmost to carry out.

In the meantime, comrades and readers, "The Worker" is your paper. It is a most valuable means of propaganda. How great the fruit of its efforts shall be depends very much upon your work in extending its circulation. For a Socialist paper must always depend largely upon the party members for that.

"The Worker" will continue in the future, as it has in the past, to fight the battles of the working class and of the Social Democratic Party. For that reason alone is it in existence. There are no private interests involved, no private profit to be made. Every cent which comes to the Publishing Association is spent in improving and circulating the paper or in publishing other Socialist literature. For that reason, comrades, we call upon you for your earnest and steadfast co-operation. Let us double the circulation of "The Worker" as quickly as possible, treble it as often as you please. It means more votes.

this was directly contrary to the original agreement among the men. No doubt this deplorable condition of affairs was brought about through the work of the company itself. It is the old story of "divide and conquer" over again.

A department store trust means more bust for the small retailer.

Four hundred children could not be accommodated at the Brooklyn schools last month. Children of the rich, of course.

The Cuban problem would soon be solved if the Cubans would only renounce their foolish views about self-government.

EX-PEOPLE GALLERY 20 . . . 20  
Divorces are increasing, and Socialism has not even started in yet "to break up the home."

At this time, it would be well for some to remember how the respectable, straight-laced "whited sepulchres" treated Jesus in his day.

When the present boom in Wall street has reached its logical end, there will be many more people anxious to learn something about Socialism.

Men will be able to live right when they are able to get a living in a right way. Socialism will provide the right way, as surely as capitalism now compels a wrong one.

When the religious people say that Socialism would fail because "you can't change human nature," ask them what they are trying to do under the present system.

Assuming that General Wheeler lived to his own advice about how to succeed in life, why didn't he improve the opportunity afforded by twenty years in congress to become a statesman?

One of the "duties of the idle rich" is to perpetuate a wage-working class. The supreme duty of the toiling poor is to abolish the system that perpetuates the idle rich.

The passage of the North River bridge bill is undisputable evidence that the hoodluming ability of the legislators at Albany remains in full and efficient working order.

J. Pierpont Morgan has purchased a \$1,500 dog in England. He buys thousands of American workmen cheaper than that. But the workmen set their own value upon themselves. The dogs don't.

There is a probability that the pure and holy Hillis, Raymond et al. refuse to appear on the same platform with Comrade Herron more because of a cowardly fear of hearing the truth than for any other cause.

The meek and lowly Dr. Hillis says: "I refuse to speak upon the same platform with Professor Herron, not because I am a gentleman, but because I am a plain, ordinary, brute man." The last word should be stricken out.

Socialists not only want women to have the suffrage, but we also want them to vote right when they get it. That's why we advocate both woman suffrage and economic freedom for women and men at the same time. The effectiveness of one depends upon the success of the other.

A speedy settlement of the embargo in China seems to depend wholly upon the appetite of the allied powers for indemnity and the capacity of China to satisfy it. The reward for spending the blessings of civilization comes high, but capitalism must have it. And it is a sweet thought for the allied exploiters to know that the task of collecting the reward for their sanctified labors has only just begun.

A Western paper publishes some woman suffragist matter, presumably supplied by the advocates of that cause, which contains a report of the speech made by Representative MacCartney in support of the woman suffrage bill in the Massachusetts legislature. As usual, the report falls to state that MacCartney is a Social Democrat. Is this accidental?

An artist was arrested the other day for committing the heinous offense of sketching Vanderbilt's house on Fifth avenue. He said he had sketched the palaces of monarchs in Europe without molestation. Poor innocent! He should have known what he probably knows now—that there is a "divinity which doth hedge an industrial king" in America which cannot be compared to the moth-eaten, time-worn kind so vulgarly common in Europe.

Great is prosperity in Maryland! The latest annual report of the state bureau of statistics shows an increase in wages of about 10 per cent. within the past two years. The cost of living, however, has increased 15 per cent. during the same period. Which means that the workers are actually receiving 5 per cent. less in wages than two years ago. Under that process, how long will it take a workman to save up enough to become a millionaire and retire?

time to endow libraries as a pastime? The "full dinner pail" is a regular "Will-o'-the-Wisp." Now you see it and now you don't. And great is prosperity in Maryland!

May Day is the workers' holiday, and like the capitalist system against which the workers protest, its celebration is world wide. Even as the blossoms of spring herald the approach of summer, so do the universal manifestations of Labor's triumph herald the approach of Socialism. The summer of Labor's emancipation, which will know no ending in dreary autumn or chilly winter. On International Labor Day let every class-conscious worker renew his vow to the cause of Labor, and resolve to work with renewed zeal to have that vow reach speedy fulfillment in the Cooperative Commonwealth!

The "Journal" says that a strike of the employees of the Steel Trust "would be more than a labor dispute—it would be a civil war." Quite true. But how would the "Journal" avoid such a civil war? By asking the Steel Trust to "recognize" the union and "make an arrangement" for both sides? That is the way some well-meaning but rather short-sighted people tried to avoid a civil war in 1890. They failed. Now we saw more clearly. He said there was "an irrepressible conflict." You cannot reconcile antagonistic interests. And you cannot make a permanent compromise between them. Sooner or later the conflict must be fought out. The sooner the better, say we, in order that we may establish real peace in the place of armed truce. We are on the side of the men. On which side does the "Journal" stand?

"The Leader," a trade union monthly published at Medford, Mass., complaining about the defeat of labor measures in the Massachusetts legislature and says: "The fate of all these labor measures warns unionists to put more vigor into the demand for a means to appeal to the people." More votes backing up the unionists demands would have better effect. There is vigor enough put forward now if it were directed into the right channels. When the people are educated up to the right principles it will be easy to secure the means to appeal to them. The referendum will come when the working people know their rights and vote for them through a workman's party. That would be a guarantee also that the referendum would not be used in the same way that the workers use their franchises now—to perpetuate the rule of their masters. However, "The Leader" knows that the Social Democratic members, Carey and MacCartney, were the chief advocates of the referendum in the Massachusetts legislature. The Social Democratic Party is the only party that really desires freedom of action and expression, politically and otherwise, for the working class and that is because it is a working class party. When the trade unionists put vigor and votes into party complaints of neglect will come from the class who receive all the benefit of legislation now.

"Masters of Men" is a serial story running in the "Saturday Evening Post" of Philadelphia that should be read by everybody who wants to learn how the common seamen are treated on board the American merchant marine. The author is Morgan Robertson, who ran away from home when a boy and served several years before the mast sailing the world over. He therefore knows what he is writing about, and considering what the seamen's unions have had to say on the matter, we are willing to believe that the conditions depicted by Mr. Robertson are not exaggerated. The author suffered himself from the brutality practiced upon sailors by the officers aboardship and it is related of him that he resolved to expose the shocking conditions imposed upon the seamen whenever he got a chance. For this purpose he educated himself, and, although he was well on in life before he started to write, yet he is performing his self-appointed mission in a manner creditable to his powers and forcible, vivid, and sympathetic, he writes in a way that stirs the blood even while the soul is shocked at the story he tells. Mr. Robertson has selected the best medium by which he can reach the public and help the sailors. Later on we hope to review the story in these columns when it is issued in book form.

IAO'S LATEST IMITATORS.  
The treatment which the typical capitalist papers, especially those of New York City, have accorded to George D. Herron, is at once an evidence of the dishonesty of the capitalist press and an evidence of the correctness of his position.

When Professor Herron was considered only as a religious reformer, although his views were very unorthodox, the papers gave fairly full and accurate reports of his utterances and, while often criticizing him, treated him at least with respect.

As he came more clearly to see the economic causes of social evils and speak more plainly upon public questions affecting capitalist interests, the reports of his speeches grew more incomplete and more inaccurate and critical.

When he gave way to sneers and sweeping denunciations, the papers gave him no more than a passing notice.

Since he has come out openly and uncompromisingly for Socialism, and the Social Democratic Party, they have passed all bounds, not only of courtesy or of justice, but of common decency.

The New York papers have, almost without exception, suppressed all announcement of his lectures. Not one of them has given a single intelligible report of his utterances in Cooper Union. And at the same time they have outdone themselves in personal attacks upon him, filling whole columns, under glaring headlines, with maliciously distorted and, for the most part, absolutely false reports about the most purely personal matters in his life.

The preachers, too, have taken a hand in the dirty game—at least a number of the most prominent among them, such as Hillis, Raymond and McConnell. Fit followers are they of a certain carpenter who is creditably reported to have been denounced for consorting with "publicans and sinners," rather than with Pharisees!

They know the "Journal" and the other papers which have made the attack on Comrade Herron, as inscriptions slanders and inventions of "sensations." Again and again they have protested against the malicious lies of the "yellow press"—when those lies were not directed against the enemies of capital. But now it is different. This "man Herron" is dangerous to the interests of a class that is liberal in endorsing the church. Therefore they hasten on the word of a harlot, to cast stones at a man who dares speak unbecomingly truth.

This is not new. In the forties every pulpit but one in cultured Boston, was closed to Theodore Parker. Why? Because Parker was a heretic? No; but because he was an Abolitionist and the wealthy merchants of Boston profited by slavery. Nor did it stop at that. Whittier, Garrison, Gerrit Smith, Lovejoy, and other Abolitionists—men of the purest life—were denounced by press and by pulpit as men of immoral character.

That is ancient history now. But Hurst, Hillis & Co. are playing the part over in defense of a new slavery.

It is not in defense of Comrade Herron that we write this. He would not thank us for the defense. He knows exactly the worth of the "public opinion" manufactured to order by such men as Herron, Dana, and Hillis, and he will ask of them neither the favors they would gladly give to a suppliant nor the justice which they deny to honest men.

We write, not to defend Comrade Herron, but to help in exposing and putting in the pillory the latest speech-mongers of that execrable race whom Dante placed in the lowest depths of Hell—the hired assassins of character.

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THE REAL SECRET OF "PROFIT-SHARING."  
The profit-sharing movement grows apace. The latest convert to the cause is the National Biscuit Company, which announces a scheme by which employees will be permitted to buy shares of stock for cash or by installment. The object of this offer is revealed, namely, in the statement that "it is not to be doubted that the departure will be of mutual benefit, for the graciousness of the offer must stimulate a more lively interest on the part of the employees in the affairs of the concern." We are also told that the scheme is "genuine co-operation and a decided advance in the right direction." As the only direction recognized by the capitalists as right is one that leads to more profits, the reason for the growing popularity of profit-sharing among them is probably accounted for.

The profit-sharing plan, whatever else its advocates may say, is one that appeals to the thrifty capitalist for several reasons. First, it stimulates the workers to work still harder. The faster they work in a given time the more wealth they produce, consequently they get more wages. But at the same time the capitalist share increases and without extra labor on their part. While the capitalist performs no more labor than now—his capital is slight if any at all—while his capital invested does not increase, yet the dividends increase as the labor of his employees increases. So that any increase of wages comes to the worker at an increased expenditure of labor, while the capitalist's share increases with no more worry, labor or risk than before.

Second, where shares of stock are sold the corporation has the use of the savings of the workers with which improvements can be made, and fresh means of exploitation supplied. The workers actually give back part of the wages received from the capitalist, so that the latter can make use of it to still further increase profits and keep the worker simply a wage-earner for all time. For be it remembered that the number of shares of stock sold to employees is always limited, so that the ownership and control of the concern can always remain in a few hands. The wage-earners are so few, the capitalists are so many, that the ownership and control of the concern can always remain in a few hands. The wage-earners are so few, the capitalists are so many, that the ownership and control of the concern can always remain in a few hands.

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At the disposal of the larger shareholders, for any purpose that will have larger dividends in view.

Third, the ownership of stock by employees is a cheap way to guarantee the capitalist proprietor against insubordination or strikes on the part of his workmen. The fear of losing what little money they may have invested, coupled with the delusive belief that they are "partners" in the concern and that the interests of the capitalist shareholders are also theirs, supply sufficient inducement to keep the proletarian shareholder from making a disturbance when ever the condition of the firm requires lower wages, higher fines or longer hours. They will be reminded that their investments will be injured, while the capitalist, with interest and dividend assured, has nothing to lose. There are always plenty of idle laborers to fill any demand occasioned by rebellious employees. In the case of the National Biscuit Company a guarantee against agitation and strikes counts for something, for it has several thousand workmen in its employ.

Again, it must be remembered that in the ordinary profit-sharing schemes, the companies do the dividing, they dictate the size of the share allotted the employees and they get the first "divvy." Only after all other claims, such as rent, interest, sinking fund, officers' salaries, etc., are settled are profits considered and then the workers' share of these are decided by the corporation. Add also to this, the free advertising each company that suddenly becomes "philanthropic" receives, and it will be seen that the profit-sharing plan is far from unprofitable for its promoters, or highly beneficial to the workers.

And neither the biscuit company's, or any other profit-sharing plan, is "genuine co-operation." As well say that for a large boy to eat an apple and give the small boy the core, after the latter had supplied the apple, is "genuine co-operation." Only when all the people own the tools of production, and all enjoy the pleasures of wealth, can there be genuine co-operation. Then there will be no such thing as "profits," for that term arises only from the fact that those who produce the wealth of the world do not receive the full value of that wealth. Profits are the privilege of the class who perform no labor and yet are able to live and flourish withal.

In conclusion, there are two questions that Socialists can well ask the advocates of "profit-sharing," which, by the way, has been put forward as an "antidote to Socialism." As profits are the result of the labor of the working class, why should they be asked to accept only a share and be content therewith? And if "profit-sharing" is acknowledged to be an incentive toward making the workers more regular and industrious, what becomes of the charge that Socialism—which proposes that the workers shall get the full product of their labor—would retard progress and produce universal stagnation?

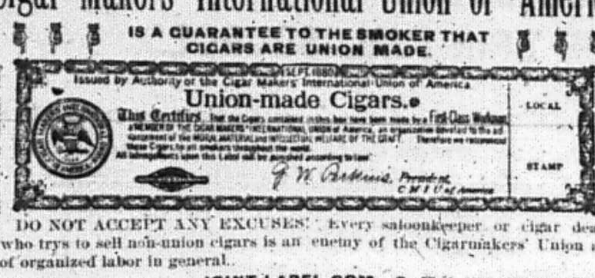
Two weeks ago we asked the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss what he meant by talking about "Socialists, who believe in injuring the condition of workmen in order the more quickly to change the system." Inasmuch as Socialists believe in nothing of the sort, but preach and practice the exact opposite, we called on Mr. Bliss to retract or explain. "An honest man," we said, "cannot refuse."

We have received no answer to that challenge. Perhaps the gentleman has been too busy getting up petitions for "three-cent carfare and other equally 'practical' plans for getting valuable 'improvements' in the condition of the workmen, to attend to so little a thing as retracting an outrageous and unqualified falsehood. We therefore again call his attention to the matter.

You are in politics, Mr. Bliss. In politics it is necessary either to have a "barrel" or to tell the truth. The politician who will neither huddle nor hunker is doomed to failure. The Social Democratic Party (in the habit of telling the truth, Platt and Croker have the other qualification. Have you a "barrel" back of you? If not, why not tell the truth? It would be the wisest course.

The capitalists are phony phellows. In Cleveland they are protesting against the national headquarters of the International Association of Machinists being moved there because the city already has a "bad name for housing Socialists and agitators," and "capital" will not invest there as a consequence. Now that is just what the capitalists of Chicago said a little while ago about their own city. The same song was sung in St. Louis when the workers protested against injustice. Also in Wilkes-Barre and Hazleton when the miners' strike was threatening. When the railroad workers of the Jersey Central showed signs of revolt two weeks ago, and the steel workers did the same thing last week from the various cities scattered along the route, and in the affected districts there arose the wall of the capitalist who was

## ONLY THE BLUE LABEL OF THE Cigar Makers' International Union of America



DO NOT ACCEPT ANY EXCUSES! Every saloonkeeper or cigar dealer who tries to sell non-union cigars is an enemy of the Cigar Makers' Union and of organized labor in general.

JOINT LABEL COM., C. M. I. U. S., NEW YORK.

afraid of "labor disturbances" and strikes. Running clear across the continent from the far Eastern states to the Pacific coast, the game is a constant dread heard year in and year out, and longest when the workers raise themselves to demand a small measure of the justice which by right should be theirs.

All this goes to prove that the capitalists, big and little, are only satisfied with the workers when they remain stupefied, inert and dead to aspiration and to hope. The only mission the capitalists have for the toilers is to fulfill "work," and the harder, more ceaselessly and uncompromisingly they work the more content is the capitalist, who is permitted to continue scheming and planning how to make the labor of the working mass the most profitable. For the working class to think is dangerous to peace, to agitate, a crime against "vested interests." Along with its selfishness, its brutality, and its hypocrisy the capitalist class is a cowardly class. It lives on an eternally moving foundation of fear—fear of the growing solidarity of labor. It only requires labor to rightly feel its own power and use it rightly to gain possession of the world it has made and should rightly own.

Who is Viscount Scully? Why Make Socialism Ridiculous?  
Editor of True Worker:  
A recent edition of the "Appeal to Reason" contained the reproduction of an article from the New York "Recorder," in which the doings of a great landowner in Illinois, Iowa, and Nebraska, with his tenants as spoken of. He is given the title of Viscount Scully, and described as an English aristocrat. Having made inquiries and researches on the matter I find there is no such person in the peerage of Great Britain and Ireland, and therefore conclude that he is a myth. It means a pity that Socialists should have their names used to charge of misrepresentation of their enemies, and make Socialism (which has no need to put up men of straw for the purpose of knocking down their enemies) look ridiculous. There is too much loose writing in some Socialists papers, and it only weakens the cause to employ arguments or statements that can be refuted or shown to be inaccurate. There has been a good deal of this in some writings about New Zealand, which is described as a kind of semi-Socialist paradise, when as a matter of fact it has no more Socialism than the United States. There are 1,352 New Zealanders, officers and men, in South Africa fighting against the Boers for the gold mine owners. These figures are taken from an official statement by the British war office.

Boston.  
The City Committee of the S. D. P. of Boston, consisting of Comrades Mahoney, Sporn, Hill, Foley, and Moffat, issue the following notice:  
The Social Democratic Party having been established within the city of Boston, its enlarged opportunities and duties have impelled the City Committee, after due consideration, to issue a notice to reorganize the party in Boston. The plan is to form one Boston local which shall have the right to elect its own officers and formulate and take steps to carry out plans for propaganda, for education in the philosophy and science of Socialism, and for the purpose of becoming familiar with official requirements and advantages, and especially that a committee be organized, from which the necessary political work organization work shall be done, and the long felt need of a centralized party effort, and at the same time expand our organization into branches, with the least cost of energy, time and money.

New and commodious headquarters are now established at 905 Washington street, which under proposed plan, all Boston members will equally share the advantage of, while the necessary political work of the party will lead to the establishment of ward headquarters, one after the other, as the party membership increases. Thus we shall secure by organization that personal acquaintance which is necessary to the development of a new movement, having as its base, its foundation stone, knowledge of economic law, for its intellectual heritage, noble principles and lofty ideals and precepts that claim the utmost zeal in the cause of humanity. You are most earnestly requested to help us in the founding of the party headquarters at 905 Washington street. If you not yet a member of the party, accept this as an invitation to join. On Monday, April 28, beginning at 7:30 p. m., there will be a grand opening meeting at the headquarters, 905 Washington street, entertainment and address by James F. Carey and Martha Moore Avery. Admission free.

Between 700 and 800 longshoremen are on strike at Newport News, Va., against a reduction of ten cents an hour for night work. Shipping companies are trying to get men from other Atlantic ports to take the places of the strikers. The much vaunted growth of our export trade doesn't affect the wage reducing industry very much.

A VERY INTERESTING PAMPHLET  
A DEBATE  
ON THE  
Tactics of the S. T. & L. A. Toward Trade Unions  
BETWEEN  
DANIEL DE LEON, of the Socialist Labor Party, and  
JOE HARRIMAN, of the Social Democratic Party,  
held at NEW HAVEN, CONN., NOVEMBER 25, 1900.  
Price, 5 Cents. 50 Copies, \$1.50. 100 Copies, \$2.50.  
For Sale by  
SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO., 184 WILLIAM ST., NEW YORK.

THE TORCH.  
O Goddess of Liberty, stretch out thine arm.  
That thy torch may shed light on our land,  
Field, and farm,  
And show weary workers that they shall find rest.  
When united they rule, in this land of the West.  
Thy Torch is an emblem and light in the land.  
Around which rallies a Socialist band,  
Organized to free the children of toil  
From the iron rule of industry's tools and the mill.  
The light of the Torch they will follow, I know.  
Ere they have conquered their last selfish foe.  
And while they rescue our capital's fall  
Old Earth, with a smile, shall bring forth fruit for all.  
And then, what a world full of brothers there'll be.  
Unfold as one over unison and awe.  
All living and working in one great cause,  
With the light of thy Torch to shine on the mass.

PHILIP JACKSON.  
A silver plating combine is being organized in the East.  
The American Linseed Company and the Union Lead and Oil Company are arranging a consolidation with large capital, which will result in a linseed oil trust.

There is a kind of return to first principles which came under my notice some time ago.  
"A" was a dandy in dry goods. He was ruined through drink. He became a pauper, turned over a new leaf, began to seek out a living as a temperance preacher during the winter months. He thus became a dandy in dry goods once more.

TO CURE A COLD IN ONE DAY  
Take Laxative Bismuth Quinine Tablets  
Three times a day, after meals. If you fail to cure, E. W. Grove's signature is on each box.

## JOTTINGS.

The new-comer was duly registered: Blank Skinner, Greenville, Avaria, a usurer.  
"What did you die off?" asked the clerk.  
"Heart disease," answered the usurer.  
"HEART disease!" echoed the clerk and a shout of laughter went up in the hall.

To the uninitiated it would seem that Free Masons were so called because they cared nothing for either freedom or building.

You deprive a man of all the bread which he, in the sweat of his brow, has earned for himself and his family. They starve while you overfill your stomach to the point of bursting. When you are through, you find you have a lot of crumbs for which you have no use. You hand them over to the children of the man you robbed. You are a philanthropist and a public benefactor.

He who first said that poverty was no disgrace must have been an employer of labor on a considerable scale.

"This cobweb of yours," said the cat to the spider, "is no doubt very cunningly woven, but, seeing how frail it is, I should not have thought that anybody would be caught in it."  
"You must make allowance for the stupidity of the flies," said the spider, eliciting a chuckle of approval from a Wall Street man who overheard the conversation.

The workingman is frequently the slave of production and the victim of consumption at the same time.

Ludwig Boerne somewhere says: "Love between a king and liberty is never natural, for much as a monarch may love liberty, liberty never can love a monarch."

It will be found that this holds good of the relation subsisting between freedom and horses in general.

There is no truth in the news recently cable from Germany that the Kaiser has gone mad. The poor devil never was sane.

King Solomon said: "Even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise. Nouns avows change too fast. The modern version is: 'Even a wise man, when he holdeth his peace, is counted foolish.'"

Socialism will not change human nature? You are mistaken, brother. It will make men more human, and a deal, a good deal more natural.

The yellow papers in this city are white newspapers claiming to be the pink of perfection. Occasionally they assume a red coloring, and are always ready to paint one another black, as every successful step of one makes the other green with envy, so that it looks blue.

William Morris was the gift of the Muses to Labor.

With the increased facilities for intercommunication which modern means of locomotion have brought about, the civilized nations are gradually losing their once marked individuality. Their things are getting somewhat mixed. At one time, however, and that not very long ago, Germany was the brain of Europe, Italy, its face, France's heart, Spain its palate, Switzerland its lungs, England its hands, the Scandinavian peninsula its nostrils, Turkey its hump, and Russia its legs, nearly always in chains, while Austria was, as it still is, its organic disorder.

A Socialist writer who cannot tolerate an adverse criticism is alike intolerant and intolerable.

Half a century ago some one said: "Shakespeare speaks truth." This is no longer true, for now Shakespeare speaks scenery. A century ago Hamlet created Garrick, now Garrick creates Hamlet, in his image, too, after his own likeness.

Talking about Shakespeare, it occurs to me that while we have from his pen a gentlemanly intelligence pictured as "Lover's Labor Lost," the play is yet to come who will dramatize the proletarian family life as "Labor's Lost."

The Lord Chamberlain of England, the keeper of the King's conscience, considering the past record of Albee Edward, the man is not likely to be drawn under his heavy burden.

The great Russian writer Gogol makes a madman say that wherever England, takes snuff, France sneezes. That lunatic is undoubtedly in very good company with his opinion, for there is another fact which ought not to be overlooked. It was France, in 1870, whose snuffbox was used to stow a new stock on 1871 and not the alarm sound.

Here is a kind of return to first principles which came under my notice some time ago.  
"A" was a dandy in dry goods. He was ruined through drink. He became a pauper, turned over a new leaf, began to seek out a living as a temperance preacher during the winter months. He thus became a dandy in dry goods once more.

TO CURE A COLD IN ONE DAY  
Take Laxative Bismuth Quinine Tablets  
Three times a day, after meals. If you fail to cure, E. W. Grove's signature is on each box.

New York, April 28, 1901.

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## WHAT WE MEAN BY REVOLUTION.

### Why Socialism is a Revolutionary Movement—Revolution and Reform—Revolution and Violence.

Socialists never lose an opportunity to proclaim the fact that Socialism is a revolutionary movement. In this they are right. But it is necessary that we should leave no room for misunderstanding, that we should make it perfectly clear what we mean by the word "revolution."

It seems a little strange that Americans, who on every Fourth of July, are wont to celebrate a revolution, should have such a dislike for the word. Yet so it is. They are proud of a century that took place over a century ago, but when it is a question of a revolution to take place in the near future, they have visions of violence and destruction and bloodshed. This is largely due to the false teachings instilled into their minds by the ruling class and by its agents in press, pulpit, and schoolroom. The capitalists profit by the revolution of the eighteenth century. They have good reason to fear the revolution of the twentieth century.

But what is a revolution? Is it a violent overturning of social conditions, brought about by the machinations of conspirators and agitators? Nothing. A revolution may be violent, but it is not necessarily so. It is a change in the social order, a change in the relations of men to men, a change in the conditions of life, a change in the social structure. It is a change in the social order, a change in the relations of men to men, a change in the conditions of life, a change in the social structure. It is a change in the social order, a change in the relations of men to men, a change in the conditions of life, a change in the social structure.

The greatest force—perhaps the one great controlling force—in this social revolution is the economic force. The methods by which people produce wealth and the relations which govern its distribution affect and really control all other aspects of the social order. The spinning Jenny, and the power loom, and the cotton gin produced in their several ages, far greater social changes than were ever produced by any law of congress or parliament.

When, a few hundred years ago, almost all of the people lived by agriculture, when the tools of production were very simple and inexpensive; when means of transportation and communication were very crude; when the weapons of war were the lance, the sword, and the bow—in those days the natural form of society was the feudal system. The workers were serfs, bound to the soil by customary law, but having an absolute right to the use of the soil, once that service was given; the lords governed and protected the people by force of arms.

But certain inventions were made which brought in commerce and industry on a large scale. Very soon the whole social system had to be changed. The lords disappeared or became mere figure-heads. In their place arose a new class of masters—the capitalists. In place of small industry, we have the factory system; in place of serfs, with their rights and duties fixed by immutable custom, we have wage workers, competing with each other for a chance to work; in place of "barons hold," we have money and all kinds of wealth; we have no fight, but who get the profit from the wage workers' labor and live wage workers to fight for them when necessary.

That change from the feudal system to the capitalist system was a very radical one. It involved changes in law, in government, in religion, in social ideas, in manners, and in ways of living. It took several centuries to accomplish that revolution. Partly it came about peacefully, in some countries it involved such violent convulsions as we call the French Revolution.

Just as such radical changes have come about in the past, so we may expect them in the future. Society never changes still. It changes constantly. In a long time the change may go on slowly and quietly. Then there comes a crisis, when it becomes evident that the forms of social organization—laws, religions, moral codes, etc.—adapted to a former method of production and distribution, are no longer fitted to the new methods of production and distribution. Then society has to reorganize itself on a new basis. Within a few years it adapts itself to changes that it has taken centuries to prepare. A century ago, in the era of the French Revolution, the nations of Europe, within comparatively few years, abandoned the old social foundations of stable custom and reorganized themselves on the new basis of free competition. To-day the nations of the world are getting ready to abandon that competitive basis and reorganize themselves on a basis of co-operative effort.

What is essential about a revolution is not that it is violent, but that it is thorough and radical; that it is a forward step in the evolution of society. It is an attempt to produce an artificial change. It is therefore a step in the long run. Revolution is never artificial. All the revolutionists do is to recognize in which direction the path of progress lies and to adjust himself to it, to help in that direction. A revolution cannot be

## GROCCERS AND THE TRUST PROBLEM.

It all depends upon the point of view. Our esteemed contemporary, "The Storekeeper," in an article upon "Changes in the Grocery Trade," bewails the formation of trusts in many of the products which the retail grocer handles. It says:

"A striking example is found in the universally despised and hated tobacco trust. Goods that were formerly staple have been deteriorated in quality to force them off the market, and yet there is a demand for these brands, so that the retailer must sell a piece of goods that yields him little or no profit and be accused by his customers of cheating them because the tobacco is rotten."

The "worst feature of the trust's method is the fixing of the selling price and stamping the same upon the package. The trust's policy seems to be to cut down the profit of the retailer until he can barely exist, the ultimate object being evidently to handle the goods direct to the consumer without any middleman. Some pieces of tobacco, for instance, are marked that the retailer must allow 14 per cent. profit, which is really no profit at all. Many of the National Bluebird Company goods only yield a profit of 17 per cent. This is too small a profit for safety. The same is true in a worse degree of the baking powder trust's goods."

The retail grocer of the future will simply be the agent of the trusts. He will handle what they direct him to do, at the price they fix, and will pay for the goods whatever they charge him. There is only one escape from this, and that is by organization, namely, the trusts may perhaps be compelled to respect the retailer and acknowledge his rights.

Yes, the retailer is up against the trust problem good and hard, and little comfort is in sight for him. In a score or more, probable hundred articles that must be carried in stock, he is already the mere agent of the trusts, with power to buy or sell only by their sufferance. Whenever they think the price propitious, they will probably place the retailer on a salary—just common wage workers—that is, those of the number they desire to use, while the remainder will be turned adrift to hunt as best they can.

The "Storekeeper" urges organization of retailers as a remedy. When the little fish assemble in schools, it is all the easier for the sharks to get a full meal. Organization can settle the trust question, but only such organization on working class lines, with the definite object in view of making the trusts the common property of all the people. To this end Socialists are organizing the workers everywhere for the conquest of the political powers, by which alone, through their agents and legislative tools, the trusts maintain their power to levy tribute upon the people.

But collective ownership is not the goal to which the grocers look forward. Hear the "Storekeeper" again: "It is likely that happy medium will be struck, when the trusts will give the grocers a chance to earn a fair profit on their goods, and thus consummate their noble purpose for which they were formed—to make goods at a profit and allow the dealer to make one, too."

Vain hope! The "laudable purpose" for which they were formed was to do away with as much labor as possible, and no one better than the trust magnates understands that a multiplicity of retailers means a greater division of profits that they desire to keep for themselves.

The vast majority of retailers, more especially in the grocery trade, are wage workers who have saved a few hundred dollars and embarked in business, thinking thus to escape the drudgery and dependence of the wages system. Few escape drudgery and none dependence upon the favor of the trusts for a continuance of even these, while the hundreds of failures reported weekly mark the wrecked hopes of the small business man, whose little capital is engulfed in the capacious maw of the trusts.

Other venturesome spirits among the workers, who have saved earnings, take the places of the submerged only in turn to see their dollars disappear. And thus the process of centralizing wealth and power goes on, each year adding to the multitude of mendicants. The new recruits to the working class from commercialism are falling into the ranks of Socialism, and if those still in business desire a correct solution of the trust problem they will cease looking forward to a time when the trusts will "divvy" with them the profits "riched from labor; they will join the disinherited in the political fight for supremacy and the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth, in which will be combined both the right and duty of all to labor for existence.—Saginaw Exposition.

## AN IRRELEVANT QUESTION.

I stood in judgment before some men in New York city the other day about a book I had written. The men belong to the upper classes (it is rather a shame to have upper classes, but we have) and they asked me if we had a right economic system would not the majority of people waste the opportunity given them?

The question for civilization to answer is not what men would do if we had equality; all that is irrelevant. That is a question society has no business to know. Until this collective brotherhood of man has been tried, until each man born into the world has equal inherent rights, society has no right asking irrelevant questions.

Civilization has no right asking men if they will be good until civilization itself becomes good; society has no right asking men to be just until society itself is just. Until civilization becomes the incarnation of that equality in distribution which we advocate civilization betrays colossal impudence in asking what would men do if things were equal.—George D. Herron.

The best advice of Socialism is to help the cause by pushing the circulation of party papers than in any other way.

## THE SOCIALISM THAT PROPAGATES ITSELF.

### A Plea for the New Century.

BY PETER E. BURROWS.

The Socialism that propagates itself will alone survive the many wrecks destined to mark the span between this and the year that shall be written 2000. That Socialism will be brought about by the mere orderly solution of capitalism on behalf of the masses of proletarians who wait impatiently for the law of economic succession, but by a multitude of workmen with the passion of contemporary evolution in their hearts and brains.

I deliberately choose this word "passion" as the watchword of the new, more vigorous, devoted, and necessary propaganda of the next ten years, for I am persuaded that upon the men who live and work for the cause during that time, and upon their intensity in the cause, depends whether Socialism shall be the triumphant fact of the coming century or only one of the departed hopes of the race.

The Socialism that shall propagate itself into achieved history must be all that it is now, a science; plus a social passion; not a passion of class anger and revenge, nor the passion of the new individualistic "kick," who, having kicked his way around all the circle of reform finally kicks his way into Socialism and then, proceeding to kick every other type of man out of it, concludes by kicking himself out of it—but a passion born of a sense of a manhood outraged, robbed, and degraded, a passion that resents the interception of history's natural progress towards the collective life, perverting all her blessings from commonwealth to private property.

The Socialist agitator of the next ten years should not be a man to whom Socialism is a subject external to himself, to be spoken of in a public utterance consisting of a laborious effort of an hour's duration, called a lecture, delivered from notes or manuscript. No, no! He must be in it, wholly in it; he must not only be a scholastic believer in the necessary analysis and array of facts which constitute Socialism as a subject, but he should be in the new intellectual and will-passion of the thing a Socialist who talks, as the phrase has it, not only from the head but from the heart.

The disaster of poverty, the horrible, ultimately fraud of poverty—what a theme for the social passion is here! Whether you regard yourself as "wronged and outraged in society, or society as wronged and outraged in that unattended and pitiful epitome of it you find in yourself, what matters? The material for the social passion is here. If you look well at the facts and let them bludge themselves upon your cheeks, and break and bruise and thrust themselves into your whole life.

Think again of this disaster of poverty! Look at the tragedy of unrequited toil, written on the haggard faces of the laborers, and of those who cannot get work and may not live without it! Look at the innocent (perhaps stupid) and pathetic groping of them through the world for the right to live! See the forbearance, patience, and innocence of the tolling centuries, carrying their burdens and their wrongs and, as the sheep before the shearers are dumb, opening not their mouths—very sheepish if you like, but part of their social calamity and of the burning food of your indignation, for the passion—your passion—for justice, for the restoration of bread and leisure and all the preliminaries of the intellectual life, your passion for civilization.

The disaster of poverty. The crime of chance, the social menagerie of competition, the brazen lie of the individual life which says it has grown character and righteousness by outwitting and outgunning others; the cynical satisfaction with which the successful man feels the body of the fallen beneath himself and the cold earth, the interminable call of righteousness and religion on the commercial life with only the morals of the jungle at the heart. Oh, the disaster of poverty, the horrible untimely fraud of poverty!

"Is a whole century ago since the machines of the modern world began to palpitate and revolve their mighty force for the redemption of all laborers from the battle for bread. Why is it that we are still battling and, still without bread? A whole century ago, during which hundreds of millions of iron laborers, with pulse of steam and nerves of steel, have wrought to redeem mankind from the childish bondage of individual conflict with nature for bread; hundreds of millions of laborers' working force have toiled these past hundred years to save us from the waste of life involved in solitary effort, to give us back the time which old slave owners and aristocrats took for their sole from us; and here we are still outside the granaries of the world, still outside its realized cultures and leisure, still strangers to the redemption and dignity which right belongs to a nineteenth century manhood, carrying a new and greater burden than ever of unnecessary, vicious, and misdirected labor, imposed upon us by the insane greed of the profit mongers, who, under the flag of a false freedom, have bound Labor with chains that seem too subtle to be broken. Who that believes in any right can deny that here is material for the new passion that will make a terrible propaganda against capitalism in the century that is now opened?"

Not a jot or tittle of the profoundly wise analysis of Marx need to be lost out of our equipment for this new evangel. The class struggle, the class struggle! Emerging from the wilderness, ye Baptists of the new century, with strident voices declare it! Make no compromise upon this. This struggle must take place at the threshold of the new age, and where it is not, it is not a struggle, we helped to make him that, for the shiftless vagabond is the product of this thing we call civilization.—George D. Herron.

Do you think a man who asks for bread at his back door is strengthened in his character by being refused? If the downmost man appears worthless and shiftless, we helped to make him that, for the shiftless vagabond is the product of this thing we call civilization.—George D. Herron.

## THE SOCIALISM AND THE "HAPPY HOME."

### To one ignorant of an architect's plan the unsightly excavations for a foundation and the building material lying about convey no idea of the finished edifice. But the architect knows what the finished structure will be and the intelligent worker placing stones upon stones or sawing, hammering and fitting timbers may see with his mind's eye order coming out of the chaos about him.

So the Socialist, desiring a better order of things and realizing that the logic of events must bring that better order about, can see in present events the rapid rising of a structure of the Co-operative Commonwealth. "He who runs may read" at this time the meaning of the great industrial events, but how infinitely wonderful was the mind which fifty or sixty years ago could figure out as the fathers of Socialism did the order in which events would come! A scientist understanding the laws governing the structure of animal bodies can take a single bone of a prehistoric monster and construct the entire skeleton. Wonderful, you say, but it is easy when you know how it is. It is easy, understanding the laws of industrial development, to build a "social system" from an event, a tendency, a condition.

A case somewhat to the point is provided by an article in Monday's "Courier-Journal." Here are a couple of paragraphs which tell of a sign of the coming of Socialism:

"Probably no city in the country is in greater need of flats than Louisville, and real estate agents are looking with applications for them. Flats are becoming more generally used every year, and there are hundreds of families in Louisville who prefer them to a residence."

The numerous conveniences of a thoroughly modern flat building are innumerable and do away completely with the cares and worries of housekeeping. "Some flats in the larger cities are not only provided with gas and electric lights, hot and cold water, and a heating system, but have a telephone system, a restaurant and a laundry. All these conveniences are included in the monthly rent. In this way one can keep house and yet be relieved of the annoyance of marketing and cooking, and looking after the payment of coal and gas bills, keeping up fires and the hundreds of other details which fall upon the housekeeper."

Every now and then some wild ass runs up on his hind legs and brags that "Socialism will break up the home." So it will, in a sense, and everybody will be better off. And it will be observed that common sense is every day breaking up more homes. "There is no place like home," the ordinary home—and hence the reason "flats are becoming more generally used every year." The lot of the workman's wife and even of the middle class housekeeper is like that of the "Pirate of Penzance" policeman, not a happy one and under a same system of living it would not be necessary. Housekeeping is the most odious drudgery and the modern apartment house is popular because it does away with this drudgery. As it is now, however, only the comparatively well-to-do can enjoy their advantages, but under Socialism all could enjoy the pleasure of an exalted free from hand "washing and ironing," cooking on a little stove and the multitude of little details which make the wives of workmen old before their time, broken in health and spirit by a multitude of petty and unnecessary cares.

The class of people who can afford a household of servants to do all the work may view with dismay the "obliteration of the home," but the individual household nevertheless means useless, dirty work which servants must do, and the servants have as much right to live under decent conditions as those for whom they slave.

Breaking up of the home, however, does not mean breaking up the family. Socialism would improve family relations by eliminating the petty cares which make the average man long to "wander from his own fireside." Most divorces are probably traceable to some biscuit or overdone steak. Co-munal households would eliminate the unpleasant labor of individual households, give a wife and mother a chance to keep tidy and get acquainted with the bath.

It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious.

Turn that claim about as I may, think of it as long as I can; I cannot find that it is an exorbitant claim. Yet, if society would or could admit it, the face of the world would be changed to discontent and strife and disharmony would be ended. To feel that we were doing work useful to others and pleasant to ourselves, and that each work and its due reward could not fall out! What serious harm could happen to us then? And the price to be paid for making the world happy is Revolution.

## WHAT WE CLAIM.

I have here looked at this claim by the light of history and my own experience, and it seems to me as looked at to be a most just claim, and that resistance to it means nothing short of a denial of the hope of civilization. This, then, is the claim:

It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious.

—If we want men free, if we want men self-sustaining, self-respecting, we must have a just civilization. We should have learned that a bad tree cannot bear good fruit. If we have a civilization based on equality, fraternity, liberty, then common life will supply its wants, it will build its own libraries and museums, it will do away with that monstrous habit of endowing institutions with the stolen fruits of a fellow-man's labor.—Geo. D. Herron.

## COMATOSE RESPECTABILITY.

### The Kind of Virtue That Is Good and the Kind of Virtue That Does Good.

BY W. A. COREY.

There are two kinds of virtue—negative and positive. Negative virtue is good, while positive virtue DOES good. The negatively virtuous man is and always has been the greatest menace to all progress. Why? Because he is invariably the weak tool of designing knaves. The rascal has always used the "good" man to carry out his plans. The scoundrel always makes use of the "respectable" man's reputation. Society knows the scoundrel and frowns on him. It also knows the "good" man and beams on him. Hence Mr. Respectability becomes the agent of Mr. Scoundrel and leads the sheep to the slaughter.

Besides this your actively "good" man—this type of inoffensive perfection—tool, or no tool, is, on general principles, a dead weight on progress. He has no convictions and therefore no courage, even if he had any, which is rarely the case. If he consciously worships anything it is the past, like the tribute. He is as stupid as the week-end ox. He always votes with the confident majority and is never accused of heresy.

You do not have to go far to find a fairly good example of the species. He infests every community. He invariably belongs to the leading church and occupies a front pew. He belongs to the dominant political party, and votes the ticket straight. "Quite usually he is a business man, although often practices at one of the so-called 'learned' professions. Any of them are called 'learned' I can't imagine, for they are generally the last refuge of ignorance, which is true, for to save his life he couldn't be anything else. People apply to him such adjectives as 'safe,' 'solid,' 'practical,' etc. He is referred to as a 'representative citizen.' In New England he is 'Squire' Somebody. In Kentucky he becomes 'Colonel,' while in Kansas and elsewhere, if mentioned for the legislature, he is frequently called 'he is called 'The Honorable Mr. So and So.'"

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President McKinley is an almost perfect example of immaculately spotless respectability. He is a Methodist. But he does not work at it much. He smokes many costly cigars each day, and serves wine at receptions, but will waver that no more because the two occasions are somewhat similar. In an equal time, more money platitude about the "blessings of sobriety," and nameless, than the president. The Methodist conference refuses to discipline him, because, as they said, "he is the most eminent Christian layman in the world." And the liquor interests love him because they know he will do them no harm. "Our plain duty" in Puerto Rico has a soothing sound, but if you would know what the phrase really means you must ask the great commercial interests. They know.

Many of the rulers of old Rome have no place in history of respectability. They were the "blessings of sobriety," and nameless, than the president. The Methodist conference refuses to discipline him, because, as they said, "he is the most eminent Christian layman in the world." And the liquor interests love him because they know he will do them no harm. "Our plain duty" in Puerto Rico has a soothing sound, but if you would know what the phrase really means you must ask the great commercial interests. They know.

Whatever Grover Cleveland lacked he possessed enough backbone to defy the anger of a whole people. But McKinley's usual custom never developed out of the original cringing. He tries his skills to catch the popular breeze and at the same time adroitly courts the favor of the great commercial lords. Like Providence, you may safely look for him on the side of the heaviest artillery.

McKinley is the historical repetition of James Buchanan. I do not mean to slander the dead. Buchanan was a very respectable and virtuous man, who was too weak to cope with the mighty conflicting interests that were soon to engage in a death struggle. The dominant slave power used him while they needed him, and going out of office, he slipped gently down into oblivion. His term of office marked the close of the chattel slave epoch. McKinley is a very nice man of many varied private virtues, but who is too essentially weak to take an independent position on any question; who is the willing tool of the powerful commercial interests; who, in the form of office will mark the fall of those interests and the capitalist system.

Queen Victoria was, personally, a model woman. Of course. She was a "grand and noble" woman. Certainly. Nobody ever questioned it except the irrepressible Irishman and he is not supposed to count. She was a "motherly" woman, and the whole world called her "mum." Yes. She "gave largely to charity." To be sure. She was "kind to servants." No doubt. She "read the Bible and encouraged religion." Certainly, certainly. She "gave good advice upon her sub-

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Whatever Grover Cleveland lacked he possessed enough backbone to defy the anger of a whole people. But McKinley's usual custom never developed out of the original cringing. He tries his skills to catch the popular breeze and at the same time adroitly courts the favor of the great commercial lords. Like Providence, you may safely look for him on the side of the heaviest artillery.

McKinley is the historical repetition of James Buchanan. I do not mean to slander the dead. Buchanan was a very respectable and virtuous man, who was too weak to cope with the mighty conflicting interests that were soon to engage in a death struggle. The dominant slave power used him while they needed him, and going out of office, he slipped gently down into oblivion. His term of office marked the close of the chattel slave epoch. McKinley is a very nice man of many varied private virtues, but who is too essentially weak to take an independent position on any question; who is the willing tool of the powerful commercial interests; who, in the form of office will mark the fall of those interests and the capitalist system.

Queen Victoria was, personally, a model woman. Of course. She was a "grand and noble" woman. Certainly. Nobody ever questioned it except the irrepressible Irishman and he is not supposed to count. She was a "motherly" woman, and the whole world called her "mum." Yes. She "gave largely to charity." To be sure. She was "kind to servants." No doubt. She "read the Bible and encouraged religion." Certainly, certainly. She "gave good advice upon her sub-







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The five largest stationary engine manufacturing concerns in the country have reached a final agreement to form the proposed stationary engine combine.

A Boston correspondent says: "I wish to say that my wife's praise for the way your paper is increasing its reading matter; I think there is not a dry passage. May it continue as good. We'll try."

The independence which the United States will give Cuba is beautifully done up in red tape with the long end in Washington—Saturday Evening Post.

H. D. Call of Syracuse, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, asks us to announce that the trouble with Swift & Co., packers, has been adjudged and the firm taken from the unfair list.

Roll and put factories in Connecticut consolidated and will move West.

The citizens of a large nation industrially organized, have reached their happiness when the producing, distributing and other activities are such that each citizen finds in them a place for all his energies and aptitudes while he obtains the means of satisfying all his desires.—Herbert Spencer.

The answer of Socialism to the capitalist is that society can do without him just as society now does without the slave owner and the feudal lord, both of which were formerly regarded as necessary to the well being and even the very existence of society.—Prof. W. Clarke.

State officials in Russia are said to be wearing steel cuirasses to avert assassination. If the "bowdler" episode has not yet reached that country there seems to be a chance for American industry here which should not be neglected.—Workers' Call.

Rome was not built in a day. It is a big job to build the Co-operative Commonwealth. It will take long years, but the work is under way. We need willing workers. What are you doing?

Daily we read of men killing themselves because they cannot get work, of women and children starving in the midst of plenty. If you are not trying to change a system which causes such crimes, you are partly guilty—an accessory before and after the fact.

You may have observed that those who do real useful work are almost invariably poor, while those who are rich seldom contribute anything by their own efforts to the common welfare. Do you think that is just? Socialists do not. The Social Democratic Party is in the field to change such conditions.

The next move in railroad combination is expected to be consolidation of Southwestern roads, including the St. Louis and Southwestern and Missouri, Kansas and Texas.

Exigencies of time and space have compelled the postponement of some articles intended for the May Day number of "The Worker". Among these is a sketch, entitled "Not for Him," by Comrade Richard Kitchell. It will appear in the next issue and will be worth reading.

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### Trades' and Societies' Calendar

Standing advertisements of Trade Unions and other Societies will be inserted under this heading at the rate of \$1 per line per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity for advertising their places of meetings.

BRANCH 2-8, D. P., 34th and 35th A. D. (formerly Socialist Science Club), meets every Wednesday evening of each month at 5300 Third Avenue.

BRANCH 2 (English), 20th A. D. (Brooklyn), S. D. P., meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening at 700 Evergreen Avenue. All Socialists of the district are invited to join. E. Bloom, 653 Evergreen Avenue, will receive subscriptions for The Worker.

OAK SAHM CLUB MUSICIANS UNION. Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 61 East 4th Street, New York. Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Fred.

CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL UNION. No. 30, 10th Street and Employment Bureau: 61 East 4th Street. District 1 (Bohemian), 321 East 71st Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m. District 2 (German), at 10 Stanton Street, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. District 3 (Irish), at the Clubhouse, 200 East 8th Street, every Saturday at 7:30 p. m. District 4, meets at 542 West 42d Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m. District 5, meets at 414 East 5th Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m. District 6, meets at 347 East 15th Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m. District 7, meets every Saturday evening at 132 Second Avenue. The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at Paulin's Hall, 1531 Second Avenue, at 8 p. m.

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For addresses of the Branch bookkeepers, see "Vornarsky," 210

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# The Worker

VOL. XI.—NO. 5.

NEW YORK, MAY 5, 1901.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

## IN SCRANTON.

### The Victory of the Striking Silk Mill Girls.

Their Unfortunate Condition Much Improved—Splendid Work Done by Mother Jones—Labor Movement Generally Active in Lackawanna Region.

After a strike extending over three months the 5,000 silk workers of Scranton have secured a favorable settlement of their grievances, winning a complete victory, and returning to work under better conditions than they have ever experienced before. This has come about after a most stubborn fight, and only the solidarity of the strikers, under the leadership of Mother Jones gained the victory.

The strike began on January 23, when the girls at one of the mills were compelled to strike because of the treatment received from one of the forewomen. The girls had formed a union the Saturday previous and efforts were being made to disrupt it. The other mills followed the example, and within two weeks all the twelve mills in the city were closed down.

The smaller children led the way, and they rebelled none too soon. The writer had the opportunity to see some of them during the past week, and he can say truthfully that anything heretofore said about their age or appearance has not been overdone. It is a sickening sight to see the pinched, colorless faces of these children. Their bodies are dwarfed and misshapen through the drudgery of the mill and their feet show startlingly frail and thin below the short dresses.

**LABOR LAWS VIOLATED.**  
Some of the children are very small, so small that one wonders how they can manage to work at all. There is a state factory law prohibiting the employment of children under 13 years of age, but many of the silk workers are under that age. It is not enforced, at least in the factory inspectors to whom I should say that some of the children I saw were not more than nine or ten years old.

During the strike one of the mill owners threatened to move South to get cheaper labor, but he was answered by a Southern manufacturer, who in an interview in a local paper, said the labor of Virginia was no cheaper than that of Scranton and West Virginia. Children were as cheap, and cheaper, in the Lackawanna Valley as in the South. Several of the mills already in Scranton moved from Paterson and Hoboken because the unions demanded higher wages than in Pennsylvania. Now that the unions are here, the poor abused capitalists will have to go elsewhere to find humble slaves to exploit and enslave.

The wages before the strike in some of the mill departments ran from \$2 to \$3.75 a week. In others the wages were as low as \$1.25 to \$1.50. For the girls worked 10½ to 11½ days. At the highest this would be about six cents an hour. The average could be estimated at about four cents an hour. These are "prosperity" wages, are they not?

The average gain in wages runs from 25 to 32 cents a week. Not very much. It is true, but more than before and only the opening wedge toward getting more. Another gain is the half day on Saturday, with pay, during the four-month strike. This is a concession highly prized by the strikers. Hereafter the silk will be measured, payment being had for every yard and a union girl being assigned to measure for the workers. The manufacturers also concede the right to organize, which is a most important point, and one that will be taken full advantage of. Tables will have to be provided hereafter for eating purposes, as formerly meals were eaten among the oil and grease of the machinery.

### MOTHER JONES' WORK.

This victory for the oppressed mill girls of Scranton is all the more remarkable because they had never been in a strike before, and they were practically unorganized. Two weeks after the struggle began, Mother Jones appeared on the scene and took charge of it, and it is due largely to her tact and skill in handling the strike that they won it. It is common talk that if Mother Jones had not been on the ground the mill owners and their emissaries would have broken the strike's ranks long ago. Whatever aid was secured for the silk workers was mainly through the instrumentality of Mother Jones, who visited Paterson, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other cities, and interested the unions there. She was a real aid, but the bulk of the support came from Paterson, where the silk workers' unions gave liberally.

At a meeting held last Sunday the strike was formally declared off, and the girls decided to go to work on Tuesday. On Monday evening an entertainment was held to celebrate the victory, at which Mother Jones and the writer were the speakers. There was great enthusiasm. At 4:30 in the afternoon the children, who had been on strike, paraded through the principal streets, and it was a strange spectacle to see these "babies," as Mother Jones rightly and justly calls them, exhibiting their solidarity in such striking fashion. It was indeed a sight to see the children, and the babies who protested first, and they had the right to celebrate, for they were the most determined to stay out and win. But it is a "terrible" thing, a horrible crime, for which every "rotting king" in America should be ashamed. That these "babies" and "rotting kings" should be forced to give

## TRADE UNION ACTIVITY.

In the short time I spent in Scranton, I learned that the victory won by the mill girls had resulted in a great revival of unionism throughout the Lackawanna Valley. There is hardly a trade that is not now organized, or in process of organization, and there never was a time when unionism flourished so strongly as now. The latest acquisitions to the unions are the newshaws and bootblacks, who organized last Sunday. They have started out with a grievance, and that with our "Socialist" (and slanderous) friends, the New York "Journal." An effective boycott is being waged.

The miners' organization is in good condition. On Sunday evening I visited Oliphant, about five miles from Scranton, where the Delaware & Hudson Railroad owns and operates most of the mines. I had a conversation with a watchman at one of the mines and made inquiries as to the conditions and wages, etc. He talked freely, while he showed me around. The men, he said, were satisfied with the way things were going in the unions, and they were glad the organization was in such good condition. Wages were higher, hours were lower and there were less grievances and more liberty. The breaker boys were benefited greatly, and the tendency of the union was to have men employed and raise the age limit, so that the boys could go to school instead of working in the breakers. All classes of employees are included in the miners' union, and a constant agitation is going on. The miners are only running half and three-quarter time, because the operators have stocked coal in preparation for a strike on April 1.

The street car men won a strike a few months ago, and since then have been working only eight hours under better conditions than ever before. One of them told me every employee on the entire system belonged to the union, and next fall they hope to adjust several existing grievances to their advantage.

A railroad man told me that the men on the Delaware, Lackawanna and Hudson were tired of the treatment they had been receiving for some time past, and very shortly they were going to have matters better adjusted. He would not commit himself as to the probability of a strike, but he said the men were determined to get more wages, shorter hours and more help on the big engines.

I was informed that there were probably 72,000 unionists in this district, and I am inclined to believe the statement. This includes miners, railroad men, street car men, mill workers, carpenters and nearly every craft. As a union town, therefore, Scranton can be said to be in the first rank.

Mother Jones will leave Scranton as soon as matters will have settled down. She will do as much good everywhere else as she has done here. I was informed that she holds a unique position in the movement. Candidly, noting the effect of her actions and the manner in which she teaches the proletariat to unite, she is of more value than a hundred theorists. They talk, she acts.

**WILLIAM MAILLY.**  
**HOW CAPITAL IS "EARNED."**  
The Colonial Trust Company as trustee of the estate of the late Robert Bonner, has prepared a report for the Surrogate's Court showing that it has personally amounting to \$485,646, which is \$50,000 more than the appraisal of the personality a little over a year ago, when it took charge pending the contest of the will. The estate holds thirty-seven United States bonds of \$10,000 each which have appreciated in value to \$421,800. "New York Sun."

We are told the poor are penniless because they are lazy. Now a dead man is the laziest thing on record, and yet he keeps on amassing a fortune. Moral: Do not go to the ant, thou sluggard, but take eternal rest, that thy children and children's children may enjoy the fruits of thy slumber.

**IN OPULENT AMERICA.**  
"I have no relatives, no friends, no work, no home, no money." That was the explanation of attempted suicide given early to-day by an old man who had shot himself in the breast while sitting on a bench in Tompkins Square Park. He made the explanation to a policeman, who came running to him, attracted by the shot. He declined to give his name. The doctors in Bellevue, where the old man was taken, say that he cannot recover.—New York Daily News.

I affirm that the organization of inquiry among us, as evidenced in the growth of monopolies connecting the very necessities of life for mere company profit, is proof positive that church-taught morality is a failure. Nothing that church and pulpit have been able to do has been sufficient to prevent such scandals. But there is a power which can prevent them. That power is the state.—Rev. R. Roberts.

—Good work, not sham work; good art, not bad art; good food and good beer, not the bad bread and bad beer that disgrace this country; plain, good clothes, not fashionably cut shoddy; good news, not party lies and foolish flattery and idle or malicious gossip; real information (which need not be cheap and cannot be easy, for knowledge is not an easy thing to get, not chopped up rubbish, as much fresh air and clean water, and out-of-door exercise as we can do with. These are things within our grasp, yet we have not got them.—Professor York Powell.

—Ingot mold factories are preparing to combine.

## SPIES EXPOSED.

### An Elaborate Plan for Undermining Labor Organizations.

Cleveland "Citizen" Makes Remarkable Discovery—Manufacturers Allied to Rival Unions—Agitators Are Black-listed.

For some time rumors have been rife about the operation of an organization, whose mission consisted in furnishing spies to act in the trade unions for the benefit of manufacturers. In some cities spies have already been caught in the unions, but it has remained for the Cleveland "Citizen" to completely expose the organization, as was done last week's issue, April 27. The facts will doubtless create a sensation in organized labor circles everywhere.

The "Citizen" claims to have proof of every statement, and further says that these proofs were secured in the office of the Manufacturers' Information Bureau, as the spying organization is called. The bureau, it seems, was established by J. K. Turner, who was exposed by the "Citizen" in November, 1899, for being interested in a so-called detective agency. The bureau had headquarters in Cleveland and a branch office in Chicago.

Through the law firm of Smith & Langin, 705 Cuyahoga building, Cleveland, Turner seduced as many unionists as possible to turn traitor and betray their fellow workers, organized and unorganized, who were struggling for better conditions and against the encroachments of capitalism, and we learn that agitators and advocates of Socialism were especially named. That the capitalists concern themselves below paid liberally for the information they received, is proven by the fact that Turner paid his black-hearted Judases \$200 to \$300 per month.

The system under which this Manufacturers' Information Bureau operates is quite original. A code of initials is used, and the spies are unknown to each other. The employers are grouped under the names of flowers. Thus: Tulips, Clover, Lilacs, and Magnolias, brand manufacturers, as DuPont, DuPont and Magnolia, etc. To learn the identity of employers and spies, therefore, it was not only necessary to secure the names, but the key that would unlock the mystery and form the connection between the enslaving capitalists and the traitors to the working class.

The "Citizen" has obtained this code with the names and addresses of the firms and their spies, and published the same in full. The firms are situated in Cleveland, Dayton, Chicago, and Milwaukee, and the spies are listed also in these cities. We notice among the firms the names of the National Cash Register Company of Dayton, which makes so much show of "elevating" its employees.

The "Citizen" closes its exposure with these convincing words: "The most prejudiced and stupid will no longer be able to deny the existence of a class struggle—a struggle in which labor is attempting to rise to the full height of complete freedom, a struggle in which capital and its minions would keep labor in slavish subjection."

"This Manufacturers' Information Bureau is a crime against the human race, and must have been conceived in hell. It is a damnable conspiracy between treason, to sow the seed of hate between man and man, and to mercilessly apply the knot of the blacklist, and to spread suffering and misery among innocent women and children of this land."

"The most unscrupulous head-souls of some note of warning before striking down its intended victim, but this satanical alliance cowardly strikes in the dark like a murd'rous fiend."

"Brothers, comrades! Let the words: No compromise! be your slogan in dealing with this infamous Manufacturers' Information Bureau, its patrons, and its spies. Post the foregoing list in every union room in the country, weed out the traitors in the organizations, and as far as possible boycott the concerns that are responsible for the spy system."

"Further than that, guard your class interests on election day by placing in political control men who stand on labor principles and platforms and for Socialism, so that they may enact or enforce laws to stamp out such monstrous conspiracies as they would crush the head of the poisonous snake."

## ALL RECORDS ARE BROKEN.

### Journalistic and Clerical Scandal-Mongers Outdo Themselves in Abuse of George D. Herron.

Audience at Cooper Union Resents the Slanderous Campaign—All New York Dailies Follow the Lead of the "Journal," and the Pulpit Echoes Their Falshoods.

When George D. Herron appeared on the platform of Cooper Union Tuesday evening he was accorded a reception which must have astonished him. It was among friends. It was a tribute to him from the hearts of those who can best appreciate him, a spontaneous expression of the confidence reposed in him by co-workers in the same cause for which he has suffered so bitterly during the past three weeks.

But the applause which greeted Comrade Herron was more than an evidence of good will on the part of friends; it was a vigorous protest against the persecution to which he has been subjected since his arrival in New York, a persecution unequalled in the history of the Socialist movement in America.

The story of the ordeal through which Comrade Herron has passed during these few weeks is not a new one. History is full of similar stories of persecution of right for wrong. On the instrumentality by which the persecution is conducted are new. The cross, gibbet, guillotine, and rack have given way to the modern newspaper, with its equipment of falsehood and slander, which results in a rick of the soul far worse than the torture of the body. And the smug fellows of the meek and lowly Jesus are performing the same mission that the Pharisees filled ancient hundred years ago—only broadcast his truth to the world, instead of purple and fine linen.

It is not our intention to comment upon Comrade Herron's personal affairs, either directly or indirectly. These affairs concern only him, and those immediately connected with him. He has acted wisely in refusing to discuss them for the benefit of the scandal mongers of the press. Nothing that he could say would mitigate the persecution inflicted upon him nor raise him higher in the esteem of those who know him and have faith in the justice of his cause. These private matters would never have been fired in the public press had not Comrade Herron been engaged in a crusade which has for its object the overthrow of capitalism.

This statement is borne out by the conduct of the capitalist press and of the "Christian" ministers whose sustenance is drawn from the coffers of the capitalists. There has not appeared in the New York press a single intelligible report of one of Comrade Herron's lectures, from the beginning until now. Every paper has given column after column to the attacks of his enemies, but all have carefully avoided publishing a fair account of any of the meetings. Some have ignored the lectures altogether, others have printed portions of them, garbled so as entirely to change the meaning of the words.

This has prevented the newspaper readers from being able to judge fairly what Comrade Herron was lecturing about. Only those who attended the meetings can form an estimate of the man or his message. Outside of the Socialist and sympathizers, few are allowed to learn where the meetings are held. It is not to be wondered at if the mass of the people have formed an entirely wrong opinion of Comrade Herron, an opinion which would be entirely reversed if the people could hear and see him.

The discredit for leading this crusade of slander belongs first of all to the "Journal," which has broken all its previous records in this line. The "Journal," as is well known, is a Democratic paper with Socialist tendencies, which always and in the support of capitalism, whether under the guise of Crookism or Bryanism. The "Journal's" lead was quickly followed by the "Sun," the rabid Republican scab paper, and the Brooklyn "Eagle," which is conducted on the same lines as the "Sun." Gradually all the papers fell in line, until every daily in Greater New York was contributing its quota to the deluge of slime.

But if the "Journal" led the attack, it did not excel in the violence of its attack. The daily paper published by Daniel DeLeon in the name of the organized Socialist Labor Party holds first place for its scurrilous abuse and willful perversion of facts. Its so-called reports of Herron's meetings are not reports; they are the outpourings of mental perversity, the ravings of a mad dog, for imbecility and absolute mendacity, their disregard of decency, their violation of every instinct of clean thinking or clean speaking, they could not be duplicated if written in an insane asylum. If we have mentioned this paper at all it is for the purpose of placing it on record before decent people, its conduct is all the worse when it is remembered that its chief support comes from working people, who are thus assisting in the work of capitalism by supporting the enemies of Socialism in their warfare against a Socialist.

Nobody with any understanding of present conditions doubts why the Democratic, Republican, anti-Socialist press have pooled their efforts in an attempt to ruin Comrade Herron. There is only one reason for it, and that is that he speaks the truth and speaks it with a vigor and intensity which frightens error. He has brought with him to the Socialist cause a masterful ability which the capitalists of America have been quick

## BIG STEAMSHIP TRUST.

### Morgan Acquires the British Leyland Line—Other Consolidations to Follow—Morgan's Steamship Properties Now Reach Value of \$87,000,000.

Every week brings some new tidings of the "expansion" of the group of capitalists headed by Morgan. The latest is a step in the consolidation of ocean transport.

Morgan & Co. have bought the Leyland Line, one of the largest British ocean steamship lines. The Leyland Line lately absorbed the West India and Pacific Steamship Co. and two other important lines.

The purchase will mean final consolidation with the Atlantic Transport Line, which is already under Morgan's control. The total value of the Morgan steamship interests is now put at \$87,000,000. Other steps in the same line are expected to follow soon.

## GAS COMBINE IS COMPLETED.

### Consolidation Which Will Concentrate Gas Supply in Greater New York into One Company.

After several months of planning, the reported consolidation of practically all the gas companies of Greater New York is confirmed by an announcement in the daily press. The control of the gas and electric light power interests in the boroughs of Manhattan, the Bronx, Kings, and Queens, and without doubt, those of Staten Island, will pass into the hands of the Consolidated Gas Company. This will include the taking over of the Brooklyn Union Gas Company and the manufacturing of gas, both fuel and illuminating, in New Jersey.

An immense plant is proposed to be constructed at Haverwood, N. J., to furnish the boroughs of Queens and Kings and New York's upper east side, and the Bronx. Another will be built on the Consolidated New River property in Shady Side, Port Lee and the product conveyed to New York through the Hudson River tunnel, to supply the greater part of the borough of Manhattan. These two plants will warrant the giving up of all the New York plants in operation which will enhance the value of the gas trust's property in New York. It will also save a very large number of clerks, laborers and other employees.

With the Brooklyn Union Gas Company and its annual output of 4,400,000,000 cubic feet of gas, the Consolidated will supply 25,000,000,000 cubic feet of gas, worth at the current legal rate \$21,300,000 in New York City only, 90,000,000 cubic feet of which is for the account of the borough of Richmond.

The Standard Oil Company is the chief factor in the movement for consolidation, assisted by the Whitney-Ryan traction syndicate and other firms.

## THE OCTOPUS WINS.

### Standard Oil Company Gets Control of Outlet to Texas Oil Fields.

The Standard Oil Company could not buy up the new Beaumont oil field in Texas, but it has obtained control of the field just the same. The company has purchased the railroad terminals, yards and shipping facilities at Port Arthur and 90,000 acres of land surrounding the port. Port Arthur is the nearest deep-water port to the Beaumont oil field and by controlling this outlet the Standard Oil Company is given control of every barrel of oil taken from the Beaumont field. When Rockefeller and his pals start out after a thing they are going to get it.

What makes the situation more interesting is that a great many "wild cat" oil companies have been started to operate in the Beaumont field and many people of small means have invested the savings of years in these companies. It is conservatively estimated that \$75,000,000 of oil stock have been sold by these companies in Texas the past two months. Most of this stock is "water," the companies being organized for speculative purposes. A collapse is now expected, and when it comes the little investors who gave up steadily to become great financiers will wish they hadn't.

At the final round up, the ambitious and foolish small investors will be working on the farm and in the stores, and workshops as atonement for their rashness, while the Standard Oil Company will be gallily marching on. For has it not been said that "the fittest will survive?"

## A PHOSPHATE COMBINATION.

A Nashville dispatch says: The gradual absorption of the various phosphate interests in the Mt. Pleasant field is under way, and it is expected that within two weeks the two million dollar deal will be perfected. The field embraces about 4,500 acres, and it is one of the most important industries in Tennessee. The average shipments have been about four hundred thousand tons, yielding to the Louisville & Nashville railroad nearly a million dollars a year for freight. Half of the phosphate has been taken from the ground.

## A PLOW COMBINE.

A \$500,000 combine of plow manufacturers was organized at Chicago last week. It is composed of the leading plow manufacturers of the United States. One of its purposes is the elimination of the long credits which have been given country merchants, who will have to pay spot cash in

## AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run. Agents are personally charged with and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them. Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

## TELEPHONE TRUST.

A \$300,000,000 telephone trust is reported to be organizing which will control the companies in all the large cities, owning 1,500,000 miles of wire strung all over the country, connecting 801,000 telephones. Local offices will be done away with and the various companies will be operated as branches of the trust, which, of course, has connections with the other trusts.

## ANOTHER RAILROAD COMBINE.

A gigantic railroad combine extending from Pittsburgh to the Pacific coast is reported. The combine will include all the Southwestern roads, with Geo. Gould at its head. Gould is said to be perfecting a system which will be the most extensive and compact railroad system in the world.

It is understood that the preliminary steps in the removal of the base of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad by the Southern Railway have been concluded.

It is reported that a combination of Grand Rapids, Mich., furniture manufacturers, with \$7,000,000 capital, is again being negotiated.

An effort is being made to consolidate all the tanneries in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, with a capital of about \$10,000,000. Nine companies, it is said, have already agreed to enter the combine, and options have been secured on several others. New York capital is back of the proposed company, and if the local plan is a success a national organization will likely be formed.

It is rumored that Standard Oil interests have acquired sufficient American Lined stock to dominate that company, which controls the American production of kerosene oil and its by-products.

The Chicago and Northwestern system has purchased the Minnesota and Wisconsin railway. The road is only a short one, but is of considerable importance.

It is believed that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, controlled by J. J. Hill, Norman B. Read, Marshall Field and Eastern interests, will form the link between Chicago and the Atlantic for the new Northern Pacific, Great Northern and Burlington combination.

An artificial leg trust with a capital of \$5,000,000 has been organized. Private ownership of industry makes the business profitable.

## SULZER CRITICIZED.

Comrade Kraft Seizes the Opportunity to Expose the Fallacies of His Jersey Speech.

As previously mentioned, the Jersey City "Advertiser and Eagle" devotes a column every week to Socialist news. Recently Congressman Sulzer spoke in that city. The following clipping will show how the comrades of Jersey City take advantage of the opportunity of, "tired them for 'getting back'."

"As the Republicans go to the graveyard for Grant and Lincoln, so the Democrats continue to floundering in the mire of Jefferson and Jackson before our eyes in their spread-eagle orations. Congressman Sulzer denounced the trusts as the greatest scheme ever devised by the ingenuity of man to rob his fellowman." Mr. Sulzer is quite right there. Formerly only single business men could rob their fellowmen, but now these robbers have combined and rob on a grand scale. No wonder the small robbers are down on the trusts. Robbing on a small scale is legitimate, according to Mr. Sulzer. He tells us the trusts destroy competition, but he forgets to mention that it is the object of every business man to outstrip and eventually to destroy his competitor and thereby competition.

"He claims that the Democratic party favors a well disciplined militia in times of peace. Of what use is the militia in times of peace? Surely an expensive and needless luxury. Can Mr. Sulzer cite a single instance where the militia has been used to prevent the lawlessness of Lynch mobs in the democratic South? Has the militia ever been used to enforce the laws in favor of labor which have been and are violated by both Democratic and Republican employers? Then we can see no further need for a militia except to suppress the workers where they justly demand the enforcement of such laws."

"The Democratic party is irreversibly committed to the passage of the eight-hour law." Really, Mr. Sulzer, this is news indeed. "Numerous states are controlled by the Democrats, but no eight-hour law is in sight, and if we remember correctly, Mr. Cleveland, a Democratic president, called out the federal troops to shoot into submission the railroad workers of Chicago, who were held enough to ask for the enforcement of the ten-hour law. No, Mr. Sulzer, the Democratic party is not and never was the party of the workingmen, any more than the Republican party is, and Mr. Sulzer knows as well as the undersigned that the only party advocating the eight-hour law is the Social Democratic Party."

## "E. KRAFT."

Comrade Hartshorn of Lynn, Mass., writes that Local Lynn is planning to produce Comrade Kraft's play, "Now and Then." The play is published by the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York. Price, 5 cents. See adv.

—Lack of imagination makes people fail to see the evils of the machine. They fail to realize the good that might be.—Grant Allen.

## MAY DAY PARADE.

### Order of Route of Saturday Evening's Parade.

Herron and Harriman Will Be Among the Speakers at Madison Square—Large Number of Unions Participating.

The May Day demonstration of New York Socialists and trade unionists will be held Saturday evening, May 4. The order of the parade will be as follows:

First Division, to form in Fourth street, between Second avenue and the Bowery; Local New York, S. D. P., and various educational and beneficial organizations.

Second Division, to form in Fourth street, between First and Second avenues; Brewery Workers' Union Nos. 1, 23, 30, 31, and 50.

Third Division, Organizations represented in the United Hebrew Trades.

Fourth Division, to form in Fifth street, between Second avenue and Bowery; International Cleanmakers' Union Nos. 90, 144, and 251; Waiters' Union No. 1, and Bartenders' Union No. 1.

Fifth Division, to form in Fifth street, between Second avenue and Bowery; Bakers' Union Nos. 1, 7, 50, 56, and 104, and the Butchers' Unions of New York.

Sixth Division, to form in Sixth street, between Second avenue and Bowery; Journeymen Pie Bakers, Pie Wagon Drivers, Upholsterers' Union No. 41, Piano and Organ Builders, International Jewelry Workers.

Seventh Division, to form in Sixth street, between First and Second avenues; Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Nos. 309, 464, 476, and 513; Furniture Workers' Singing Society, Wood Carvers, Modelers' Association, Laborers' Union No. 6, Bricklayers' Union Nos. 11 and 55; Carriage and Wagon Builders, Brotherhood of Painters No. 88.

Eighth Division, to form in Seventh street, between Second avenue and Bowery; Eccentric Engineers, Standard Engineers, United Engineers, 1250, centric Firemen No. 56, Architectural Iron Workers' Unions, International Association of Machinists No. 535, Pattern Makers.

Ninth Division, to form in Seventh street, between First and Second avenues; International Typographical Unions Nos. 6 and 7.

The parade will start at 8 p. m. from Second avenue and Fourth street, and will take the following route: Up Second avenue to Twelfth street; west on Twelfth street to Greenwich avenue; up Greenwich and Eighth avenues to Twenty-seventh street; east on Twenty-seventh street to Madison avenue; then down to Twenty-third street.

A mass meeting will be held on the Madison avenue side of Madison Square. Morris Brown will act as chairman, and George D. Herron, Job Harriman, Ben Hanford, J. Hawkins, J. Donnelly, N. B. Campbell and Geo. Warner will speak from the main platform.

The truck on Twenty-sixth street will be used by German speakers and the platform on the Twenty-third street side will be used by the S. D. P.

## A TELL-TALE STRAW.

Ohio Militia Being Specially Prepared for Strike Duty.

Here is a press dispatch from Columbus, O., that needs no comment: "Adjutant-General Gifford has decided to supply the Ohio militia with cartridges loaded with shot instead of balls, to be used when the troops are called out for riot duty. General Gifford says the new shells are reasonably effective at short range, and will not kill innocent people at a great distance from the rioting, as is often the case where cartridges loaded with balls are used."

The United States Steel Company must have given the Ohio authorities a tip of its intention to put some "economic" into effect in the Ohio mills.

## ELECTIONS IN CALIFORNIA.

At the municipal elections held in California on April 8, the Social Democratic vote rose appreciably over that of last fall. In San Bernardino our candidates polled 75 out of a total of 1,250, as against 61, in a total of 1,550 in November, a gain of 30 per cent.

In Alameda the Social Democratic candidates polled the following votes: City Trustees—R. A. Dague, 182; J. W. Powell, 172; Board of Education—E. A. Allen, 134; A. J. Howe, 133; City Clerk—A. A. Crockett, 100; City Assessor—G. W. Townsend, 182; Recorder—W. Wagner, 120; Treasurer—J. B. Blake, 90. We polled about 6 per cent. of the total vote, which is a gain of about 2 per cent. over the November election. The capitalist parties tried to take the wind out of our sails by declaring for "public ownership of utilities."

The average vote in Pasadena was 60, although the capitalist parties resorted to the trick of declaring for "municipal ownership of public utilities."

During the past eleven years the General Workers' Union in Spain has grown enormously, in spite of the difficulties of all kinds which are put in the way of workingmen wishing to organize themselves. In 1887 there were 27 groups with 5,355 members. To-day there are 172 groups with 200,000 members, 16,000 of whom live in Madrid.

—Lack of imagination makes people fail to see the evils of the machine. They fail to realize the good that might be.—Grant Allen.











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# The Worker

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## GREAT MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION.

Fifteen Thousand Workingmen and Women Marched Under the Red Flag in New York.

With stirring music and revolutionary songs, the class-conscious workingmen of New York marched, fully fifteen thousand strong, last Saturday, from the place of formation at the Labor Lyceum up to Madison Square, where the great May Day demonstration was held. They were the eyes of curious onlookers, the throngs of uncomprehending Socialists were exposed to enthusiastic throngs.

The demonstration was organized, as usual, by a May Day Committee, called at the instance of the S. D. P. in which Socialist thought predominated. A large number of unions and other labor organizations participated. There was abundant evidence that the Socialist spirit is growing among the workingmen and the working women of New York.

The women deserve special mention; for not only did the women of the S. D. P. turn out in force, but the general women's union, the Ladies' Wrappers Makers and the Cigar Makers, as well as the women's branch of the Workers' Educational and Aid Society, showed their enthusiasm by the numbers they had in line.

The Jewish organizations held a separate parade through the East Side, at an earlier hour, and then fell in with the main body, of which they formed a very conspicuous part.

Among the throngs of onlookers were such as these:  
The Arm and Torch, with the words: "This is the Emblem of the Social Democratic Party. Vote for It!"

"Tannum is the Friend of Labor just as the Wolf is the Friend of the Sheep."

"Don't Patronize the Republican or Democratic Party or any Other Scab Article."

"Carriage's Money is Stained with the Blood of Homeless."

"The Greatest Fear of Labor is Ignorance. Educate Yourselves!"

Morris Brown was the chairman at the main stand in Madison Square, which was surrounded by a greater crowd than any speaker's voice could reach. He spoke briefly of the meaning of May Day, the solidarity of labor, the class struggle, and the necessity of united and aggressive action of the workers, both in their trade unions and in an uncompromising Socialist party. He then introduced John Harriman, who was received with thunders of applause.

In his own inimitable way, he analyzed the capitalist system of exploitation, the division of society into classes, the relations of capital and labor, and pointed to the only way out—the collective ownership of the means of production, to be brought about by the class action of the working people.

Comrade Herron followed and was enthusiastically applauded. The man whom the capitalist press and profit have been trying to bind into political was shown, and the workers are able to understand the words of the speaker. His speech was a clear and most uncompromising explanation of the class struggle, its cause and its aim—the emancipation of the working class, and through it, of all humanity.

By the large throngs were surrounded by a large crowd, addressed in German by an Italian Socialist, Christian and other. Paul Florschütz, and in English by Comrades Shifano, Lee and others.

The demonstration was a great success and has raised the enthusiasm of the Social Democrats of New York to new heights for new labors and new achievements.

**MAY DAY AT ROCHESTER.**

Rob Harriman Addresses an Enthusiastic Gathering.

Rob Harriman had his May Day demonstration at Rochester as well as the great cities of New York. There were 2,000 people assembled at Pittsburgh Hall, the largest hall in the city, celebrating May Day under auspices of the Social Democratic Party and the local trade unions.

John Wm. McNamara, of Root and Shoemaker, Union No. 15 of Rochester, was the speaker. He was followed by Rob Harriman, of New York, who was followed by George A. Cooley, of Boston, manager of the Central Trades and Labor Council, presiding.

Mr. McNamara spoke of "The Necessity of Trade Unions for Working People." Years ago, he said, he reached the conclusion that the unions were absolutely necessary for both men and women workers. The conditions affecting the working classes, he asserted, have grown worse year after year, and a long time, and the question is how to check the downward trend.

Organization of the workers is not only check it, but, if the organization is perfect, will absolutely stop it and even start the condition of the workers upward.

He cited the victories of the workers in the coal mines to show what can be accomplished by thoroughly organized labor. He said years ago the miners came to a long time, and the question is how to check the downward trend.

know the truth. We should not wish to live in a fools' heaven; if the conditions are bad, and the conditions are to be worse, I want to know it, and you should know it. He said that he believed that workingmen should calmly look the future in the face. "He should say: What is going to be the lot of my children? What are going to be the conditions for them? The legislation is bought and sold to the highest bidder. Much of it is designed to shakele generations yet unborn. When a man has no leisure or nothing except that which is bought and sold at that time he ceases to be a citizen of a republic. A poverty-stricken mass has never maintained freedom in any land and never will. The well-fed man is a useful man. The pauperized man is a useless man.

"Justice is dead in the world unless you have the power to command it. Our duty under the circumstances, at present, until the time is ripe for political action, is to form a powerful compact organization. Therefore I say to all who are here to-night, affiliate yourself with the others in your craft. In union there is not only strength, but also self-respect."

### HARRIMAN'S SPEECH.

John Harriman, the eloquent secretary of the New York Labor Secretariat, next addressed the meeting in a very forcible and convincing manner. He spoke in part as follows:

"Comrades, Workingmen and Women of Rochester! I was interested very much in the first speaker, especially in that part referring to the condition under which the women in Chicago or at least some of them, are working, for I find in parts of New York City since I have been there conditions that will closely parallel the awful conditions which have been told about those in Chicago. The remark referred to concerned an Italian woman who had received but \$19.50 for a whole year's work, living on black bread and water. There are men and women in the great metropolis of this country starving to death, literally starving on the wages they are being paid. There are not a few in number but there are many. There are also men in New York receiving wages so low that their little children and their wives must starve. The children of the family may be paid, I say I was interested in this, interested because the friend here comes from the trade union ranks, comes from the ranks of labor where he goes in among the factory men and women, where he knows the facts concerning their lives, and it is interesting to see them grapple with the situation, the general tendency and to note that we are ever on a decline. The conditions of the working class are growing worse; they must, of necessity, continue to grow worse under our present economic system, under our methods of doing business. We may prevent them from going down faster or aid them in going faster, according to our action, but so long as the methods now pursued in business prevail, the conditions will grow worse and the standard of living will become lower."

"We are here to-night, this May Day evening to celebrate an International Labor Day, May Day. Why was May Day chosen? Why this spring time? We know that they, the workers, always have their troubles, yet somehow in the spring time there is something inspiring and some joy that comes with it, and when we look out at nature and see her garb of green and budding herself in flowers, it is fitting that we, too, should sing the inspiring song together, that we, too, are rejoicing. Then we turn our attention from the cold winter which has just passed and we look forward to the beautiful summer and the harvest that is coming, and for this reason the Socialists of the world take this day as the day between two extremes."

"Though the winter of the working class has been hard, though the frosts have been bitter and cold, yet there is now a spring time for them; there is coming a summer time for them; there is coming a day of rest from their toil. For the first time in the world's history has the working class begun to see that there are interests in the world that bind them together, nation with nation. For the first time they are stretching their hands across the border lines of nations; they are forgetting nationalities. They are looking upon each other as men of a mutual and common interest."

"The last century's development in the great economic and industrial resources of machinery have brought into life new possibilities. They create great questions, great opportunities, development of machinery has touched the eyes of the working class with its magic wand and they see for the first time the possibilities in store for them in the future. They see for the first time that with the energy of the working class applied to the productive power now in existence and when the results are distributed among them equitably that their conditions will rise not only into comfort but into luxury. We are at the May Day of the economic development, half way between the winter of despair and the summer of plenty, the workers stand turning their backs upon the winter, looking forward to the summer, and to-night you can hear the tramp, tramp of millions of workers all over the world, suffering their backs in Germany they are gathering together, in Italy, in Eng-

land, in Spain, Austria, and France. All of them are marching forward to-day. Their tread shakes the thrones of Europe. The time is coming when the May Day will be the funeral day of capitalism and the day in which the working class republic shall be established, when the Co-operative Commonwealth will be ushered in and class wars will be ended. (Great applause.)

"As we look upon the horrors of this awful condition now prevailing among us, as we think of a civilization that will permit its men, its fathers and its mothers and children to work from early morning until late at night for a mere pittance, for a sum of money on which the family cannot live and therefore forces the remainder of the family, young babies they are, to go to work, I say why is it that a civilization, not only our nation, but all Christendom, a civilization professing to be a Christian civilization whose principal tenets are 'Love your neighbor as yourself,' if a man snite you on the cheek, turn unto him the other—I say, why is it these their principal tenets are constantly enlarging their rifles, constantly calling for more militia, constantly increasing their police force; is it because these nations mean to turn the other cheek? What difference among us? We say it is because men are weak. No, this is no answer. This is only a use of other words to state the same fact that they are fighting."

"You have a little war here; one between the blacksmiths or car repairers and the New York Central Railroad. Rather an unequal war, is it not, but it is a war, for you can kill a man by attacking him with a vacuum in his stomach as easily as with a bullet. I have here placed him in the position of the employing capitalist, and his hearers in the position of wage earners, and then continued as follows:

"The profit system. 'I am in a position to buy you for an ever decreasing portion of your product. I have transferred your life, your energy, your power to myself, and now I am King. You say it is to your interest to keep your product. I say it is to my interest to keep your product. If you work longer hours the employer gets more power over you. It is power he is after. This fact, that one man can take a part of the product of many, is what happened to bring about the strike and the mines of Pennsylvania. You are dealing with a great system that grinds out profits, not with the managers of that system, and as long as the workers are divided, the men who are able to enter the industrial field will take the power from the laboring classes. Your products feed the great fortunes, and the fortunes give power to take more products. The incentive in life of the great capitalist is not to make the lives of men comfortable, but their whole aim, under the present system, is to increase their fortunes and their power over the product of the workers. The capitalists can live easier by using your power than by using their own power."

"The working class, while they remain wage workers, can never gain more than a small share of the product. I have, therefore, before you the interest of the working class to abolish the wage system, the capitalist and the profit system, and so inaugurate the system that will return the products of their toil to themselves. Do you not see that your interests are not with those men who are striving to open the markets of the Orient to dispose of the products of their power? Do you not see that the interests of all countries have one interest, that the working people of all countries have one interest, viz., an interest that will show to them that they have the power to take by reason of their votes every advantage that will accrue to them from the products of their labor. Who is it who has the right to live in gilded palaces while you live in hovels?"

"One of those fine May Day mornings, after you are alive to your interests, you will see the 'hosts of the nations' under the flags which are now unfurling grown into a power welded together by their interests, the interests of their children and their homes. Then the votes will be cast that will wipe out the profit system; then will be ushered in the Co-operative Commonwealth; then they will not only lift themselves but everyone into a higher civilization; then war will disappear, because the incentive to war will be gone. Upon the interests of the working class, we, the Socialists of the world, build our organization and the gates of Hades and capitalism cannot prevail against it." (Prolonged applause.)

### AT SPRINGFIELD.

Impressive Demonstration in the Massachusetts City.

The Social Democrats of Springfield held an enthusiastic May Day demonstration. The meeting was held in the city hall, which was well filled, over 750 people being present. The meeting was preceded by a good parade, headed by a band of twenty pieces. Many comrades from Holyoke, Westfield, Chicopee, and Hartford took part along with Local Springfield, the Holyoke Turnverein, Worcester, and the Springfield Brewery Workers' Union.

There was no other answer under the sun for the slave but his freedom. It is no answer to the wage earner to tell him his conditions are improved. There is no other method for preparing the

(Continued on page 2)

Comrade George H. Wrenn, president of the Springfield Central Labor Union, acted as chairman of the evening. He devoted a few words to refuting a slanderous attack of a committee of the board of trade upon the local trade union officers.

"Many of the city officials," he said, "are members of the board of trade, and show little interest in the workingmen. If last fall you had elected a Socialist mayor it would not be unnecessary to protest against granting licenses to men opposed to labor interests, or to petition commissions or the city council for privileges which belong to the laboring men."

Nation's Secretary Butcher spoke briefly on the meaning of May Day as a demonstration of the international solidarity of the working class, which manifests itself on the political side in the Socialist movement of the world.

Silvio Origo pointed out that the object of our attack is not the capitalist as an individual but the capitalist class as a ruling and exploiting class. Individual cases of injustice, of oppression, and of violence only illustrate the essential iniquity of the capitalist system, which must be abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth substituted before real justice and freedom can be brought about.

### HERRON'S ADDRESS.

Comrade Herron was the principal speaker of the evening. He took as his subject, "Socialism and Liberty," and spoke in part as follows:

"Every movement has been one of struggle on the part of each man to lead his own life; to make his own contribution to the world. Anything which makes a man's life other than his own choosing is tyranny. The century just gone began under the glow and promise of liberty, and even down to very recent years the dominant note of the century was liberty. But the century, and there was never a time perhaps when human life felt so keenly the restraint of bondage. The century went on in heart-sickness and baffled hopes. What philosophers and patriots did for us seem to have lost. An Englishman said to me to-day that there was more of a spirit of revenge and indignation in American life than in any other country except in Russia. We ought to be disappointed, because we haven't gone to the sources of liberty. If we are to be free we must begin with the sources of life. All liberty in its last analysis rests back on economic liberty. There can be no such thing as freedom until there are no more hirelings. The speaker used the illustration of a company of men owning a monopoly over the earth, by means of which they could, suppose, control every act of every man. This is just the way we are all in, but we are such fools that we don't know it. Private ownership of the sources of life, the worst form of tyranny that can exist. It ought to be clear to us that when we are dependent on any man or set of men for our existence, we are dependent for our existence."

### A FUNDAMENTAL WRONG.

"You might as well appoint a committee to go sit down on the sun to keep it from rising as to expect to prevent the man who controls wages from controlling his employee's life. It is not a question of the abolition of such conditions, but an abolition of wages and employers and the coming of the people to their own rights. The laboring man gets about one-fifth of the product of his labor in wages, and he spends four-fifths of that one-fifth for articles of sustenance. When you go out to buy a gallon of oil, among other things you help to support an organized band of men scattered all over the world paid only to debauch the government. You cannot live without paying every day to sustain a criminal, a blackened cover of the earth. Capitalism stands for the institutions supported by its contributions are all rooted on the degradation of humanity. If the son of man should rise and claim an accounting, what would become of all these institutions? Supporting a clergyman, with the very best intentions, should preach the things that Jesus preached, why he wouldn't be allowed to finish his sermon. The only freedom is economic freedom, and that can only be secured by Socialism."

"When the politician cries that there is an overproduction, then it is that with rifles and armies we go forth to prey upon a people weaker than ourselves in order to make new markets. England is in Egypt to-day because of the demand of English philanthropist manufacturers who are wearing out the lives of helpless children. Why are we in the Philippines? And why did this country betray a confiding people? Only to furnish a market for our products. Why are we betraying Cuban people? Why is it that we haven't shame enough left to be ashamed of our shame? It is because American capital is in power in Cuba and there must be markets. Supposing a man came into your house to-night and at the point of a revolver took all your money. Then to-morrow he came to you and demanded pay for keeping you in order while he robbed you. You couldn't pay. He already has all your money. So you are forced to give a bond mortgaging a portion of the product of your labor. That is a government bond. It is too late to talk of arbitration committees or to attempt to improve the present capitalist system. The present kind of civilization cannot be reformed, but ended."

### NO ANSWER BUT FREEDOM.

There is no other answer under the sun for the slave but his freedom. It is no answer to the wage earner to tell him his conditions are improved. There is no other method for preparing the

(Continued on page 2)

## ARE THEY SLAVES?

Arrogant Treatment of Employees of Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company.

An "Agitator" Discharged Within an Hour After He Calls on President Granting to Request Change of Schedule—Manager Says He Will "Make an Example of Union Men" Time for "Men to Vote for Socialism."

This is the blunt way in which the general manager of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company expresses the policy of his company, apropos the case of Wm. J. Campbell, who was discharged for acting as a committee to present the employees' grievances. "This intelligent looking gentleman (Campbell) cannot get back. He is an agitator, and has organized the men and is apt to make trouble for the company. Any man who is a member of a labor union had better look out for himself. He is apt to get it in the neck."

Campbell was a member, and apparently the most active, of a committee which called on President Granting last week to present the demands—more properly, perhaps, the requests—of the men in regard to working hours and wages. Campbell, who was a guard on the "L," was discharged within an hour after the interview.

The pretense was at first made that Campbell was discharged for violating rules. One accusation was that he had let some passengers smoke on the platform of his car. He proved that, at the time stated, he was working on a different line from the one where such offense was alleged to have been committed. Even without this definite disproof, in view of the laxity of all the rapid transit companies in regard to such rules, the explanation would seem pretty flimsy.

The committee, consisting of Campbell, M. J. Lutz, and S. B. Hart, represented the Lexington Association, an organization said to consist of about 800 employees. They wanted the company to agree to restore a former schedule, more satisfactory to the employees than that which the new management has introduced. They got an evasive reply and Campbell's discharge immediately followed.

### UNION MEN WILL GET IT IN THE NECK.

The next day the other two members of the committee called again, in company with a Brooklyn politician, to ask for Campbell's reinstatement. After the politician had gone, Manager Folger turned to Lutz and Hart and said: "This intelligent looking man cannot get back. He is an agitator and has organized the men and is apt to make trouble for the company. Any man who is a member of a labor union had better look out for himself. He is apt to get it in the neck. I've got to make examples of some of the employees. The committee acts about one-fifth of the product of his labor in wages, and he spends four-fifths of that one-fifth for articles of sustenance. When you go out to buy a gallon of oil, among other things you help to support an organized band of men scattered all over the world paid only to debauch the government. You cannot live without paying every day to sustain a criminal, a blackened cover of the earth. Capitalism stands for the institutions supported by its contributions are all rooted on the degradation of humanity. If the son of man should rise and claim an accounting, what would become of all these institutions? Supporting a clergyman, with the very best intentions, should preach the things that Jesus preached, why he wouldn't be allowed to finish his sermon. The only freedom is economic freedom, and that can only be secured by Socialism."

### TIME FOR MEN TO VOTE FOR SOCIALISM.

The employees of the Rapid Transit Company are not called slaves. They are called free men—free American citizens, most of them. But it would be worth their while to ask themselves whether men are not actually slaves when they are in such a position that their employer can talk to them in such words as these quoted above and can punish any murmuring or any plan for organized resistance by depriving them of the means of earning a honest livelihood. A discharge under such circumstances means the same thing as a blacklist, as any railroad man knows.

Socialism would change all this and perhaps Manager Folger's arrogant words may set some of the employees to thinking for themselves, reading Social Democratic papers, and voting the ticket of the "Social Democratic Party."

### HOW MUCH FURTHER?

Occasionally trade unionists wonder how much further courts will go toward completely enslaving the working class. It looks as though they are going to the limit. Not only are they snatching all "labor laws" that come before them, but the fears entertained by Gompers, Furuseth and other unionists regarding the power of courts under compulsory arbitration laws are being realized where these laws are being applied.

The officers of a stationary engineers' union entered into an agreement to arbitrate grievances with boss-ism. This happened a year ago, and this spring the men had demands that they proposed to settle by a strike, claiming that they never voted on the proposition to arbitrate voluntarily. The employers went into court, and Judge Bradley of the Superior Court, ruled that the strikers were bound by the agreement signed by their officers, and because the damages from a strike would be very large, and the workers were unable to pay the same, or any portion thereof, therefore the strikers were forbidden to strike under pain of standing in contempt of court. This decision establishes a new precedent. It enforces wage slavery; and it makes plain the fact that there is little difference between "voluntary" arbitration and "compulsory" arbitration. Let the crazy voting game continue!—Cleveland Citizen.

### LECTURE ON MORRIS.

Comrade J. Spargo will lecture on "William Morris and the 'New Era'" on Friday evening, May 17, at the club house of the Young Peoples' Club, 3309 Third Avenue. Comrades are invited. Bring friends.

## ONE MORE BLOW.

Eight-Hour Law in the State of Washington Is Knocked Out by a Court Decision.

The eight-hour law passed by the legislature of Washington in 1890 has been invalidated by Judge Suell, in a decision handed down on May 1. The decision was rendered in a suit brought by former city employees against the city of Tacoma for payment for overtime.

The principal ground for the decision is that the law attempts to "interfere with the right of free private contract." It is in line with the recent decision of the New York Court of Appeals in the prevailing rate of wages case.

Capitalist judges don't need to have a house fall on them to make them act together. Perhaps the trade unionists of Washington will begin to stop fooling with resolutions and petitions to humbug politicians after this sockdolager from their friends on the bench.

## COLLEGE PAPER IS SUPPRESSED.

Authorities of New York City College Assume the Powers of Censors.

The April-May number of the "College Review," the students' paper of the City College, was arbitrarily suppressed by the president, Alexander G. Webb, last week, because it contained an article hostile to Richard Croker and another attacking religious dogmas. The students in charge of the paper were compelled to take up all copies that had been sold and refund the money and the whole edition was confiscated by the president.

The editor, Milford Stern and Benjamin Weatherax, the writer of one of the articles, pleaded the right of freedom of the press and pointed out that the articles in question were neither slanderous nor otherwise objectionable, except as the expressions of unpopular opinion. The reply of one of the professors clearly showed the motive of the suppression:

"AN INSTITUTION SUPPORTED BY THE PEOPLE'S MONEY CAN AFFORD TO ANTAGONIZE THE PARTY IN POWER."

Much indignation is felt among the students at the arbitrary action.

## A CRIME TO SAY "SCAB."

On Monday last a squad of police charged into a crowd of striking silk workers at Patterson, N. J., and after a free use of clubs arrested nine of the strikers. The affair took place near the mills of Frank & Dugan, where a strike has been on for nearly a month. The manufacturers have been trying to start up the mills, but their efforts have been unsuccessful because the "scabs" have been scared by the strikers.

Failure to start the mills has apparently exasperated the employers and the captain of police seems to have got the tip to put a stop to the scoundrels. The charge by the police upon the strikers was the result.

On Monday afternoon one of the strikers was fined \$5 for shouting "Scab" at one of the girls at work.

## ONE MORE BRAVE MAN AT LELAND STANFORD.

Arthur C. Lovejoy, Associate Professor of Philosophy at Leland Stanford University, has resigned on account of the dismissal of Prof. Ross for offending Mrs. Stanford and certain powerful interests. Prof. Lovejoy says in his letter of resignation that from careful examination of the documentary evidence in the Ross case, he is "forced to the conclusion that the dismissal of Prof. Ross for the reason assigned after the president had declared he was a fit person to retain, involves an abridgment of the liberties which any university professor should demand. Unless the members of our profession show themselves somewhat punctilious in the maintenance of these liberties—especially in privately endowed institutions—I do not see how either the dignity of the teacher's position or the leadership and social usefulness of universities in the Social Democratic society can be preserved."

Prof. Lovejoy is said to be a very able man and to have won a high reputation in his work. It is pleasing to see even a few university men protesting against the flagrant violation of academic liberty exhibited in the Ross case.

## DON'T APPEAR.

A single taxer was advertised as the lecturer for the Workingmen's Educational League, corner Second Avenue and E. Fifty-fifth Street, last Sunday evening, but no single taxer appeared. Instead, a telegram was received at 8 p. m. from the gentleman who was expected to speak, announcing that he could not come. The audience was visibly disappointed, but Comrade J. Spargo spoke for some time on "The Claims of the Single Tax," and made an interesting address. Next Sunday afternoon Comrade Courtney Lemon will deliver his lecture on "Modern Socialism," and all readers of The Worker are urged to attend and bring their friends. The lecture is a good one and worth hearing.

## LECTURE ON MORRIS.

Comrade J. Spargo will lecture on "William Morris and the 'New Era'" on Friday evening, May 17, at the club house of the Young Peoples' Club, 3309 Third Avenue. Comrades are invited. Bring friends.

## THEY MUST NOT ORGANIZE.

Winchester Repeating Arms Company Warns Its Employees.

A Hypocritical Circular, Bearing a Hidden Warning—The Company's Work for Capitalism Last Year—Made the Men Celebrate Their Own Disgrace.

The machinists in the employ of the Winchester Repeating Arms Company of Connecticut are beginning to organize and the company has issued an interesting circular of warning.

The Winchester Repeating Arms Company will be remembered as the concern which devised the riot shotgun, with special ammunition loaded with buckshot, and gave its men "steady employment" and two hours overtime every day, while harrying a large order for service in the street railway strike at St. Louis last summer.

They also, just before election, drew the attention of their employees to the "identity of interest" between themselves and the company and the desirability of the election of William McKinley (the president who authorized the Bull Pen outrages of Idaho). When the election was satisfactorily accomplished they equipped their employees with shotguns and blank cartridges and marched them in parade to celebrate their degradation.

### THEY "FURNISH EMPLOYMENT."

Here is a copy of the recent circular: "To the Employees of the Winchester Repeating Arms Company: 'Our attention is called to a form of application for membership in the International Association of Machinists, which is now being circulated among our employees, to the annoyance of some and somewhat to the detriment of the work. We trust that none of our men will ally themselves with an organization which must necessarily interfere with their loyalty to the Winchester company. The Winchester Arms Company has no local market. All of its trade is foreign to this locality, and a good deal of it is foreign to this country. No sentiment exists with our customers which would make them willing to pay more for the goods which we produce, and any increased price must reduce our trade. Steady employment is worth having, and has been furnished by the Winchester Arms Company during the last quarter of a century. This successful career has been helped by all our employees. In return to yourselves and others, therefore, you should very carefully consider any movement or agreement which may conflict with the healthy state of affairs now existing and should not compromise yourself in any scheme that means the loss of business to this company or loss of work to its employees."

"Those who remain loyal to the Winchester company and hold their aid in maintaining and strengthening the position now occupied by the company, will certainly have its most hearty consideration and preference in all its future affairs."

"We address you at this time in order that you may know the circumstances from the point of view of the other employees of this company upon whom its management has devolved, and in whom we trust you have the fullest confidence."

Yours respectfully,  
"THE WINCHESTER REPEATING ARMS CO."

### WHAT IT REALLY MEANS.

That word "respectfully" at the end is purely a matter of form. Put into every-day English, the circular would read: "Hear ye, ye fellows are our slaves. We allow you to exist on conditions that you work hard and do everything we ask and treat us with respect and make big profits for us. How dare you talk of organizing against your masters? Get down on your knees and apologize at once, or we will revoke your license to live."

It remains to be seen whether the men will kneel and repent.

### DO SOMETHING!

Now that the billion dollar steel trust controls most of the large ships on the lakes and a big pool controls all the independent vessels, those small capitalists and workmen who once dreamed that some day they might own a ship or two had better wake up. The two interests in question will fix rates on the one hand and wages on the other, they will send competition to Davy Jones' locker and so thoroughly systematize the work that quite a few tollers will find their services dispensed with. Of course, the saving to the capitalists will be immense, and anyone who thinks he can compete with the combines can gain experience, but at considerable cost. One industry after another is succumbing to the inevitable centralization of effort. The faster it moves, the better. Let the workmen take heart and imitate the capitalists by organizing their forces, for in the present movement is found their emancipation from the yoke of slavish toil. Join something—either an economic or political organization or both.—Cleveland Citizen.

### NOW IS THE TIME TO SUBSCRIBE FOR THE SOCIALIST LIBRARY.

Now is the time to subscribe for the Socialist Library—30 cents a year. No. 3 of the series is the first Socialist play published in America, and where it has been produced it has made a hit. Get some copies for your organization and THEN see if you cannot put it on the stage.

The Worker Conference meets the third Sunday in each month. Every member should attend.

### REGULAR MEETING OF THE PARADE CONFERENCE ON SATURDAY, MAY 11, AT 8 P. M.

at the Labor Lyceum, 94 E. Fourth Street. Delegates should not fail to attend. J. GERBER, Sec'y.

### YOU NEVER KNOW WHAT YOU CAN DO FOR YOURSELF.

You never know what you can do for yourself. You say: "Have you tried selling Socialist pamphlets and getting subscriptions for The Worker?" By the way, there is another good thing to bear in mind: "If at first you don't succeed, try, try again."

A combination of all the local properties in Missouri with a capitalization of \$50,000,000 is being arranged by the Whitney-Ryan syndicate.

## IS IT A VICTORY?

Decision in Suit of Street Cleaners Against City for Overtime Wages.

May Be Carried to Court of Appeals—Justice O'Brien Says He Regrets Having to Decide in Favor of Men and Gives the Other Side a "Tip"—Some Other Considerations—What a Social Democratic City Administration Would Do.

"Labor has won a victory in the courts." So they say, but it seems somewhat doubtful. The facts are these:

The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court has affirmed a decision in favor of Patrick J. McNulty, who, as assignee of 797 drivers in the street cleaning department of this city, sued the city for overtime wages amounting to \$1,335,000. The claim dated from the period extending from January 1, 1902, to April 26, 1904. The complaint set up that eight hours was then a lawful day's work and that by an act of the legislature, passed May 16, 1892, all drivers in the Department of Street Cleaning working overtime were entitled to receive extra compensation at the rate of 25 cents per hour for each hour of extra work.

The Appellate Court sustains the contention of the claimants upon the pleadings before it, but gives leave to the city to carry the case to the Court of Appeals.

### COURT REGRETS ITS DECISION.

Further, Justice O'Brien, who wrote the opinion, says therein:

"THIS CONCLUSION IS REACHED WITH REGRET, because upon the facts appearing, a rather serious situation is presented looking upon the right of the head of a department to create liability apparently without limit."

He then quotes a clause of the consolidation act, which provides that city officers shall so



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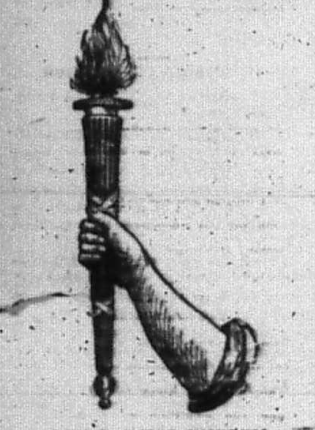
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### SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	2,068
In 1890.....	13,381
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,157
In 1894.....	33,135
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,544
In 1898.....	
S. L. P. ....	82,204
S. D. P. ....	9,545
In 1900 (Presidential).....	
S. D. P. ....	96,918
S. L. P. ....	33,450

THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

Dr. Andrew Carnegie does not need to be rich in order to be disgraced.

Only the working people are advised by President McKinley to practice economy.

The Worker is published for the workers. What are you doing to circulate it among them?

The profit-sharing plan has its dangers. Suppose the workers should demand all the profits?

The sovereign citizens of the United States should take a good look at their president while they have a chance. He may be the last of his kind.

When the Democratic leaders have arrived at a conclusion as to what constitutes a Democrat, they can be prepared to carry the country.

There is no reason why every workman should not be president of a trust some day—providing we find trusts enough to go around.

A Rhode Island bank has gone broke for nearly a million, and many small depositors are caught. Who said there was no inducement for workmen to be rich and economical?

Fusionists ought to make a successful politician when he comes home, judging by the methods employed in capturing Aguinaldo. He should be an expert in capturing the "labor vote."

The manner in which the circulation of The Worker is increasing is sufficient testimony of the esteem in which it is held by the Socialist of the country. If YOU like it, push it along.

Every Socialist in Greater New York should attend the closing lectures of the Heron series at the Park Theater, Brooklyn, next Sunday evening, and Cooper Union on Tuesday evening.

McKinley's symptoms, special care was presented to him by railroad men, who never give their other faithful employees anything but wage reductions. Why this partiality?

Judging by the actions and utterances of the Cuban Commission after being entertained in Washington, champagne is going to be a potent factor in the settlement of the Cuban "problem."

It will be rather embarrassing to our single tax friends if the monopolists continue to develop a tendency toward a reduction of tariff duties. What will become of their free trade propensities for abolishing monopoly?

No Paul Kruger is coming to this country. What's his response to Kruger Wilhelm's chilly counsel to con-

vince him of the futility of expecting aid or sympathy from emperors? Why does he insist upon disturbing our Emperor?

Every vote cast for Socialism is a protest against capitalism. A vote for the Republican and Democratic parties signifies contentment with present conditions. Capitalists do not care much about your talking for Socialism so long as you don't vote for it.

Justice Van, Remist, Democrat, and Justice Ramsey, Republican, dissented from the decision that the city must pay wages clearly proscribed by law for work honestly done. Beautiful example of non-partisanship! Both parties agree in wanting to please the workmen.

The people who are making a great fuss about the Buffalo exposition being closed on Sunday are curiously indifferent to the movement that would save the laborers from being despoiled and overworked every day of the week, and that would give the workers a chance to visit expositions.

"Eugene V. Debs has declined to attend the Detroit convention of Social Reformers. Comrade Debs has not always been on the right side, and is not now. He did not attend the Buffalo convention, but it was a pronounced success."

So says the "Citizen and Country" of Toronto. We would ask: Successful in what?

Ex-Senator D. B. Hill went to the circus in this city last week and is reported as admiring the performing seals very much. These seals, Mr. Hill thought, showed more intelligence than some men. He wouldn't say the particular kind of men he had in mind, but we hazard the guess he was thinking of the workmen who insist upon voting for their enemies in the parties of Hill and Hanna.

Governor Odell has probably learned by this time that it is impossible to be the representative of all the people, when the interests of the classes composing the people come into conflict. He has had excellent opportunity to learn if there is a class struggle, and it was not hard for him to decide which class he should act for. It would be just as easy for a class-conscious Socialist in the same position to act for the working class, whom Odell has ignored.

### THE CITY COLLEGE OUTRAGE.

These of our critics who complain that the intolerance of the Social Democrats, and who find fault because we talk of condemnation should give a little thought to the suppression of the students' paper at the City College of New York. This institution, true to capitalist interests and sentiments, has given us an example of intolerance and condemnation, which should serve as a lesson in the class struggle.

The April-May number of the "College Review" contained an article in condemnation of Richard Croker and one on "The Fallacy in Religious Faith," both of which gave much discomfort to the authorities in control of the school. Accordingly, the president of the institution proceeded to confiscate the whole edition—so far as he could, at least—at a cost of about \$40 to the students who had charge of it, and gave them to understand that they ought to be thankful if no worse punishment was visited upon them for freely expressing their unorthodox and scathingly opinions.

It is not necessary for us to discuss the character of the articles in question, further than to say that the article on Croker said plainly what every one knows to be the truth and that the other article expressed with equal plainness the opinion, held by nearly all men of science, that the dogmas of religion have no foundation in human experience and are at variance with human reason. In neither article is it claimed that there was any misstatement of fact nor any vulgarities of expression. The pages of the "Review" were, moreover, freely open to anyone who should care to express opposite opinions.

The constitution of the United States guarantees the freedom of the press. It also forbids the taking of lawful private property by public authorities without adequate compensation. But that constitution was framed a century ago, and the president of the New York City College feels quite at liberty to overrule it. And yet the authorities of this institution profess the utmost veneration for the constitution; for freedom, and for learning.

The motive of President Webb's action is plain. He was afraid of the consequences which might follow if he allowed the students to offend the boss of this city and to shock the feelings of the respectable backers of the boss. So he was ready to sacrifice civil and academic liberty, to crush, if possible, the habit of independent thought among the boys under his charge, and even to steal the property of those boys in order to please the powers that be.

Socialism prebids, in any particular convention for paper constitutions. In view of changed conditions, we can consistently advocate measures in violation of a document, written over a hundred years ago. But when those who profess to revere that document

stoop to defend class interests by violating its provisions, they write themselves down hypocrites. And when they violate not only the constitution, but the commonest dictates of intellectual honesty, of business integrity, and of that sort of honor which says: "Don't hit a fellow smaller than yourself," then they write themselves down as cowards and petty tyrants.

Hypocrisy, cowardice, and tyranny were ever the distinguishing marks of capitalism. It is afraid to have accepted dogmas questioned or to have the conduct of its tools dismissed, and wherever it can it suppresses such discussion. It is fast corrupting the schools and colleges of this country, seeking to substitute mere instruction for real education, passive acceptance of authoritative teaching for active inquiry into the facts of life.

The danger which threatens our school calls for the attention of every Socialist—any, of every man or woman who loves liberty. Many of these boys who are now students in the City College will, in a few years, be teachers of a younger generation. We appeal to them to think deeply of this outrage which has just been perpetrated; to recognize that, whether or not they agree with the articles suppressed by this petty inquisitor, their honor as students, as young men devoted to a life of free and progressive thought, is threatened; to resolve that they will emulate their brothers in the universities of Europe and, by eternal vigilance, defend the right of unhampered investigation, discussion, and expression of opinion. On you devolves a great duty, young men. You will find that the Socialists maintain the cause of freedom. See that you do your part.

Attempts have been made before to defeat progress by using slander, misrepresentation and falsehood. Those attempts failed before, and they will fail again. Socialists should not be discouraged if they find the hand of every supporter of existing institutions turned against us. Our hands are turned against the wrong and immorality of existing conditions, and we must be prepared to meet with strong hearts and unswerving faith whatever comes. All that is needed is confidence in our cause and in each other, to make the work of Socialism all the nobler for the storm of hate and prejudice that has been against it.

### ANOTHER REFORM FAILURE.

The fruitlessness of Populist "reform" and the necessity of having a partisan, revolutionary judiciary as well as partisan revolutionary legislatures and executive officers has again been illustrated in South Dakota.

That state, like Utah, has a provision in its constitution that certain classes of laws must be referred to the people for approval or rejection. An exception is made of "such laws as may be necessary for the immediate preservation of the public health, peace, or safety, support of the state government and its existing institutions."

The Republican legislature which lately adjourned desired to remove from office the Fusionists who still formed the majority of the boards of the charitable and penal institutions. They passed a law removing these officers, but they knew it would be rejected if submitted to the people. This difficulty was avoided, therefore, by attaching a clause declaring that the passage of this law was necessary for the "support of the state government and its existing institutions."

The law was, of course, contested on the ground that the case was not actually one of emergency and that the legislature had no right, by affixing an emergency clause, to withhold the law from referendum.

The supreme court sustained the legislature, declaring that where the legislature declares a law necessary for the protection of the public peace, health, safety, or support of the state government and its existing institutions, such measures cannot be appealed to the people. Further, "the court will not inquire whether such declarations are well grounded, the legislature being vested with sole authority to determine the matter."

Thus the referendum provision is completely emasculated and the chief of the "practical results" of which the reformers have been boasting.

The referendum by itself will accomplish nothing. It may be an aggressive weapon when used by an aggressive and revolutionary party which knows what it wants and is determined to get it. Without such a party it can accomplish nothing. And it is of the utmost importance to compare judicial as well as legislative and executive offices, because, under American political institutions, the judiciary is really the highest power.

### AN OHIO PETTIFOGGER.

A beautiful example of the fairness of which the daily press boasts was given by the Dayton (O.), "Press," a Republican organ, some little time ago.

A comrade in Dayton sent a copy of this paper, then called "The People," to the editor of the "Press." The editor commented upon it at the length of three-quarters of a column. It must be supposed, therefore, that he first examined the paper with some care.

But did he, in "writing us up," mention the true name of our paper? Not at all. That might have led some of his readers to get a copy and find out for himself how the "Press" editor had misrepresented us. He opens his "criticism" by saying:

"A solicitation and doubtless sincere friend of 'The Press' sends us a copy of a Socialist organ called 'The Freeman,' published in New York."

That the substitution of a false name was intentional is made certain by the fact that it is repeated three times in the course of the editorial, and that the article bears internal evidence that our paper was really before the editor as he wrote.

This typically truthful capitalist editor takes occasion to refer to another Socialist paper, the "Appeal to Reason," in these terms:

"Several months ago, during the early summer of 1900, we took occasion to make some remarks about 'Wayland's Social Democratic organ, printed in Girard, Kan.' We predicted that 'Wayland's paper could not sustain itself long, though it then claimed to be prospering immensely. We predicted that 'The Appeal' would not find support among Americans for more than a year or two. We have not heard of the sheet since election."

This is intended, of course, to convey the impression that the "Appeal to Reason" was dead. It is very likely that the "Appeal" had come to the office of the "Press" and had been seen by the editor every week in the interval. Facts do not bother a man like the "Press" editor.

The criticisms of an editor who will descend to such pettifoggery falsehood as this do not, of course, call for consideration among honest men. We notice it only as one more example of the degeneracy and utter unreliability of the capitalist press.

Justice O'Brien, who openly says that he regrets he could not decide the street cleaners' overtime wages case against the men, is a Democrat. He also joined with two other Democrats and four Republicans in the Court of Appeals to knock out the prevailing rate of wages law. Remember these things, workmen, when you come to vote for judges. Don't be fooled by the "non-partisan, judicial" humbug. Judges elected as Republicans and Democratic tickets always unite in non-partisan fashion against your class. Vote in non-partisan fashion against them for Social Democratic judges who will be pledged to uphold labor laws.

### THE MINERS' DILEMMA.

Why should the miners of Pennsylvania organize an army and march upon Harrisburg? What right have they to expect anything from the legislators there? And if the labor laws they desire were passed, what guarantee have they that these laws would be enforced? The men the miners voted to go to Harrisburg are not miners; they are not even workmen, and they should not be expected to pass laws really favorable to labor's interests.

The miners have no right to expect recognition from men whose sympathies and interests are entirely with the class that oppresses and robs the miners. And none know this better than the miners themselves. They know it because they have years of past experience to base their knowledge. Laws abolishing the abuses against which the miners proclaim were enacted in Pennsylvania only to be declared unconstitutional by the courts or rendered innocuous through the aid of Gattling guns.

The miners could well stay at home and save shoe leather. They could send representatives of their own class just as easy as they now send representatives of the capitalist class. No one ever hears of capitalists organizing an army to storm the legislative halls. They send a committee with a "barrel" and we never hear of the state militia being called out to stop them, either.

No sooner had the word gone forth that the miners had decided to march but the bells of capitalism throughout the state were on the alert and orders were dispatched to the state militia to be prepared for emergencies. What a dilemma the miners are in, to be sure! If they march they are menaced by the shot guns of the militia. If they stay at home they know they will be ignored by the legislature—which would probably happen even if they reached Harrisburg unimpeded. They are unable whichever way they turn. There is a way out by voting the ticket of their class—the Social Democratic Party.

In Pennsylvania the class that is vigorously fighting an anti-alcohol bill introduced in the legislature. Money is spent freely to defeat the measure, which is introduced in the interests of the farmers who want more sales and better prices for their butter. It is

profitable to sell sham butter to workmen who can't buy pure butter. Nothing has been said about what the workmen will do when alcohol is prohibited. So you see that if the bill passes the workmen will suffer, while the farmers will be able to sell more butter at higher prices. The trust? Well, the trust will get along some way, if it has to sell also under another name. The courts are always to be depended upon also. But you see the workman is up against it anyway. If he eats oiled he runs the risk of having his system gradually ruined. If there is no oil to be had, he goes without. He gets it, whichever way he turns, and yet he votes for the system that makes him the victim of such conditions.

### TWO ILLUSTRATIVE CASES.

The action of Comrade Kichman, recently elected as justice of the peace in West Hoboken, N. J., as reported in our "Official" column, is worthy of consideration by our party members—especially by those newer members to whom the discipline of the party seems too rigid and severe.

Comrade Kichman was nominated by the Social Democratic Party. At a late day, recognizing the uselessness of opposing his election, the two old parties gave him their endorsement—without his knowledge and against his desire. He publicly repudiated this action and asked the voters to consider him only as the candidate of the Social Democratic Party.

He was, of course, elected. But inasmuch as he was not opposed by the capitalist parties he now submits to Local Hudson County the question whether he should retain his office.

We express no opinion as to what the local should do, because we have no desire to interfere in their action. The Hudson County comrades have proved themselves competent to conduct a vigorous and class-conscious movement.

Our object in referring to the incident is to contrast it with such a case as that in Battle Creek, Mich., commented upon last week, where a Social Democrat accepted an appointment from a capitalist mayor.

In the West Hoboken case there is, to say the very least, a reasonable ground for holding the office; for, while it was won without a contest, it was won by the free suffrage of the voters, upon a Social Democratic platform, without any concealment or concession. Yet the comrade elected stands ready to bow to the will of the party and resign his office if such a course should be deemed advisable. That is the attitude of an earnest Socialist.

In the Battle Creek case, on the other hand, there can be no doubt whatever. Not only was the office not won by a contest, it was not even won by the vote of the people; it was offered as a gift, as a favor, by the leader of the enemy's forces. It was very likely due to insufficient consideration of the circumstances that the favor was accepted. But if Comrade Rogers is worthy of membership in the Social Democratic Party he will, upon second thought, resign the appointment without being required to do so; and if the comrades of Battle Creek are aggressive and class-conscious Socialists they will make his resignation a condition of his continued membership in their fold.

The regret of Justice O'Brien of the Appellate Division at having decided a wage case in favor of workmen and the loud oosteries of the "Times" against the decision, give a good illustration of the "economy" that the "reform" forces want to practice. Low wages and long hours of work for the men who do the real hard work for the city would save money for the taxpayers. This is what the self-styled "respectable" people represented by the "Times" and "Post" and "Sun" advocate. It would be hard to choose between the labor-skinning economists of the anti-Tammany conglomerate and the hoodling black-maling labor-skinners of the Tammany ring. Fortunately it is not necessary to choose. Labor has a party of its own—the Social Democratic Party.

There was a railroad collision out in Colorado one day last week, and immediately the papers announced in flaming headlines that Whitlow Reid and D. O. Mills and family were severely injured. Later it was found that these eminent members of America's nobility were only slightly injured, and the world resumed its normal course. But one line of the dispatch was given in the death of James Saunders, the fireman of the train, who was instantly killed. Many passengers and members of the train crews were badly injured. Names not mentioned, but this also was merely overlooked in the excitement upon the supposed affliction of the millionaires. We owe a great debt to our daily papers for their enterprise in keeping us informed as to the welfare of our masters. The dead fireman and the injured people were inconspicuous for a while; but importance are a batch of working people when compared with a couple of well-fed, non-producing capitalists?

Lynchburg, Va., street car line, gas works and electric light plants have been purchased by Philadelphia and Lynchburg capitalists.

## MAY DAY.

(Continued from page 1.)

world to administer the things that belong to it but to give it those things. So Socialism comes to assist in bringing this condition about.

"No language can be found forcible enough to explain how one class in the world lives off from another class. Nor is it emphatic enough to show that to attempt to bridge over the chasm between capital and the working class is to make harder the coming of Socialism. The working class must achieve its own freedom. Out of the struggle and pain of the world's disinherited labor must come the reign of the laboring classes. Unless the line of class consciousness be sustained, unless labor shall stand on its own solidarity and find its life among its ranks; then capitalism or the ruling class will simply blind and bribe. Only in this class-consciousness shall come the salvation of the commonwealth. Every gift of a library or college as coming from a capitalist as such, at the present time is but a curse to society. Give labor its own produce; give the working classes the machinery by which it must work; give into the hands of men the world they live in; give them the disinherited product of their labor, so that every child may be surrounded by all that goes to make life. Give them the products of their labor and they will make their own homes, write their own poetry, sing their own songs, and build for themselves, and they will not need gifts of libraries and educational institutions from their masters. We have heard much of brotherhood, but the international brotherhood is a scientific fact; something that adheres to mankind in the nature of things. If we do not help our brothers the world over, if we do not organize the world over, then we will be destroyed in our brothers' destruction, as we ought to be. Brotherhood is not a sentiment, it is a fact against which we are bumping every day. There can be no such thing as freedom on earth until we are all free. So the Socialist program comes internationally because it touches all men. If Socialism should prevail in America there would not be a throne left standing in Europe in two weeks. So Socialism comes as a program of faith in the trustworthiness of mankind, the new gospel of glad tidings. It comes proposing to liberate the souls of men. It comes as the first program that has ever come from man to man."

Comrade Heron's remarks were listened to with close attention and elicited much applause. It was evident that his words made a deep impression.

On the whole the demonstration was a decided success. It has served both to arouse the enthusiasm of the comrades and also to bring the existence of the Social Democratic Party forcibly home to the people of Springfield and the vicinity.

Howard Balkam Dead.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, the first of May, our veteran comrade, Howard Balkam, passed away after the day passed off quietly in Berlin. Three hundred and eighty-five thousand persons in all attended the twenty-four Socialist and trade union meetings here. At all the meetings resolutions were adopted in favor of the eight-hour day and the right of union. No processions were allowed. In consequence of the threat of the master builders to lock out all workmen who celebrated May Day, work in the building trades went on, although many men were absent.

The workmen in Hamburg, Leipzig, Halle, and other large towns celebrated the day. Nowhere were there any disorders or arrests.

At Vienna ten thousand persons took part in the May Day procession. Meetings were also held throughout the provinces.

Several demonstrations occurred in Spanish cities. At Lisbon and Madrid and the provinces meetings were held.

A St. Petersburg dispatch of May 4 says: "Many male students, a number of female students, workmen, Liberal leaders, lawyers, and literates were arrested, and 500 houses were searched here on Thursday night, and it is probable that throughout Europe similar tactics were pursued. The object of the movement was to prevent demonstrations tomorrow, which is regarded as Labor Day. The advisability of the step is considered by some to be questionable, as it may provoke trouble. The military have been posted near the factories to prevent workmen from coming into the city."

Another dispatch of May 5 states further: "During the last few days there have been wholesale arrests and seizures in connection with the alleged revolutionary movement. It is reported that persons of high position and reputation have been arrested during the last forty-eight hours, including a number of prominent men."

Alarming conditions are reported in the press dispatches from Italy. The peasants in the provinces of Messina, Catania, and Syracuse are in constant conflict with the police over almost daily. The region in which the sulphur mines are situated is agitated, and a general strike is threatened. Misery prevails in the Province of Pontine. The fields and gardens are lying waste, the sulphur has suspended payment, and the syndicate has gone to Rome, to confer with the President. Strikes are extending everywhere in South Italy.

BEATS CARNIVALISM.

When the men of the Twenty-third United States Volunteers, recently discharged from the service at San Francisco, were returning to their homes in Texas, they showed us the pictures of one of our comrades who was killed and eaten by the natives in the northern part of Texas. That put a number of people here in this country to thinking that there is still a number of people here living off our fellow-men and while they did not eat their flesh, what they did eat came from the sweat and toil of others, and the misery and suffering caused by the system that permitted such things, were worse, than the cannibalism to which this socialist was subjected.

—A syndicate of American and English capitalists with a capital of \$15,000,000 are getting ready to exploit Korea.

—All the fourteen shunt making concerns are organizing into a trust with \$10,000,000 capital.

## Over the Water

The "Daily News" revelations concerning the "living-in" system in London seem to give the death blow to the "Britons never shall be slaves" notion. There are many thousands of British men and women living under conditions that are described as worse than the "Kimbrey compound." Were it not that the facts are authenticated on the very best authority, they would be too astounding for belief. In one establishment, which is typical of the others, 300 employees never get into the open air from 8 in the morning till 10 or 11 at night. They have to sleep in a room below the street in an atmosphere indescribably foul. They are not allowed to marry. Beginning apprenticeship at fifteen, they are "too old at forty," and at that age are cast aside to join the army of the unemployed. This is the testimony not alone of trade union officials, such as Mr. Macpherson and Mr. Turner, but of government inspectors and clergymen of the type of Dr. Clifford, and even of the more humane amongst the employers themselves, of whom Mr. Evan Griffith is a type, and who declare they would gladly see the system abolished, but are afraid of the competition of their less scrupulous fellow-traders. The Soap Assistants' Union is doing what it can to fight the evil, but it can do little more than make known the facts. It is for the public opinion of the country to make itself felt, and it remains to be seen whether there is sufficient moral conscience left in England to make an end of a state of things which shames the very name of civilization.—London Labor Leader.

A London dispatch of May 3 says: "Replying to a deputation from the Workmen's and Sugar Tax Association, today, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, declined to consider the withdrawal of the sugar tax. He said that it was the most important part of the present budget, and he did not believe that workmen who had approved of the war in South Africa objected to pay something towards the cost."

Workmen mobbed the Socialists for condemning the war and predicting its outcome. They should be more willing to listen to the Socialists hereafter.

Starvation and typhus are reported increasing among the village population of Bessarabia, Southern Russia. Seventy per cent. of the farmers of that district have lost all their horses, and have no seed for the spring sowing.

May Day was generally observed in Europe as usual. We have only a few news dispatches to depend upon for news at present. It is reported that the day passed off quietly in Berlin.

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## Our Esteemed Contemporaries

London Labor Leader.  
It is beginning to be evident to the densest patriot that the trade that follows the flag is "bad trade." For some years back the governments of Europe, with Great Britain in the van, have been busily engaged destroying their best markets. You cannot sell goods to furnished Hindoos, exiled Boers, and massacred Chinamen, and though you may sell guns and dynamite and warships to the military authorities, there is a limit also to that, as the employees of Krupp, the German gunmaker, are now finding out. Nine thousand of them are now unemployed. The Ehrhardt Works, recently mentioned in connection with the supply of guns for the British army, are also reducing their staff, and the ordinary markets, having been curtailed by the warlike operations of the Powers, there is universal dull trade, acute to the point of wholesale destitution in the Fatherland, and now beginning to make itself felt in this country, where wages are fast reduced and work people paid off in nearly every branch of trade. In Scotland, a whole village is practically destroyed through the stoppage of one of the works, and there is no doubt we are only at the beginning of the trade depression. Capitalism and militarism are producing the effects that are natural to them, and the only consolation to the Socialist lies in the fact that the more complete the industrial collapse, the sooner will the workers realize the inevitability of Socialism. The road is rough, but it seems to be the only one.

Typographical Journal.  
Russian soldiers over in China are trying to teach the wily Mongolian the ways of civilization. Why does not Russia begin at home? It is reported that slavery exists in the remote parts of that country, and that Russian merchants and officials buy the children of exiles to Siberia in order to obtain servants, which are scarce in Kolyma, Siberia, where the traffic in human beings is still carried on. Verily, Russia civilizing China is like unto the blind leading the blind. And some of the other nations taking part in the division of the Chinese empire are not much better off. All of them can find a fertile field for missionary work at home, if they would only look for it.

The Worker, Queensland, Aus.  
Scarcely a day passes now without its industrial victim. Sometimes it is a miner, sometimes a wharf laborer, and sometimes a navvy, but always it is some member of the great army of toilers. It is never the man with distasteful but, "rock cut" that suffers. Whether it happens to be a fall of earth or a rotten rope or a blasting accident, it is always a man with mole-skin pants and hob-nailed boots that the ambulance wheels away.

Brooklyn Citizen.  
The insolent assumption of John D. Rockefeller that the wages paid by his Oil Trust during the past thirty years were a "gift to labor," has caused great amusement among those who are prompt to see the humorous side of things, and aroused the indignation of the serious-minded. But all know that without labor Rockefeller's











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## CALIFORNIA'S ORANGE CRISIS.

Middle Class Fruit Growers Are Completely at Mercy of Railroad King.

An Illustration of the Way Competition Ends in Monopoly—Small Business Men Deliberately Ruined—Must Look to Socialism if They Want Freedom.

BY W. A. COREY.

The people of Southern California do not live by bread alone. And they do not even eat bread entirely. As has been sarcastically intimated, upon climate and tenderfoot. They raise oranges to sell—though they do not always sell them. Sometimes the fruit rots in the orchard; sometimes it rots in the cars in transit to market and is unconsciously dumped on the ground at some wayside station. About 20,000 carloads, or between seven and eight million boxes have been produced this year. The producers are nearly all middle class business men. It is a middle class industry. The market for the product is in the states east of the mountains, so that the distance from market and the absence of competition in transportation puts the industry at the mercy of the railroads.

There is practically only one railroad here since the Santa Fe have "agreed" as to freight rates and general attitude toward industry and section in general.

Orange and lemon growing is the most important industry of Southern California, and the crop of 1901 has been the largest ever produced here. About 20,000 carloads, or between seven and eight million boxes have been produced this year. The producers are nearly all middle class business men. It is a middle class industry. The market for the product is in the states east of the mountains, so that the distance from market and the absence of competition in transportation puts the industry at the mercy of the railroads.

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THE POWER OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC.

The Southern Pacific, starting with the prestige of having opened up the first transcontinental line, principally through government aid, has for thirty years acted on the assumption that the state of California belonged to it in fee simple, to have and to hold for all time. There has never been a better example of the broken and brutal tyrannical use of private capital than for a generation has been practiced by the Southern Railroad Company on California and the southwest. It has de-faucted state politics and never bothered to ask the people what they would do about it. By "charging the traffic all it would bear" it has held the business of the state within its grasp and fattened upon the people's industry. By discriminating in freight rates between different cities and sections it has rewarded servility and punished disobedience on a scale never dreamed of by any tyrant of ancient times. It has lent itself to rival sections, serving the strong and crushing the weak.

DISAPPOINTING COMPETITION.

The Southern Pacific built to Los Angeles in 1876. It immediately began to tighten the screws and the business men began to cry. "Give us a competing road." In a few years the Santa Fe reached here. Did the coveted "competition" arrive the same day? By no means. I never arrived. The two roads "held a consultation." They divided the traffic between them and resumed business at the old stand. These middle class orange growers, who would seem to be fighting for their rights to light for it, "competing to Salt Lake." They are simply selling franchises at Senator Clark's and imploring him to hurry up and lay out and are holding their breath for something will happen. These middle class orange growers are not alone in their predicament. There are, for instance, the question and the water question.

AND WATER MONOPOLY.

Land here was originally taken from the Indians by the Spanish government and given, in immense tracts, to the Catholic missions and to individuals of the church. Thus there about a class of landed grandees kept their cattle and sheep upon vast lands and who, with their vassals, lived a life with few cares. Only the "Americano" or "Gringo" along. He usually showed up at such house in the guise of a young looking for work. He could throw a "just" a bronco, and speak a word of Spanish. He was given employment and became one of the "old man" on taffy made love to the daughter of the owner. Finally he joined the church as an amiable cousin and in good acquired title to a few thousand acres of the paternal estate and lovely hacienda was thrown in for measure.

On other smart "Americano" along to invoke the pity of other big game with other square and the story was repeated many times. Then still more "civilization" and the air began to pulsate the "struggle for existence" of the unknown. Town sites were not and corner lots advertised for building the tenderfoot.

board of trade was organized. organization seat East cards printed matter painting in roses California's north and sea and could the innocent Easterner, ing other things, that, with ten of orange land, he would be good "competence for life." of the Easterner believed it. So of the old homestead that he and

his father and grandfather had toiled away their lives upon, bid good-bye to the old neighbors and started for "California."

Arriving in "our Italy" he made two discoveries (at least two). The first one was that the very best he could do for orange land was about \$500 per acre—from that to \$2,500 and he nearly fainted. The latter figure was nearly all the old farm brought after three generations of toil.

Then, second, he learned that his land would be worthless without water and that he would have to buy his water of a private company who held a cast iron monopoly. And he also learned that it would cost him \$1200 to prepare ten acres of land, and bring it, in three years, to a bearing condition.

He was discouraged. But he had learned his bridges behind him and he began the struggle. In one illustration was the grasping landowner, in another direction was the pitiless water-company, in still another was the bank that held a mortgage on his little ranch, while yonder loomed the sinister tyrannical railroad that would not let him call his life his own.

THE PRESENT CRISIS.

Now, regarding the present crisis, which is only the culmination of a long period of wild abuse of power on the part of the railroads. The railroads knew that the present orange crop would greatly exceed any previous crop, but they made no adequate provision in the way of cars to move it to market. The result was that hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of fruit rotted in the orchards or were dried and used for fuel or plowed under as a fertilizer.

When the Northern Pacific attempted to meet the emergency by means of a steamship line to a nearby seaport, the local roads charged such an excessive rate for this, support that the use of this new outlet was prevented, thus throwing the whole burden of loss back on the growers. When a four-legged hog gets enough he will lie in the middle and give other hogs a chance; but the human hog is not built that way. If he cannot drink all the milk he can get he will kill the cow.

What is the aim of this "domineering attitude of the railroads"? It is a blow at Southern in favor of Northern California. The railroads have constantly discriminated against the southern part of the state. For instance, the town of Bakersfield is 140 miles nearer to Los Angeles than to San Francisco, yet the freight rate is the same. There is twenty miles nearer to Los Angeles than to San Francisco, yet the rate is \$5.40 more per ton to the former city than to the latter. Under Socialism a railroad would serve the whole people, in the most economical manner and not be used as a club by one interest to beat another.

THE FAILURE OF VOLUNTARY CO-OPERATION.

The bright idea of co-operating dawned upon the minds of the growers a few years ago and local associations for the more economical marketing of the product were formed. These associations, which never included more than half of the orange growers, were affiliated under the "Southern California Fruit Exchange." This organization, while permitting a few individuals to steal several hundreds of dollars, has illustrated to some extent the power of co-operation, but, as against the railroads, it is like a little child in the hands of a giant. The much vaunted Dixiey bill, even, with its tacit of one cent a pound, could not save the child from the giant.

The attitude of the Los Angeles newspapers (all Republican) is interesting. Of course, the economic lesson has not been entirely lost even upon these unskilled middle class business men. Some of the newspaper comments have been amusing. The "Record" of April 20 said:

"It is almost incredible that two great railroad systems should deliberately adopt such a suicidal far-reaching policy, a policy that will not only inflict great damage upon the country upon which the railroads must depend for support, but which must cast suspicion upon the plan of railroad consolidation and concentration of power that is being pushed so vigorously at the present time. The people cannot help saying to themselves: 'If we are to be treated thus under the present conditions, how will it be when the railroad monopoly is absolute?'"

"PUBLIC OPINION."

COUNTS FOR LITTLE.

How much do the railroads care for "the people" or their "unhappy"? The people, under capitalism, are very small potatoes.

The "Times" (ultra capitalist) of April 14, said: "Either the railroad syndicate must own the country or the country must own the railroads. If the syndicate is wise it will reflect." In effect, these capitalist papers have got down on their knees and with tears in their eyes, have implored the railroad lords thus: "Oh, please be good! If not for the sake of these small orange growers, at least for your own sakes. Don't you see where this thing is leading us all to? Don't you see you are playing us all right into the hands of the enemy?"

(Continued on page 2.)

# The Worker

NEW YORK, MAY 19, 1901.

## AN OVATION

Given to Comrade Herron at His Last Lecture.

A Splendid Reception Accorded to a Splendid Lecture on "Socialism and Liberty."

The series of lectures by George D. Herron in Cooper Union came to an end last Tuesday evening in a most fitting manner. Instead of the regular lecture, "The Economic Goal," Comrade Herron, by request, spoke on "Socialism and Liberty." It was a speech that will not be soon forgotten by those who heard it.

There was a splendid audience present, splendid in more than numbers—an audience that showed itself from the beginning of the meeting until the close, in strong sympathy with the speaker. His enthusiasm was genuine and spontaneous. Every point in the discourse was taken up and approved with salutes of applause.

There was a good reason for this enthusiasm, Comrade Herron was at his best. He spoke extempore and the sincerity of his convictions was affame in every word.

It was several minutes before Comrade Herron could begin to speak after he had advanced to the front of the platform. The welcome he received came not alone as a tribute to the man who has been on the firing line of the Social Revolution for several weeks, the victim of a pitiless persecution by an unscrupulous enemy, but also as an endorsement of the principles for the promulgation of which he has undoubtedly been made to suffer. It was a welcome from the hearts of Socialists. It was not a leader, but a comrade, who was about to speak.

It is impossible to do justice to Comrade Herron's speech, and space would forbid it if we could. The truth was spoken with a passion and intensity that could be born only of a devotion to exalted ideals and noble principles. It was as if the speaker was pouring forth his soul in a passionate protest against the monstrous evil of the time, "a protest that is also a prophecy."—for the closing words were indeed a prophecy of the coming Social Revolution, which the hand of man cannot stay.

If any man present doubted before the meeting that Comrade Herron understood scientific Socialism, his doubts must have been completely dispelled. There was no equivocation in the presentation of the claims of the Socialist movement. There could be no compromising, no remedying, no reforming the capitalist system. The movement would not tolerate patching up a bad system, that was wrong in its essence and its foundations. When Comrade Herron summed up the case in these terse words: "We don't want to reform anything; we want to revolutionize everything," he received his answer in a shout of approval from his listeners.

The attitude of Socialists on confiscation, class-consciousness, and other points was clearly outlined and interpreted with applause. The final words were of thanks to those who had attended the series for their encouragement, and contained a solemn appeal to all who believed in Socialism to go out that night prepared to work and give of their best ability to advancing the cause.

There were "three cheers for Herron" and three cheers more for the Social Revolution given at the close with a will by the audience, and the meeting was over.

Afterwards a large number of Socialists crowded into the rooms of the "Commonwealth" office on Lafayette Place, and enjoyed an informal reception, through the kindness of C. P. Somerville. A pleasant couple of hours were spent and all went home at last satisfied with the events of the evening.

AT JERSEY CITY.

On Wednesday evening of last week Comrade Herron spoke in Jersey City, Phillips Hall was crowded to hear him. The address was evidently appreciated as the audience was enthusiastic and liberally applauded. A considerable quantity of literature was sold. The usual personal attacks appeared in the local press, although fair reports of the lecture were given. All the papers agreed that the hall was half filled, that many left early and only Socialists remained. We owe a debt of gratitude to these falsehoods.

ELIZABETH.

The meeting in Elizabeth on Thursday evening was not so well attended, on account of bad weather and other reasons. It was held in Jacob's Theater, and those who gathered there warmly appreciated Comrade Herron's lecture. Elizabeth is not at all awake to Socialism, but the comrades there are determined to build up a movement. The Elizabeth "Journal" gave a fair report of the meeting, but the report of the "Times," a new Democratic evening paper, was scurrilous in the extreme.

Friday evening's meeting in Trenton was highly successful, the hall being packed and the address received with enthusiasm.

Park Theater, Brooklyn, was well filled on Sunday evening to hear the final lecture, "The Economic Goal," and Comrade Herron received a warm reception.

On Monday evening he spoke on the East Side for the first time, and was greeted by a large audience in New Irving Hall.

The dates of the Social Crusades in the State are reported elsewhere.

## MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

Carey Roasts Attorney-General for Arguing Against Labor Bill in an Adverse Opinion Rendered.

Recently the attorney-general of Connecticut rendered an opinion upon a labor law pending before the legislature declaring the law would be unconstitutional if enacted. This saved the members of the legislature from going in record for or against labor. Attorney-General Knowlton of Massachusetts took the tip from his Connecticut contemporary and followed suit in an opinion rendered upon a pending bill which provided that all contractors on public work be subject to the same regulations regarding wages and hours of labor as those employed directly by the Commonwealth.

Mr. Knowlton not only rendered an adverse opinion upon the pending bill, declaring it unconstitutional, but also took occasion to present an argument against it, an action which gave rise to a warm debate in the Massachusetts house last week.

Representative Carey, Social Democrat, took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the discussion upon a motion to reconsider an opinion rendered by the attorney-general upon two other bills, to protest against Knowlton's action on the contract labor bill, which, by the way, was being pushed by the Boston Central Labor Union.

Carey said he desired to embrace the opportunity to give his opinion of the attorney-general. Then he charged the attorney-general with exceeding his prerogatives in signing to the house an argument when asked for an opinion of the bill to require contractors on public work to pay the same rate of wages as is paid by state or municipality. Mr. Carey said the attorney-general had gone out of his way to argue against a labor measure.

After a lengthy criticism he ended by saying: "If he (Knowlton) wants to electrify the men now on trial for embezzlement, why, all right, but he must not attempt to electrify the rights of the working people."

Representative Newton of Everett defended the attorney-general as an able official and entitled to the confidence of the people. This was applauded.

Carey again spoke on the matter. He said it was easy for a member of the majority to yell applause when defending a member of the majority party, but whatever I said of the attorney-general I will repeat. That opinion was filled with argument rather than with a statement of his opinion on the matter. Under the guise of an opinion he has argued against the bill. I say it is demeaning the dignity of the official and degrading to his office.

Mr. Newton replied and was supported by Representative Saunders of Boston.

It is significant that the only protest against the usurpation of office by the attorney-general came from a Social Democrat.

LABOR BILL VETOED.

Colorado's Fusion Governor KILLS Mine Ventilation Bill in Interest of Mine Owners.

Governor Orman of Colorado was elected by a fusion of Silver Democrats, Populists, Bryan Republicans, etc. These are the representatives of the middle class of small capitalists. Last week Orman vetoed a coal mine ventilation bill, and the workmen of Colorado are indignant. Probably these workmen scoffed the notion of there being a class struggle when the Socialists of Colorado tried to point it out, but Orman is only acting according to his class instincts and class interests. Workmen need expect neither emancipation nor relief from any other class than their own.

Profits of coal operators are more precious than miners' lives, because the miners always place their masters' profits above their own welfare when they go to the ballot box. Whenever workmen vote for a party of small or large capitalists they cheapen their own lives and lower the scale of their manhood beneath that of slaves. A class-conscious Socialist executive of Colorado would have signed that bill because the interests of his class required it; just as fusion Governor Orman vetoed it because the interests of his class dictated such action.

Workmen, put not your faith in any party that is not organized on the lines of revolutionary, class-conscious Socialism.

ANOTHER POINT FROM THE COURTS.

Justice McAdam, Democrat, of the New York Supreme Court, has issued an injunction forbidding the members or officers of the Brewery Workers' Union or anyone else in any way to take part in or assist the boycott of the Everard Brewing Company.

This is in line with the acts of other Democratic and Republican judges of this and other states and should help to show the workmen how friendly the two old parties are to labor's interests.

The Illinois Appellate Court has decided that it is not "picketing" a shop to dissuade others from taking their places.

—Order 112 FOR SIXTY at the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York.

## INDIANA TO THE FRONT.

Fort Wayne Social Democrats Raise the Vote by 350 Per Cent.

The Social Democratic Party has made another splendid advance at Fort Wayne, Ind. The city election was held on May 7. The Social Democrats were in the field with a ticket upon which both factions were united and for which all worked enthusiastically.

Not until a week later could the returns be pronounced. But they were good enough to compensate for the delay. We polled 716 votes, as against the 150 cast in the city last fall. The comrades are delighted with this gain.

BALTIMORE ELECTION.

Social Democrats Increase Their Vote in a Total Decline of 40,000 Under New Ballot Law.

The election for members of the municipal council of Baltimore, Md., took place on Tuesday, May 8, and the results of the Social Democratic Party is gratifying, a good increased vote being polled over that of last November. The municipal council is elected every two years, and is composed of two branches, one being made up of representatives from each of the twenty-four wards, the second of representatives from four divisions, made up of six wards each.

The Social Democrats had candidates for the first branch in five wards, the Third, Fifth, Seventh, Eighth, and Twentieth. But one candidate was nominated for the second branch, and that was in the fourth division, composed of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-second, Twenty-third, and Twenty-fourth wards.

The vote was as follows in the wards for candidates for the first branch: Third, 346; Fifth, 115; Fifth, Jacobson, 84; Seventh, Dvorak, 95; Eighth, 90; Twentieth, 96. This shows a total vote for candidates for the first branch in five wards of 470. Comrade Albert, the candidate for the second branch from the fourth division, polled the following vote in the various wards: Seventeenth, 50; Eighteenth, 50; Twenty-first, 68; Twenty-second, 60; Twenty-third, 40; Twenty-fourth, 94, a total of 380. It should be noted that there was only a difference of two in the vote for Harrig and Albert in the Twenty-fourth ward.

The total vote in only ten wards was 764, whereas the vote in Baltimore altogether for Hols and Harrig had fallen only 610, a splendid gain. It should be noted also that this was the first election in Baltimore under the new election law of Maryland, which has disfranchised so many white and black workmen. Under this law the Democratic vote fell off 25,640, the Republicans losing 14,805, the latter carrying the city and electing a majority of the council. The Social Democrats are the only ones who increased their vote in a decline of the total vote of over 40,000.

Naturally the comrades are greatly related and will push the campaign for the fall election.

THE MACHINISTS' DEMANDS.

The demands of the International Association of Machinists for a nine-hour day will take final effect on Monday, May 20. Wherever it is not granted, strikes will be resorted to. The national officers have issued orders to this effect and 150,000 men may be downed by the strike indirectly affected through this action.

President O'Connell, in an interview in Washington on Tuesday, said: "The members of our association will not be called out in shops where an agreement for a nine-hour day and a 32% per cent increase in wages has been signed, except in cases where the same firm has shops in different cities and refuses to make the agreement applicable to all their properties."

About one-fifth of the employers, about 200 in all, have already denied the required agreements, and additional signatures are being announced. The instructions are that men shall not go to work next Monday in shops where their demands have not been accepted.

Meetings will be held this week in all the local districts of the association, and these will probably result in conferences between the employers and the men. It is possible all will accept the demands, and in such an event a strike would be averted.

Trades dependent upon the machinists will be affected by the strike and must necessarily stop work during its continuance.

"Every effort has been made by our association to avoid a strike, but there can be no further deferment if the men expect to secure their rights. The employers will not submit the matter to arbitration, their only proposition being to permit each firm to act independently. This suggestion is not satisfactory to the association, as a complete settlement of the controversy would not be reached for a long time if ever."

The railroads are not embraced in the strike order as promulgated. Whether this will be done in the future must await developments.

A conference in Washington attended by officials of the International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics, Pattern Makers' League of North America, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' Union of North America determined upon a concerted action to be followed on or before May 29.

—Subscribe for the Socialist Worker—50 cents a year.

## THE STRIKE AT ALBANY AND TROY.

Twenty-Third Regiment, with Its Unsavory Record, Sent to Break the Strike.

The Twenty-Third Regiment, Which Bravely Shot Women in the Brooklyn Trolley Strike, but Feared to Face the Spaniards in 1898, Is Now on Hand—History of the Strike Outlined—What Social Democrats in Office Would Do.

This is the dictum of General Manager McNamara of the United Traction Company of Troy and Albany:

"We intend to run our cars if it takes the entire National Guard of New York State to protect us."

And it looks as though the whole National Guard would be ready at its service.

On Wednesday, as this paper goes to press, more than two thousand soldiers have been sent to the scene of the strike to "protect" the cars imported in violation of law, to provoke riot if possible and intimidate and disorganize the workers, and in every way to assist the company in bringing the men to complete subjection.

The Twenty-third Regiment has a long and unsavory record. It is largely composed of the sons of the aristocracy of Brooklyn and New York and is always eager for service which involves little or no danger—especially against strikers.

In 1877 the regiment did good service to the capitalists at Homestead, Pa. In 1882 it fired on the striking switchmen at Buffalo.

In the Brooklyn trolley strike of 1894 it shot men, women, and children, possibly paving the way for the strike to be broken. The first objection is that the man had never been submitted to the men. Further, it provided for the men returning to work, the questions at issue to be arbitrated afterward by a board consisting of one representative from each side and a third chosen by these two. The men point out that either arbitrator could indefinitely delay the decision by failing to agree upon the third man. They offered two amendments. Either, that the matter be arbitrated before the men returned to work, or that the third arbitrator be chosen before they returned. Both propositions were refused by the company.

HISTORY OF THE STRIKE OUTLINED.

On Tuesday, May 6, the trolley system operated by the United Traction Company of Albany and Troy was completely tied up. The Albany division struck Monday night, while the Troy division followed suit twenty-four hours later. The trouble had been brewing for a long time and many propositions had been offered tending to its solution, but without avail. The company showed no disposition to grant any concessions to the men, and a strike was the natural result.

The principal demands of the men were recognition of their union and a uniform wage scale. At conferences held since the strike the company refused to agree to these issues, while conceding the minor demands, such as relate to inspectors, privileges, etc. The company advertised extensively for men to take the strikers' places, but finding the supply unequal to the demand resolved to try other tactics.

ATTEMPTED TRICKERY.

On Sunday, May 13, Labor Commis-

sioner McMackin, together with one H. M. Easley of the Civic Federation, drew up a scheme for an agreement. Instead of submitting this plan to the men concerned, they called up International President Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees at Buffalo. After submitting the agreement to him over the telephone he gave his assent to that method of settlement. International Treasurer Orr was then consulted by Messrs. Easley and McMackin. When Mr. Orr learned that the agreement had the approval of the international president he gave his consent also. The agreement was then submitted to the railroad officials, and their approval was obtained, without the knowledge of the employees.

When this "settlement" was announced the men were naturally very indignant. Many declared that Mr. Orr played Judas to the strikers, while others thought that he had allowed himself to be trapped and used as a tool where he ought to have known better. Orr was roundly denounced and one strike sympathizer struck him in the face.

The "agreement" was, of course, repudiated and a statement was issued, giving the reasons. The first objection is that the man had never been submitted to the men. Further, it provided for the men returning to work, the questions at issue to be arbitrated afterward by a board consisting of one representative from each side and a third chosen by these two. The men point out that either arbitrator could indefinitely delay the decision by failing to agree upon the third man. They offered two amendments. Either, that the matter be arbitrated before the men returned to work, or that the third arbitrator be chosen before they returned. Both propositions were refused by the company.

COMPANY DECIDES TO USE FORCE.

During Monday's conference President Prynn of the company exclaimed: "If it takes a million dollars, we will run this road." He then held a conference with Chief of Police Foster, at the close of which Foster declared that police would be put on the cars to be run by scabs.

An ordinance is still in force that was passed by the common council at the instigation of the mayor, Daniel E. Conway, upon the occasion of a former strike by the Troy division, about fifteen months ago. The "pro-repressive" mayor was pointed out as a friend of the laboring man, and his action was loudly praised by the unions. It was not taken into consideration at the time he was bitter and disposed towards the controlling interests of the corporation, inasmuch as a company in which he was interested was defeated by them in its attempts to secure the valuable franchise that the company then operated. But Mr. Conway is seeking the nominal

franchise for mayor again, and as he was the compromise candidate of the kickers and the Republicans against the ring Democrats, he considers it less harmful politically to antagonize the workers than it would be to incur the displeasure of the corporations. The ordinance, according to best legal counsel, is still in effect, and under its provisions the company may be considered to have forfeited its franchises, but the city government is in no humor to enforce it, and meanwhile the strike leaders have had their eyes open to the true state of affairs that have come to the conclusion that the dominant political parties are only milshins upon their neck and they are fighting their own battles, bravely and skillfully.

WHAT WOULD THE S. D. P. DO?

The workmen of Albany, Troy, and vicinity are learning what the "love for labor" of the Republican and Democratic governments means.

When it is a question of labor laws, it means the defeat of bills in the legislature or their amendment into laws injurious to labor—as in the case of the employers' liability bill; and it means discussion of contracts that any law favorable to labor is unconstitutional or void—as in the case of the prevailing rate of wages law.

When it is a question of the intervention of city and state governments in labor disputes, it means the issuance of injunctions against strikers, the non-enforcement of ordinances forbidding the importation of scabs and of ordinances under which corporations have forfeited their charters, and then calling out of police and soldiers, to protect the employees in their lawless career and to club and shoot the workers.

A Social Democratic city council would appropriate money to aid the strikers, if needed—as Socialist city councils have done in France.

It would forbid the importation of scabs and use the police to enforce the provision.

It would, when the company's franchise was legally forfeited, take possession of the street car system and operate it for the public good—with an eight-hour day, union wages, and fair treatment for the employees.

A Social Democratic governor would support the local authorities and would call out the troops, if needed, to enforce such action.

And Social Democratic judges would declare the course of the Socialist council and the Socialist governor constitutional.

Next question there will be a chance for the workmen of Troy and Albany and of the whole state to say whether they prefer the puerile course of the capitalist parties or the revolutionary policy of a party founded solely on the interests of the working class.

HOW ECONOMY WORKS.

"What we want to do now is to be prudent in our expenditure, save while we can and be strong if the storms should come, and they do now and then. Whatever comes, let us be fortified by the practice of economy while we are so well employed."—Wm. McKinley, President of this Nation.

Well, now it's too bad the head of our capitalist government doesn't even understand the workings of the system he supports. In the same speech that he uttered the above he sang songs of praise about new markets. What does a market mean? What is a market? Why, bless you, a market is nothing more nor less than people who buy our goods. The working class constitute the bulk of those who buy products for consumption, such as food and clothes. The more these working people spend the bigger is the market. Suppose the working people should suddenly decide to save McKinley's advice and save one-half of what they receive in wages, and should begin next week. The result would be that the home market would suddenly be reduced to one-half its size, and those storms would come before Mack could reach the cyclone cellar. Within a week after the workmen took McKinley's advice so seriously as to begin saving for argument that it was possible, the working people would have their wages, the manufacturers of each line of goods would say: "I see the sale of my goods is suddenly decreased one-half and is likely to remain at that stage. I'll just reduce my force one-half until this blows over." As each manufacturer would naturally do the same thing, the result would be that the working class would get a little vacation until it consumed its savings; however, there would be a strong probability of a spell of hard times generally, the outcome of a contracted market.

If we thought it wouldn't hurt his feelings, we might send our national figure-head a copy of the "Parade of the Water Tank." Missouri Socialists.

"God's Children."

Upon this a writing subject, Comrade James Allen will lecture under the auspices of the Workingwomen's Educational and Aid Society, at 28 Forsyth street, Sunday, May 20, at 3 p. m. All comrades and readers of the Worker should keep this element of lecture.

Admission free. Bring your friends.

ARMOUR'S STILL EXPANDING.

Armour & Co. of Chicago have taken over the plant of the Sioux City Packing and Provision Company, formerly the International Packing Company, and it is understood they will begin the killing of cattle, hogs, and sheep at the Sioux City Stock Yards immediately. Negotiations were concluded last week. The plant has a capacity of 500 hogs, 3,500 cattle, and 1,000 sheep per day.

ARMOUR'S STILL EXPANDING.

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## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) .....	2,068
In 1890 .....	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential) .....	41,157
In 1894 .....	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential) .....	30,564
In 1898:	
S. L. P. ....	82,204
S. D. P. ....	9,545
In 1900 (Presidential):	
S. D. P. ....	96,918
S. L. P. ....	33,450



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

Only those who profit by a bad system need fear the establishment of a good one.

With his present income there is no reason why Mr. Rockefeller should favor Socialism.

An easy way to stop the conflict between capital and labor would be for labor to own the capital.

Contentment with present conditions is the bane of the workers. Wake them up by circulating *The Worker* among them.

Shipping subsidies should receive a boon on both sides of the Atlantic since the formation of the international steamship trust.

Some of those who suffered in the squeeze in Wall Street last week will now be able to appreciate what squeezing the labor means.

Mark Hanna says he doesn't want the Republican nomination for the presidency in 1904. Evidently he prefers to be the power behind the throne.

Since General Glick reports that the state of vice in Manila will compare favorably with any city in the United States, we are ready to believe everything bad that has been said about Manila.

The legislature has increased the salaries of judges of the New York Court of General Sessions to \$15,000, which is the prevailing rate of wages of capitalist judges. No danger of that act being declared unconstitutional.

Congressman Dick of Ohio is out for government ownership of all means of communication. Dick is one of Hanna's men. It will be a profitable thing for the capitalist class to have government ownership while the capitalist owns the government.

This talk of harmony between capital and labor reminds one of the prophecy about the lion lying down with the lamb. In real life, the lion lies down with the lamb inside. If workers would be less sheepish capital could not play the part of the lion.

According to the Baltimore returns, all the illiterates voted against Socialism in that city last November. It is worth considering that under a new election law with a severe educational test, the Socialist Democratic Party is the only one that polled an increased vote.

The Standard Oil Company declares a dividend of 12 per cent—divides \$12,000,000 of the wealth created by its employees. Think of that, you who break the dividends that these useless capitalists receive and make up your

mind to work and vote for the overthrow of the system which gives the product of your labor to others.

## BEGGING POLICY FAILS AGAIN.

Governor Odell has vetoed the Employer's Liability Bill passed by the legislature. Now it will be in order for those unionists who are in the habit of thanking every politician who refrains from slapping them in the face to pass resolutions of gratitude to Mr. Odell. It will also be in order for all workmen to do a little thinking. Some weeks ago *The Worker* predicted that the attempt to get a good employers' liability bill from the capitalist state government would be a failure. The prediction is verified—and would have been verified if Odell had signed the Costello bill. The story is an interesting one.

Governor Odell recommended the passage of an employers' liability bill. The trade unionists, without waiting to see what the outcome would be, thanked him for the recommendation.

A bill which, it seems, would really have been of some advantage to the workers was introduced. The capitalists saw that there was danger of its being passed. So they got the bill amended in such a way as to make it infinitely cheaper than it now is for employers to maim and slaughter their employees for gain.

The result was that the unions, after lobbying for the original bill, had to turn around and lobby against it as amended. It was passed, nevertheless, and then they had to petition the governor to veto it. This he did, evidently not daring to go quite the length of signing so infamous a measure.

Thus all the workers have got out of their vigorous and "practical" begging is represented by a big round zero.

It is now in order to ask: Why was not Governor Odell, who has shown himself able to dictate to the legislature on any matter valuable to business interests, able also to dictate to them on this matter? Why could he not get the bill acted on before the closing days of the session, so that the infamy of the legislature's action could be exposed in time to get it remedied?

But the one really practical question is: Will the organized workmen continue to vote for their enemies and then spend their energies in fruitless begging for favors? Or will they resolve to vote for the only party which is unqualifiedly pledged to Labor's interests?

## OUR WARNING WAS 'TOO PREVIOUS.'

It will be remembered that in our last two issues we have commented upon the appointment by the Republican mayor of Battle Creek, Mich., of Comrade L. C. Rogers to the board of public works of that city—which was announced in such a way that we naturally inferred that the appointment had been accepted.

We are pleased to be able to inform the readers of *The Worker* that Comrade Rogers promptly declined the offered appointment—and that without waiting for the party press to pass judgment. We regret that we were led into an injustice to Comrade Rogers, and we rejoice that the Battle Creek Social Democrats have thus given a good example to the working men of their city—not to take favors from the enemy.

The Saginaw "Exponent," on being apprised of the true state of the affair, says:

"Comrades in Battle Creek are to be congratulated in having to the line. 'No compromise' is the watchword there, as everywhere, and if indications are not deceptive, they will soon have forced a combination of the capitalist parties. When that point is reached there will no longer be doubt in the minds of the working class as to where their political interests lie."

To which *The Worker* responds with a hearty "Amen!"

## "THE PLEASURES OF THE POOR."

We publish elsewhere an address on "The Pleasures of the Poor," by a clergyman of Troy, N. Y. To our Socialist readers what is there said may seem neither new enough nor radical enough to call for special notice. We think it worthy of publication, however, for two reasons: First, that it may have its effect upon the many who are not yet Socialists to whom this paper goes, call their attention to existing evils, and arouse them to a sense of their duty in the matter; second, as indicating the ferment of ideas which is going on in society to-day, when, in spite of unbelieved places, men of independent mind are awakening to the exigencies of our rapidly changing social condition and seeking a cure for our growing social evils.

*The Worker* has sometimes been charged with being intolerant and "cautious" to class prejudice because it holds firmly to the position that the foundation of the Socialist movement, it is to accomplish its ends, must be laid in the class struggle, in the interests, the aspirations, the upward ex- pectancy of the working class. We do hold firmly to that position. But that does not prevent us from giving due credit to every other tendency which comes to the aid of the working class, or from welcoming every man from outside our class who from whatever motives of science, thought or human sympathy

chooses to throw in his lot with the struggling proletariat—the expropriated producers of to-day, the destined and rightful inheritors of to-morrow.

We welcome Mr. Greaves, as we have welcomed others like him in the past. We welcome him as a comrade, and he will not take it amiss if we think it necessary to emphasize certain points, on which, as we think, he has too lightly touched, and to speak somewhat strongly on the method by which his work and the work of men like him must be guided if it is to be of any avail.

Mr. Greaves rightly says of the average man of the upper classes that he will admit that existing conditions are shameful and ought to be remedied, and then he turns his attention to something else and the poor may go to the devil for all that most of his class will do to right their wrongs. This is an unpleasant thing to say, but it is the plain truth and it must be faced. Not only is it true, but it is exactly what we ought to expect. The man who has never had to work ten or twelve hours a day, week in and week out, to earn a bare and comfortable living, who has never had to tramp the streets, ragged and hungry and cold, begging for permission to work, who has never heard his family crying out for bread, who has never met these so common facts of our life either in his own experience or in that of his friends, but knows them only by common report as prevailing somewhere, he knows not just where—that man cannot reasonably be expected to realize what the words "overwork," "unemployment," "want," and "despair" actually mean.

Those four bitter words run through all the warp and woof of the daily life of the working class. Even the most fortunate workman has at some time met those facts face to face, if not in his personal experience then in that of men whom he counts his friends and equals. The working class knows the labor problem in practice better than any man of the "upper classes" can know it in theory.

What follows from this? There is only one reasonable inference: That the main burden of the emancipation of Labor must rest upon Labor itself; that the workingmen must not look to reformers or philanthropists from above to help them, but must earnestly think together and feel together and act together to help themselves. If allies come from the ranks of the capitalist class or from those who do not feel themselves definitely to belong to either class, well and good. We need them. We welcome them. But we must not wait for them. We must not depend upon them to do our work. And we must not modify our legitimate methods to attract or conciliate them.

Again, Mr. Greaves has rightly pointed out the great crying need, the needs which are infinitely more pressing than the demand for libraries or parks or "social halls" such as are now being planned by some New York philanthropists. These needs, he says, are: First, the assurance of a chance to work; second, decent wages; and reasonable hours of labor; third, decent housing.

Let no one suppose that the Socialist Democratic Party desires to see these needs go unsatisfied in order that the "working people" may the sooner become desperate and ready for revolution. There are ignorant or designing people who say this of us, but it is a most unqualified falsehood. We shall rejoice in any measure, by whomsoever taken, that really betters the condition of the working class.

"Immediate relief?" Yes, by all means. But the question is: How are we to get real and effective immediate relief? Assuredly not by depending upon the philanthropy of individuals or the lukewarm efforts of dilettante reformers. We have had enough experience to teach us that whatever little good a few individual capitalists may do by their sincere but spasmodic and unguided philanthropies and reforms, the capitalist class, as an employing and a ruling class, counterbalances with evil a hundred fold.

Employment can be guaranteed only by collective action—by the city, the state, the nation. Hours of labor can be effectively regulated only by the power of the law. The proper housing of the working people can be provided for only by that same public power. These steps—only partial steps, as they are, in the process of Labor's emancipation—are too great to be taken by philanthropy; and they are too radical to fall of danger to capitalist privilege, to be seriously thought of by any mere reformers in politics. Only a revolutionary labor party can earnestly undertake such tasks; and only such a movement will be able to carry them through to success.

The Socialist Democratic Party stands for the complete overthrow of capitalism, the complete emancipation of the working class. It keeps that goal constantly in mind, and is ready for every forward step toward it. We therefore call on all who hear the bitter cry of suffering and oppression about them and who recognize their duty to work for the relief of that suffering, the ending of that oppression—we call on them to fall in line with the militant workingmen, to take their places as

comrades in the ranks, under the red flag of human brotherhood, "to fight in the only battle wherein no man can fall."

We are glad to be able to add, from later information, that Mr. Greaves is in hearty sympathy with the Socialist Democratic Party and that he says: "My position will be better understood when it is known that my first vote" (Mr. Greaves is an Englishman, and has had as yet no chance to vote). "will be cast for the S. D. P., for the simple reason that I have come to regard it as a crime for me, either by action or in action, to refuse to do my best to bring about the only state of society in which it is possible for men other to be honest or to love their neighbors as themselves."

We extend our fraternal greeting to Comrade Greaves and say, "May there be many more like him!"

The Appellate Court of Illinois is not to be outdone by its contemporaries in other states. As an earnest of its intention to fully merit the friendship of the capitalists, a decision was handed down in Chicago the other day denying the right of striking workmen to "picket" a shop for the purpose of dissuading others from entering the works. This decision was given on appeal from Judge Holden's court, in contempt proceedings against strikers who had violated an injunction prohibiting them from "picketing" during the strike two years ago. The trade unionists have been advertising Judge Holden's favorable ruling as an instance of the awakening of the courts to Labor's right. By and by trade unionists will learn that only the capitalists have rights that the capitalist courts are bound to respect. That's what capitalist judges are for, and the votes of workingmen elect them.

Says the "National Labor Tribune" of Pittsburg:

"Laboring men get the worst of it at Harrisburg right along. The passage of the anti-union bill in the face of protests from all the labor unions in Pennsylvania. The bill increases the cost of 'idea' by taxing it until it will be as dear as butter. It is certainly an outrageous performance."

When did the laboring men ever fail to get the worst of it at Harrisburg or any other state legislature? Every state in the union presents the identical situation prevailing in Pennsylvania. And there will be no change while the laboring men continue to elect representatives of the capitalist class to make laws for the working class. The situation would be radically changed if it were not absolutely tragic when one considers how much there is at stake: how the workers suffer while the capitalist class callously pursues its blood-stained profit grabbing course. The capitalist class never sends class-conscious workingmen to the legislative halls to represent capital.

## HE WILL NOT BE EXPELLED.

Dr. Edward K. Meade, an instructor in the Wharton School of Finance and Economics of Pennsylvania University, has come out with rather startling frankness as an ultra-expansionist. He uses such language as this:

"The great financiers practically control this government, and as a consequence the time will soon come when they will step in and assume control over those governments. If this will conduce to the economic welfare of their countries and ours, there are no moral or political reasons which should restrain us. Of course, we must find some euphemistic way to accomplish this. IT MAY VIOLATE SOME OF OUR IDEAS AND PRECEDENTS, BUT OUR TRADE DEMANDS IT. WE ARE NOT PROHIBITED BECAUSE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, FOR THIS CONSIDERS MERELY OF RHETORICAL PHRASES, AND WAS MADE FOR ANOTHER TIME THAN OURS."

And again, in explanation of his utterances, he said:

"I mean that people have a right to live their own lives in their own way, so long as they do not interfere with the economic progress of the rest of the world. If they interfere with the development of their natural resources which are necessary to the rest of the world, there is no injustice in establishing enough control over them TO SECURE THE INVESTMENTS OF FOREIGN CAPITAL."

Now it will be in order to ask: Why is not Dr. Meade driven from his professorial chair, as other professors have been, for expressing what were alleged to be "revolutionary" sentiments on matters of current politics? Dr. Meade openly says that the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Monroe Doctrine, and other "sacred" paraphernalia of our political campaigns are so much worn-out rubbish to be thrown to the winds in the chase for foreign markets. The idea that "government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed" is, according to him, an exploded fallacy which should be relegated to some museum of antiquities; in its place should be set up the idea that it is the function of government to secure the investments of capitalists.

Will Dr. Meade share the fate of Professor Ross? Not a bit of it. And why? Because, although his utterances are far more revolutionary than those of the Stanford man, they are in harmony with the interests of the ruling class.

Certainly we should be sorry to see Dr. Meade driven out of the faculty—and that for two reasons. First, we believe in the utmost freedom of teaching. Truth is to be guarded, not by the censorship of constituted authorities, but by zealous investigation and free discussion.

In the second place, Dr. Meade is so far right, that he is clearly and frankly expressing the tendencies of the present time. Socialists can cheerfully agree with him that the political theories of 1776 are now antiquated and unworkable. Reverence for established institutions, veneration for old ideas because they are old, is the greatest obstacle to social progress.

"New occasions teach new duties," "Time makes ancient good uncouth." Let Mr. Meade and his like go on, in the service of the great financiers, destroying the outgrown prejudices and political superstitions, which no longer serve any good purpose, but keep so many men's attention fixed on false and impossible ideals and so prevent them from arraying their lives uncompromisingly on the two sides of the great question of the present day—Socialism versus Capitalism. The sooner these inherited ideas are overthrown, the sooner will the present problems be clearly understood. We repeat the prayer of Ajax—not for help, but only for light, that we may see our enemy face to face. And so, when men like Dr. Meade come out boldly on the capitalist side, we rejoice only a little less than if they came out on the Socialist side. Better a friend than a foe; but better an open foe than a warring neutral standing between the lines.

There is no occasion for much comment on the Stock-Exchange panic. Why any honest man should pity the speculators who lost is beyond our powers of understanding. Not one of the participants in the whole affair was there for any good purpose. Not one was a producer. They were all exploiters of labor, gambling for the wealth that labor creates. The working class neither loses nor gains by what happens in Wall Street, any more than by the manipulations of policy, roulette or faro in the acknowledged gambling halls.

There is only one aspect of the affair in which we have much interest. It is worth while to note that the losers were not the Morgans, Rockefellers, Hilles, or other really great capitalists, but the small fry in the exploiting class. Many of these, who hoped to reach a position of security, where they and their heirs forever might live in idle luxury, have been completely stripped of their wealth. We, who stand for the working class and the working class alone, can view with entire satisfaction the expropriation of the small capitalists by the big ones. The sooner the line is clearly drawn between the trust kings and the industrial serfs, the better for the serfs.

But let the producers not imagine that this process is going to work out, their emancipation automatically. Capitalism, by its own development, concentrating wealth and crushing out the middle class, creates our opportunity. It is for us to seize upon that opportunity by organizing the workers, educating them to a knowledge of their rights and of the way of attaining them, and inspiring them with a firm resolution to emancipate themselves.

The "Times" reports Mr. Harriman and Mr. Hill for having demoralized the stock market and ruined many smaller capitalists in their struggle for control of the Northern Pacific. "The pillory of public censure," says the "Times," "is the just penalty of their abuse of power." Much Harriman, or Hill, care for the "pillory of public censure"? Censure is above the law. These men move in a public quite apart from ours. The ill opinion of the ordinary public annoys them no more than the buzzing of a mosquito on the other side of the globe.

President Hadley's naïve plan of "social ostracism" will not touch them. As well advise the down-trodden millions of Russia to "ostracize" the Tsar. The thing to do in Russia is to put an end to tsarism. The thing to do in America and all the world is to put an end to capitalism—not to waste breath in trying to distinguish between good capitalists and bad ones, to praise the good and "censure" the bad.

It is said that when the Kentucky colonel heard some one speak of bad whiskey he exclaimed: "Sir, there is no such thing as bad whiskey. Some whiskey is better than other whiskey." So we say: There is no such thing as a good king or a good capitalist. Some kings and some capitalists are worse than others, but all are bad; all must be abolished.

President Schwab of the Steel Trust tells young men that they do not need college education, that manual and industrial training is enough. This is getting to be a popular opinion among the capitalists—as applied to the workers. They wish to have the masses trained into efficient working machines and nothing more. Socialists think differently. We would have every man given the opportunity—not

only the legal right, but the practical opportunity—for such an integral training—physical, manual, scientific, and literary—as would develop all his powers of mind and body and enable him, not only to produce the good things of life, but also to enjoy them to the utmost. And when we say "every man" we include the women in this phrase. We will get such really practical universal education only when the Socialist movement brings in a just and fraternal organization of society.

## THE PRICE OF SUCCESS.

Mr. Charles M. Schwab has been telling the youngsters how to succeed and some day draw a salary of a million dollars a year. Our industrial capitalists are nothing if not encouraging. They are not too great to tell the boys how fame and fortune is the reward of application, frugality, industry, and all the rest of it. All this is laudable indeed, but Mr. Schwab apparently fails to see that he gets the enormous salary he does because there are many other employees of the steel trust who get very little.

If all the workers for the trust got what they should then Mr. Schwab would be receiving much less than he now does. It is not clear, therefore, how every boy could succeed in finally being in a position to draw one million dollars a year. A few men receive large incomes because others get only enough to live upon. Success and a million dollars cannot come to every one. In order that Mr. Schwab should receive his present salary thousands of workmen must be robbed of the fruits of their labor. This is harsh, but it is true. Our Schwabs and Carnegies and Morgans are successful because myriads of their fellowmen are failures—and failures not of their own fault, but because the industrial system demands failures so that a few men can be exalted.

The prosperity of trust kings is built upon the toil and sweat, the blood and agony and soul torture of fellow human beings. They are fortunate because others are unfortunate. The only excuse for such a condition is that all men are not equal, that some are born to suffer so that others can live easy, care free lives and that the desires and luxuries of the few men are more precious than the happiness and freedom of the many. The present condition of society can and no other justification than that, but such a belief belongs to a past age, not to this one.

Socialists believe that all men are born equal, and that they are entitled to equality of opportunity in the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness. If they are denied equality of opportunity now it is because the means by which men live are in the possession of a small class that corners opportunity for its own profit. Humanity will be able to live freely and nobly when access to the things which make life worth living are free to all whose labor creates them.

The Schwabs and Morgans may be useful in a way, but the price paid for their usefulness is too high: There are too many tears shed, too much blood shed to pay it and too costly. In the coming time, when society owns so society's means of livelihood, the managers of our industries will ask and expect no more than what their services and justice demand. They will consider the confidence and good will of their fellows the greatest reward that their work for society can bring them. And their lives and the lives of those around them will be the sweeter and more useful for it.

There is little or no comment upon the fact that everything met by President McKinley and his party in their present trip is supplied free to them by the railroad corporations. The Pullman Company furnishes the cars, while the railroads haul them and furnish the meals. This amounts to no small item, but the corporations know upon whom they are lavishing their gifts. They are not in the habit of bestowing favors upon their enemies. The peculiar feature about it is that the mass of the people accept this proceeding as quite the proper thing. Nobody attempts to dispute it any more. Everybody recognizes that the administration is one that represents the wealth of the country, and the people acquiescent to be allowed to gaze upon their "servant," and how their lungs out at him. No king or emperor ever had the snap that McKinley has.

The "Times" publishes figures showing the rapid industrial development of the South. The production of raw cotton has doubled in forty years, in spite of the long interruption caused by the Civil War and Reconstruction difficulties. At the close of the war there was no cotton, nothing in the South; in 1885 Southern cotton mills ran 2,432,000 spindles, as against only 137,000 in the North; five years later, in 1890, the South had 4,440,000, a gain of about 45 per cent., while the North had 14,000,000, a gain of only 3 per cent. In the forty years since 1850 the railroad mileage of the South grew from 9,353 to 40,738. Evidently the South is undergoing a wonderful change. It is significant that trade unionism is beginning to show considerable strength and that the Socialist Democratic Party broke the ground in several Southern states last fall.

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## Current Literature

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

HOW IT CAN BE DONE. By John Richardson. London. Twentieth Century Press. Cloth, 81.

All down the paths of the ages are the footprints of those who have built imaginative Utopias—beautiful islands in resplendent seas. Plato, More, Bellamy, and Morris—who that has read the descriptions of the "Ideal Commonwealths" of these dreamers has not asked himself: "How can it be done?" To every Socialist the question has been put: "How can Socialism be accomplished?" and the replies, scholarly, it must be confessed, have been as unsatisfactory as that of the author of "Merric England," who said: "I confess that I approach this question with great reluctance; the establishment and organization of a socialist state are the two phases of the subject to which I have given least attention."

The title of this book, "How It Can Be Done" implies that, in the author's opinion, Socialism is not only practicable, but that he is able to show us how it may be established. The book is therefore, not so much an attempt to teach what Socialism is, as to show a natural and easy way of putting its principles into practice. The author, Mr. John Richardson, is a distinguished engineer, a member of the British Institute of Civil Engineers, and a very successful man of business; and he brings to the question a technical knowledge and experience of industrial affairs, that cannot be overlooked.

Mr. Richardson begins with the child, and advocates a more rational system of education. He sketches a curriculum that would delight the educationalist, and viewed merely as a book on educational reform, "How It Can Be Done" would be a really valuable work. From their earliest days, he urges, all children should be taken in charge by the state, which should educate, feed, and clothe them, and, where necessary, house them as well. Under the system which he sketches, the children would first spend some years in the "first grade schools," which would be founded upon the most approved kindergarten principles. From this school they would pass into the "second grade schools," in which the curriculum provides for manual instruction in all branches of industry upon a productive and profitable scale, and so with the "continuation schools" and universities, in which every student would have to devote a certain number of hours each week to productive employment. Their educational course completed, all the students would have to serve four years in the National Workshops as a return to the state for the cost expended upon them. From this stage on to the state organization of industry is an easy transition. All this Mr. Richardson believes, is possible even with the present methods of production, and in a chapter on "Cost," he shows a satisfactory balance in favor of the state.

In the second portion of the book he considers a number of alternative proposals such as, e. g., the Single Tax, Bimetallism, Land Reform, etc., and points out where they fail when considered as solutions of the social problem. Quoting from Mr. John Morley, that "The grandest moral movement, if they have any practical or political side at all must end in a bill," the author, has, in one of the appendices to the book, given us a draft bill ready for presentation to the British House of Commons, embodying his proposals. There are, of course, some things in Mr. Richardson's book with which we do not quite agree, but on the whole, we regard it as a great book, and in some ways as an epoch-making book in the Socialist movement. "How It Can Be Done" has had a big sale in England, and we think that an American edition, with annotations giving the statistics for America, which correspond with those for England given in the text, and reducing all money to American terms, would be a great and worthy addition to our literary propaganda forces. No Socialist propagandist can afford to miss reading "How It Can Be Done."

THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY. By Karl Marx. Translated by H. Quech. London. Twentieth Century Press. Cloth, 81.

The appearance for the first time in English of a work by Marx is an event of more than ordinary importance to English-speaking Socialists. Especially is that true of this first English edition of his famous and epoch-making "Misère de la Philosophie." The author, altogether apart, this book is a remarkable work, and ranks high as a brilliant written classic of polemic literature. For this is a reiteration of the ideas which he has so often expressed in his disciples have to call him. Proudhon published a work "La Philosophie de la Misère" and Marx retorted with a work, the title of which was a clever and characteristic play upon that of the anarchist. This is the book which has been translated by our good comrade, Quech, the editor of the London "Justice," and this given for the first time in the English speaking public. The book is of great interest from several points of view; it shows how Marx already indicated the groundwork of those theories which he elaborated twenty years later in "Das Kapital." It shows the formidable power of Marx as an antagonist and that truly wonderful erudition which marks his greater work.

There probably was never a more consummate master of all the weapons of controversy than Marx. He equates poor Proudhon tip and thigh and spurs not. Ridiculous, sarcastic, irresistible logic, and ferocious eloquence, these are the weapons with which he overcomes his antagonists, of whom, by the way, he speaks somewhat disdainfully. The spirit in which he entered into the arena of debate with Proudhon may be gathered from

this excerpt from Georges Sand with which he ends his attack: "Combat or death; bloody struggle or extinction. It is thus that the question is irresolvably put."

Not less interesting than the book itself is the preface by Engels, who discusses at considerable length the charge that has often been leveled at Marx by his opponents, that he pillaged his ideas from another German economist, Rodbertus. Engels calls this "a calumny which is only to be explained by the natural ill-humor of a misunderstood genius and his ignorance of everything occurring outside of Prussia, and notably of Socialism and economic literature." Proudhon, it seems, had accused Marx of pillaging from HIM, a charge to which Marx replied by pointing out that the very ideas for which Proudhon claimed originality had long been expressed by English writers from whom he quotes. "The same," says Engels, "is true of Rodbertus. Not only does he never present anything which has not been at least well said before, but he reproduces almost all the defects of those of his predecessors." The idea of "labor notes" as a medium of exchange, for which Rodbertus claimed "originality," in 1842 and Proudhon in 1846, Marx shows to have been held by at least two English writers—John Gray, who published it in systematic form in 1831 and Bray in 1839. It is interesting to know upon the authority of Engels that Marx of-fended Rodbertus "every facility for convincing himself that long before either of them these conclusions were already already been expressed in England." We do not remember ever having read such an interesting contribution to this old-time controversy as this preface by Engels.

Our comrade Quech is to be congratulated upon the excellence of his translation of this remarkable book, for which we predict and hope success in this country.

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**Trades' and Societies' Calendar**

Standing advertisements of Trade Unions and Societies will be inserted at this heading at the rate of \$1 per line per annum.

Organisations should not lose such an opportunity for advertising their places of meetings.

**BRANCH 2 R. D. F., 24th and 32th A. D. (formerly Socialist Science Club), meets every Wednesday evening of each month at 8300 Third avenue.**

**BRANCH 2 (English), 20th A. D. (Brooklyn), S. D. F. Meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening at 7th & Evergreen avenue. All Socialists of the district are invited to join. R. Bloom, 654 Evergreen avenue, will receive subscriptions for Trade Worker.**

**CLUB THIRTEEN**  
UNION Meetings every Saturday at  
a.m. at 64 East 48th Street,  
Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary  
Freel.

**COHAIKARIN PROGRESSIVE INTER-**  
**NATIONAL UNION No. 90:** Office and  
Employment Bureau, 100 West 42nd  
Street.  
District I. (thirteenth) 321 East 74th  
Street, every Saturday at 8 p.m.—District  
II. German, at 10 Stanton Street,  
every Saturday at 8 p.m.—District  
III. meets at the Clubhouse, 212 West 42nd  
Street, every Saturday at 7:30 p.m.—  
District IV. meets at 242 West 42nd  
Street, every Saturday at 8 p.m.—District VI.  
meets at East 42nd Street, every Sat-  
day at 8 p.m.—District VII. meets at  
East 157th Street, every Saturday at 8

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VOL. XI.—NO. 8.

## STRIKING FACTS

### From the Figures of the Twelfth Census on the Manufacture of Coke.

BY I. M. RUBINOW.

The Census Bureau is beginning to publish the results of its enormous work and the first data on statistics of some manufactures have just come out. The large pages with almost nothing but long columns of figures certainly look "exceedingly dry," yet there is enough of life in them, if one cares to look. There is human suffering and human greed, human virtue and vice, and a Socialist cannot afford to be absolutely neglectful of them, for he knows that the struggle for the rights of the workers is a struggle for the rights of the human race, and that the struggle for the rights of the human race is a struggle for the rights of the workers.

I take the coke industry as one of the two or three that have been completely neglected, and I find the following facts, always comparing the data of the eleventh and twelfth censuses—that is, the data for 1880 and 1890:

#### PRODUCTIVITY INCREASED.

1. The number of establishments has increased but little, from 218 to 241, i. e., 10.6 per cent., while the number of ovens has increased from 32,655 to 47,142, i. e., 44.3 per cent., and production of coke from 10,008,169 to 19,670,788 short tons, or 96.2 per cent. The figures show, then, that the scale of production has enormously risen, while the productivity of the establishment and ovens has increased. The average number of ovens to an establishment has risen from 150 to 196. The average yield of coke per oven has increased from 306 to 447 short tons, and per establishment from 45,900 to 81,700 tons.

2. While the product has increased from 10,008,169 to 19,670,788 short tons or 96.2 per cent., the capital invested in the industry has increased from \$17,402,729 to \$30,562,079, or 100 per cent., and the number of workmen from 5,008 to 16,000, or 88.9 per cent. The value of machines has increased from \$823,290 to \$3,627,702, or 619 per cent. Machinery, while making the labor more productive, displaces a part of it very effectively.

3. Better machinery has made it possible to extract more coke from the coal; while the amount of coal used has only increased from 15,205,087 to 20,157,820 tons, or 33.0 per cent., the amount of coke produced has increased, as we saw, 96.2 per cent. To put the same fact in different words, coal gives now 65.1 per cent. of coke, instead of 61.1 per cent. as before, and only 3,670 pounds of coal are necessary to make a short ton of coke instead of 4,150 pounds, or ten years ago.

4. But this is not yet all. While all the growth of the coke industry has favored the producers, the price of coal, the main raw material of this industry, has declined from 70 cents to 45 cents per ton, so that it only takes 45 cents worth of coal to produce a ton of coke, instead of \$1.11, as ten years ago.

#### POSITIVE REDUCTION OF WAGES.

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#### THE CAPITALISTS' SHARE.

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deeds of thousands, are also working, men, you know, and the number of this productive class has risen from 161 to 963,015 officers, clerks, etc., and 48 proprietors, and their remuneration from \$113,032 to \$797,206 within these ten years. However, this is only a small part of the profits of the industry. The bourgeois statisticians do more darts to touch upon the question of profits than of wages, but we can do a little reckoning again. There is the value of the raw material, there the expenses, and there again the value of the product. We get the sum of expenses by adding the salaries, the wages, cost of raw material and miscellaneous expenses as given in tables one to six, pp. 4 and 5 of the Bulletin, 630, and we obtain the following results:

For 1880, the value of the products, was \$16,408,345, and the expenses, \$16,705,788, clear profits therefore, \$402,557, or 2.5 per cent.

In 1890, the value of the products was \$35,855,445, and the expenses, \$32,703,522, clear profits, therefore, \$3,851,923, or 10.7 per cent.

#### WORKINGS OF SMELTER TRUST.

Mine owners of Colorado and the Western states are already beginning to feel the effects of the organization of the smelter trust. Of course there are no smelters now, but what are in the trust; consequently all business must be done with the trust or the mines close. Mine owners are now being compelled to sign agreements giving practical control of the working of the mine and profits to be derived therefrom for five years to the smelter trust, and the only alternative is to close the mines. The smelter trust has made its connection with the railroad and other companies necessary to handling the business, and the mine owner has about as much to say in the deal, and what he shall get out of it, as a fly has about living during the winter in the frozen zone. Mine owners will attempt to maintain themselves by wage reductions, but as wages are about as low as miners will work for, it looks as though a great clash between wealth and poverty, the wealth producers is inevitable.—Pueblo Courier.

#### LOCOMOTIVE TRUST.

Harvey Pisk & Sons and William J. Sheldon & Co. as managers have completed arrangements for the formation of the American Locomotive Company, with an authorized capital of \$50,000,000.

The agreement provides for not less than \$6,000,000 of cash working capital in addition to the lands, plants, buildings, fixtures, trade-marks and good will, etc., at least the following companies:

"The Brooks Locomotive Works of Danbury, N. Y.; the Cooke Locomotive Works of Paterson, N. J.; the Manchester Locomotive Works of Manchester, N. H.; the Pittsburgh Locomotive Works of Pittsburgh, Pa.; the Rhode Island Locomotive Works of Providence, R. I.; the Schenectady Locomotive Works of Schenectady, N. Y.; the Richmond Locomotive Works of Richmond, Va. It is said that this combination will control at least two-thirds of the capacity of the entire country.

#### COTTON DUCK COMBINE.

The United States Cotton Duck Corporation is a new combine just organized with a capital of \$500,000. It is said to be the first of its kind in the world, and it is said to be the first of its kind in the world.

#### AN INTERESTING PARALLEL.

The recent cases in Lynn, Mass., and West Hoboken, N. J., where a capitalist party endorsed a Socialist Democratic candidate without his consent and in violation of the laws of the State, are a parallel to the case of the DeLeonists in the Twelfth district of that city.

A special election was held for councilman in the Twelfth district of that city. The Republicans had no chance of carrying the district, so they issued a circular asking the workmen to vote for the DeLeonist candidate against the Democrat. This action was, no doubt, merely a trick of capitalist politics. It is not surprising that the DeLeonists solicited Republican support, though it does not appear that they protested very vigorously.

The scheme did not succeed. The Democrat was elected and the DeLeonists had only 28 more votes than they got at the previous election without Republican support.

## "DIVIDING UP."

### How the Street Car Magnates Divide the Product of Their Employees' Labor.

A Capitalist Paper "Lets the Cat Out of the Bag"—On Most Moderate Statement, 40 Per Cent of Product Goes to Those Who Do Not Work—Result of the Albany Strike.

The capitalist papers cannot avoid now and then "letting the cat out of the bag" in regard to the relations of capital and labor. The latest instance is an article in the New York "Evening Post," giving the losses entailed by the Albany strike.

"The clear profits of the company for eleven days amount to \$12,700,918."

"Daily wages of 900 men at an average of \$1.80 per diem, \$1,620."

Thus, from figures whose correctness cannot be questioned, it appears that the stockholders of the company received from the laborers no less than \$1,620 every day of the year—not because they do any work in operating or administering the street car system (for officers' salaries are not included in the figures given), but solely because they own the property and have the legal power to permit men to work or forbid them to work.

Looking at it from the other side, it means that each day each of the workmen turns over \$1.80 as profit to the useless capitalists and receives \$1.80 for his long hard day of useful toil.

On the face of the figures, the capitalist takes, then, a little more than 40 per cent of the value produced by the workmen's efforts.

If, of course, a true statement of the case would be still stranger. On the one hand, a considerable part of the capitalists' share is not included in the item of "net profits," but is paid under the form of interest, rentals, etc.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that when the workmen get his wages he has to pay out a fifth or a quarter of the amount to a capitalist directly in the form of rent for his home, and on every article that he buys he has to pay the profit of half a dozen grades of capitalists—manufacturers, wholesalers, etc.

What would workmen gain by Socialism? Suppose the gain was no more than appears on the face of these figures, would it not be worth voting for and working for? Think it over.

#### RESULT OF THE STRIKE.

Although, as usual, "both sides claim a victory," in the settlement of the strike, there seems little ground for the claim on the part of the men. The system is not unionized, the new set approach being a promise of the company to receive and treat with commitment from the employees when they have grievances to present. The wage demand is only partially conceded.

And, finally, the agreement binds the employees to give six days' notice of intention to strike, which will enable the company to make ample preparation for filling their places by importing scabs and soldiers again.

The settlement may be the best that could be made; but if so, it only proves the necessity of using some other methods than those of pure and simple unionism. The street car industry is, of course, one of the hardest in which to form a solid organization or to carry a strike through to success. It is time for the street car workers to think seriously of supporting a political party of their own class, a party which declares for public ownership of all the means of production, to be administered, not for the making of profits but for the good of all the workers—which, under Socialism, would mean all the people. Such is the program of the Socialist Democratic Party.

#### TRACTION COMBINE.

Negotiations between the American Railway Company and the Electric Company of America for a merger of the two corporations have progressed to a practical agreement upon terms, leaving only minor details to be arranged. The plan contemplates the organization of a new company which will issue bonds and stocks to take up the two companies.

The American Railway Company has an outstanding capital of \$3,757,000. Among the properties controlled by the company are the traction lines at Ridgeway, N. J.; Joliet, Ill.; Dayton and Springfield, O. The Electric Company of America has an outstanding capital of \$20,257,050. The plants operated by the company are those of the Camden (N. J.) Light and Heating Company, the Atlantic (N. J.) Company, the Jamaica (L. I.) Company, and the Scranton and Dunmore (Pa.) companies.

#### STRIKE AGAINST POLICE.

All the switchmen employed in the Lehigh Valley Railroad yards in Buffalo struck Tuesday night. The strike of the switchmen against the machine men, arose from a situation created by the going out of the latter body of men; since the machine men went out on Monday, the yards of the Lehigh have been patrolled by policemen. The switchmen objected to working under police supervision and strike.

The Buffalo switchmen deserve to be complimented for their manly action.

—If the workers are ignorant of Socialism, our literature will educate them. Circulate *The Worker* and other Socialist papers.

## SMALL INVESTORS LOSE SAVINGS.

### New Oil Fields in Texas Are Already in the Hands of the Monopolists.

An Austin, Texas, dispatch of May 20 says: "The secretary of state today granted a permit to the Byrd syndicate, limited, of London, England, to do business in Texas. This syndicate has leased 52,000 acres of oil land in the Beaumont field, which it will immediately develop. It will also build and operate an extensive oil pipe line system in the new field. It is said that this syndicate has large interests in the Bakul oil district of Russia."

A few weeks ago we were being told what a great field the discovery of oil in Texas would open for the middle class, the people who have saved a few hundreds or a few thousands of dollars and who would now be able to compete with the great monopolists.

It now appears, however, that the small investors are getting experience and the monopolists are getting the oil wells. Another dispatch says:

"Now that the gambling stage has passed, investors in oil stocks and oil lands in the Beaumont field are looking into things in a practical manner, and the outlook, from the point of view of the majority, is anything but promising. Speculators have made fortunes in a day, but somebody will have to pay for it, and the small investor is awakening to a realization of the true condition of affairs and is fast learning that it is his money that has gone to make up those fortunes and that his chances for getting it back are not near so bright as he thought they were two weeks ago."

The small investor has purchased oil stock. Classed as small investors are thousands and thousands of widows, seamstresses, clerks, children and even domestics who have poured their savings, and in not a few instances money they could not spare, into the treasury of some one or more of the oil companies here. They saw visions of wealth and expected quick returns. What they will get is best told in the words of one of the most prominent promoters on the ground, who now admits that his conscience hurts him no little, though if the truth be known he has made a fortune here which should provide all his wants and needs for the remainder of his natural life.

Thus the Socialist theory is again verified by facts. The capitalist system leads inevitably to monopoly and the small investor is doomed to ruin in competition with the great capitalist.

#### OIL COMPANIES COMBINE.

The Canfield Oil Company of Cleveland, the Penn Petroleum Company of Corapollis, Pa., and the American Petroleum Company of Findlay, O., have combined under the name of the Canfield Oil Company, with headquarters in Cleveland. The capitalization is \$300,000. The three companies manufacture oil products, and will continue in operation as hitherto, the purpose of the combination being economy.

Now a part of the old employees will have to study economy more closely than they ever did before. Under Socialism, economy of production would mean more leisure and comfort for the producers. Under capitalism, it means overwork for a part of the producing class, want and anxiety for others, and increased profit for the capitalist.

#### BENEFICENT COPPER TRUST.

The plant of the American Smelting and Refining Company at Hylcon, Moit, employing over 900 men, has been closed down, the plant positively refuses to pay the men living wages under the new eight-hour law, which has just gone into effect. The trust wanted to make a horizontal reduction of 20 per cent. in wages. The men agreed to stand a cut of 10 per cent., and before an agreement could be reached the plant was ordered to be shut down "by the management in New York."

The law does not apply to all employees, but only to certain classes. The union mill and smelter men, however, with praiseworthy class-consciousness, insisted that all workmen employed must have the benefit of the eight-hour system.

TO FORM A POWDER TRUST.

The San Francisco "Chronicle" says that plans are under consideration for the consolidation of the large houses on the Pacific Coast which now control the powder business, through a pooling agreement, for the manufacturers on the Atlantic seaboard. At the present time four houses control the territory of the entire western part of the United States (including Colorado), British Columbia, and Alaska on the north to Mexico and Central America on the south. Heretofore the Pacific Coast companies have made monthly reports to one another in order to control the product and maintain prices on an agreed schedule. The project now is to bring all four local companies under one management and incorporation.

ANNUAL OUTING AND PICNIC.

The second annual outing and picnic of the 16th and 19th A. D. branch of the Socialist Democratic Party will be held on Sunday, June 22, 1901, at Eckelkamp's Atlantic Park and Casino, Ralph avenue, near Park place, Borough of Brooklyn. One-half of the proceeds will be donated to the Labor Lyceum Building Fund, and the balance used in securing permanent quarters for the branch. Elaborate preparations have been made by the committee for the entertainment of their friends, and it is hoped that Socialists generally will avail themselves of the opportunity of contributing to the success of the enterprise.

## THE STRUGGLE IN DAYTON.

### Deliberately Planned Lock-out to Break Labor Organizations.

The Benevolent National Cash Register Company is in the Conspiracy—Social Democrats Are Active and Find Willing Listeners.

DAYTON, O., May 18.—The labor situation is growing more serious every day. The National Cash Register Company, employing 2,500 people (1,000 organized) has been closed for over two weeks. The cause given was inability to effect a settlement with the Brass Molders' Union. The company has refused all conferences and refuses to talk at all upon the question.

The Buckeye Iron and Brass Works have closed down indefinitely. They employ several hundred skilled men. Cause given was "short of orders."

The Stillwell & Brice works closed down indefinitely last Thursday. They employ 700 skilled men, a large share being union men. They give, as a reason for shutting down, "lack of orders." But, a few days before closing, they offered to guarantee to every employee one year's steady work provided he would contract to leave his union. Did they lie then or are they lying now?

H. C. Mahrt's cigar factory, employing about 300 girls, boys, and women, closed indefinitely. Cause, "No work." This is the worst shop in the country, there having been a strike on for nearly a year. They employ a great many children from eight to eleven years old.

The W. P. Callahan machine shops and engine works which employ 200 skilled men have closed indefinitely. No cause given. There are numerous others who have followed the example of the larger concerns, and Dayton is practically shut up tight at the present time.

#### A DELIBERATE ATTACK.

The Manufacturers' Association of this city has been perfecting a plan for over one year, whereby they could close up everything and break the back of the organization. Dayton, with a population of 85,000, has at this time 16,000 organized workers and every day adds many more. This rapid growth has caused the manufacturers much alarm, and sometime ago they decided to make May 20 when the machinists demand nine hours the test of strength. They won't talk, and it will now settle down to a struggle without words, organization against organization.

#### SOCIALIST AGITATION.

The Socialists, all being out with the other workers, are busier than ever. On May 16, Comrade Chas. O. Jones of Cincinnati spoke for an hour to an audience of 500 workmen at the court house, and made a good impression. At 10 p. m. he was admitted to the regular meeting of the Central Trades Council, where he talked straight Socialism. The delegates applauded him greatly, showing that they are willing to give us attention. Comrade N. P. Gedge of Syracuse, N. Y., will be here on May 19 for a stay, and there will surely be plenty of propaganda work done. The S. D. P. organization has passed resolutions of sympathy with the strikers, affirming allegiance to their cause and pointing out the class struggle.

The outcome of the fight is hard to predict, but the workers are so well organized that they predict ultimate success, and the manufacturers will not talk. However, the eyes of the country are watching the fight from a distance and wondering what has become of all of the great philanthropic companies that loved their free slaves so well; that used to be located here.

#### MACHINISTS' STRIKE.

Apparently Good Prospects of Winning the Nine-Hour Day—Solidarity Necessary to Success.

The general strike of the machinists for a nine-hour day without reduction of wages seems, at this writing, to have a good prospect of success. More than 50,000 men went out on Monday and already more than a thousand firms in various parts of the country have conceded the demand, but many others propose to make a stubborn resistance.

The strike was well planned, at a time when the shops were comparatively busy and could not well afford to have work interrupted. The reduction of hours of labor is undoubtedly one of the most important objects to be pursued by the trade unions, both because of the increased time for thought and recreation it gives the workers and because it tends to give employment to a larger number of men and thus reduce the competition for jobs.

The point once gained, too, it is harder for the employer to win it back than it is to reduce wages after they have been raised; and, the shorter the working day, the greater is the power of the workers to resist later aggressions. Certainly all Socialists extend their sympathy to the machinists and wish them success. And may the time not be far off when they will be able to move on to the demand for an eight-hour day.

Some of the employers who have conceded the demand for reduction of hours have done so with an express statement that, if the men were not successful in bringing other competing companies to terms, they would not be bound by the new agreement, but would return to the old scale. This will, of course, be the fact in most cases, whether openly stated or not, unless the strike has general success. The workmen of all trades have need to keep this fact in mind, and it is necessary to stand together for common action, and that wherever a part of the working class are forced to submit to oppressive conditions the whole working class is bound to suffer for it.

#### BRICKLAYERS' LOCKOUT.

An Important Question at Issue Between Union and Employers' Association.

What is commonly referred to as the general strike of the bricklayers in this city is virtually a lockout. It arises over what is seemingly a minor affair, but is really a very important point in the interpretation of the agreement between the union and the Builders' Association.

The trouble arose out of the violation of the agreement by Contractor Reilly, in subcontracting some work to be done by non-union labor on a building where union bricklayers were employed. The latter struck and, under the agreement, the matter was taken up with the Builders' Association. The Association decided that Reilly had violated the agreement and compelled him to employ union men to finish the work.

The union, however, claimed that, since they had been forced to strike by the action of the employer, the time they had lost must be counted and paid for as "waiting time." This was the point upon which the suspension was forced, by the refusal of the Association to agree.

If this point is not sustained, the value of the agreement to the union is greatly reduced, for a contractor can then observe the agreement until it becomes profitable to break it and can then provoke a strike with practical impunity.

The outcome of the conflict is hard to predict, but the workmen are fully determined to fight it out, as they feel that a victory on this point is essential to the strength of their organization.

## AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run. Agents are personally charged with and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them. Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

## MACHINISTS IN CONNECTICUT.

NEW HAVEN, Conn., May 18.—The machinists' shorter workday movement in New Haven bids fair to be the most energetic and successful in the state. Already eight concerns have granted the nine-hour day, to take effect May 20, with ten hour's pay, and one has granted a Saturday half holiday with full pay and nine-hour day from September 1. Three shops are already on strike, one with prospect of early settlement, and five shops will strike if a satisfactory understanding is not reached. There are two lodges of the I. A. of M. in New Haven and about two-thirds of the machinists are organized.

In one shop which was not organized but which granted the shorter workday without loss of wages, as a result of the general movement, several of the men are Delcoites. It will be interesting to know if the object lesson makes any impression upon them.

HARTFORD, Conn., May 18.—Two thousand machinists gathered last night at the Auditorium to listen to addresses by James F. Carey of Hartford and Marjorie Moore Avery and David Goldstein of Boston. The speakers discussed the strike and the shorter workday movement from the Social Democratic standpoint and were listened to with attention and greeted with applause.

It was announced at the meeting that the Pratt & Whitney shops and the Pope bicycle works had refused to consider the demands for a shorter day, and that a strike would be called. The Screw Makers' Union announced that they had secured the membership of all the screw workers in the city and would strike in all the shops if their demands were not granted.

Several shops at Danbury granted the machinists' demands.

#### AT SPRINGFIELD.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., May 20.—The machinists' strike is on in Springfield with about 350 men making the demand for the nine-hour day. Strike headquarters have been opened in the headquarters of Local Springfield, S. D. P. The comrades here propose to do all they can to assist the men in gaining their demands and we shall try and demonstrate to the workers that the S. D. P. is their friend and that it stands for the working class, first, last, and forever.

#### IN VERMONT.

RUTLAND, Vt., May 18.—The building trades, including the bricklayers and masons, carpenters, and painters, made a demand for the nine-hour day at the same wages now paid for ten hours, to take effect May 13. The demand was accepted by the contractors without protest.

The machinists employed in the Rutland railroad car shops at St. Albans went out on strike, May 18, in protest against notices posted in the shop to the effect that "any machinist who failed to report for duty on Monday or else to furnish a physician's certificate of sickness would be discharged." The notices were to act as a warning to the machinists against making a demand for the nine-hour workday.

The marble workers are considering a demand for weekly payment of wages.

The garment workers have organized a union, and applied to the United Garment Workers for a charter.

D.

#### WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

In view of these decisions against Labor, which are coming with ever increasing frequency and severity, in view of the all but unanimous open approval given them by the capitalist press, what is the working class to do? There is but one thing to do: Recognize that the old parties are the tools of the capitalist class. Recognize that there is a class struggle. Recognize that the interests of workmen are everywhere the same and everywhere opposed to the interests of the capitalist class. Recognize that only united and uncompromising political action of the working class can solve the problem of saving the workers from complete slavery. Recognize that there is only one choice: Complete capitalist tyranny or the complete liberty of Socialism.

Let the workmen no longer bother their heads as to whether these decisions are good law or not. Anything is law that the courts declare to be law as law. Argument is useless. If workmen are dissatisfied with the law, let them not argue and protest and beg;

## MORE DECISIONS FOR WORKMEN TO CONSIDER.

### Courts Sustain Blacklisting and Enjoin Union from Assisting Strikers.

How "Even-Handed Justice" Between Capital and Labor Is Maintained by Capitalist Courts—The Right to Organize Is the Exclusive Property of Capitalists.

#### BLACKLISTING IS LEGAL.

The last week has brought us two more instances to add to the long list of court rulings against Labor in its daily struggle with the capitalist class. The two make an excellent parallel and we call upon all workmen to think them over carefully and remember their next election day.

#### BUT ORGANIZATION OF LABOR IS ILLEGAL.

The other ruling comes from the Circuit Court of Hopkins County, Kentucky, and completely denies a corresponding right of organization on the part of workmen.

Upon suit of the St. Bernard, Reincke, and Monarch Coal Mining Companies of Hopkins County, Judge Nunn of the Circuit Court has issued an injunction forbidding the coal miners' union, its members, and others:

1. To collect union dues;  
2. To collect strike assessments;  
3. To ask other coal miners to come out on strike;  
4. To distribute food to miners who are on strike.

This latest anti-labor injunction far surpasses even that granted by Justice Freeman of New York against the cigar makers last year.

The ground of the application for injunction is simply that the object of the union is to organize the men now employed in the plaintiffs' mines, "which would be injurious to the business of plaintiffs."

#### THE RIGHT TO WORK.

In times of strikes we hear a great deal about the "right to work." The capitalist judges, politicians, and editors loudly proclaim the inalienable right of every man to work when and where and how he will and denounce the "tyranny" of the trade unions which seek to abridge this right by establishing rules that men must not work for more than specified hours or for less than specified wages, and that one workman shall not take the place of another who has gone out in resistance to aggressions on the part of the employer.

But when it is a case of blacklisting, as in Chicago, or of a lock-out, as now in Dayton or in the building trades in this city—when capitalists make an agreement not to employ members of trade unions or persons who have had the impudence to resist the lowering of wages—the right to work is forgotten and the same capitalist apologists are loud in their defense of the "right to organize."

Thus it appears that, in the mouths of the sufferers of the present system, the "inalienable right to work" means the right of the individual right of organization means only the right of capitalists to conspire to starve workmen or poor, defenseless working girls into abject submission. And this interpretation is upheld by the power of government in the hands of both Republican and Democratic parties.

There is just enough truth in that joke to make it really and truly funny. For it is so very, very funny to think of the wife greeting Danny with a gripping heart and painful anxiety in her eyes. And how appropriately does the husband come home, despondent and dispirited, to meet his wife and the children he loves with news that he knows he will mean misery and want for them. The person who cannot laugh at that picture is a dullard indeed. We hope the workingman will appreciate this sample of capitalist piousness, for this so-called humor is a true index of the feelings of the ruling class towards the other class, whose misery and suffering it perpetrate the painfully.

#### THE HUMOR OF IT.

There are many humorous features in the present industrial situation, if one only knows where to look for them. It is true there are some people who refuse to see anything funny in the manner in which J. P. Morgan and his contemporaries are increasing their power over the lives and destinies of millions of fellow human beings. But these foolish persons do not appreciate the beneficence of trust magnates nor the benefits of privately owned trusts. For those who do appreciate these modern institutions, there is a never failing well of humor to be drawn upon at any time for the public edification and amusement.

A sample of this humor is published in the Brooklyn "Eagle," whose publishers and advisers are in a position to enjoy such wit at its real source. Here is the joke, headed "His Occupation Gone":

"Brooklyn Workman's Wife (in 1901)—What's happened, Danny?"

"Her husband (desperately)—Well, I've been fired by J. P. Morgan and there's nobody else in the world to work for!"

"Now, Mr. Workman, laugh and laugh heartily. There is just enough truth in that joke to make it really and truly funny. For it is so very, very funny to think of the wife greeting Danny with a gripping heart and painful anxiety in her eyes. And how appropriately does the husband come home, despondent and dispirited, to meet his wife and the children he loves with news that he knows he will mean misery and want for them. The person who cannot laugh at that picture is a dullard indeed. We hope the workingman will appreciate this sample of capitalist piousness, for this so-called humor is a true index of the feelings of the ruling class towards the other class, whose misery and suffering it perpetrate the painfully.

But the funniest part of the joke consists



## The Worker.

An Organ of the Social Democratic Party.  
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Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., Post Office at April 5, 1891.

## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) ..... 2,068  
In 1890 ..... 13,331  
In 1892 (Presidential) ..... 81,157  
In 1894 ..... 33,133  
In 1896 (Presidential) ..... 86,564

In 1898: S. L. P. ..... 82,204  
S. D. P. ..... 9,545

In 1900 (Presidential): S. D. P. ..... 96,918  
S. L. P. ..... 33,450

THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.



Municipal ownership under a capitalist party may lower taxes, but it will never free labor.

Socialists believe so firmly in the right to work that they would make it the duty of every laborer that exists under capitalism.

It's about time workmen were fired of providing amusement for the sons of millionaires by making themselves targets to be shot at.

Somebody should explain why President McKinley is riding deadhead while many workmen who helped build the railroads have to walk.

Since the legislature passed the anti-union law, the workers of Pennsylvania will now proceed to not only pass the butter, but the olive, too.

If it is true that Senator Hearst is comparatively poor because he has been an honest senator, the old gentleman is the exception that proves the rule.

In the midst of its heated campaign for union label soap the "Iowa Unionist" stops long enough to lift a short editorial from The Worker and credit it "Exchange."

Several of our exchanges continue to arrive at this office addressed to "The People" instead of The Worker. An immediate correction of this error will prevent confusion.

While the capitalists are thanking the members of the Twenty-third for their "heroism and devotion to duty," we take occasion to thank them for their bad marksmanship.

Every time a workman votes the Republican or Democratic ticket he endorses the idea that there shall always be a slave class and shows that he is willing to be one of the slaves.

That dynamite story from San Francisco is altogether too "fishy." We have heard before this of zealous police officers discovering dynamite that existed only in their imagination—or, if it actually existed, that they had first placed where they afterwards found it. It is an old trick.

Some good people uptown have organized a "Golden Rule Brotherhood," whose purpose is explained to be "educational work for the eradication of class prejudice." If they would try to do something to remove the cause of class prejudice these people might accomplish something. But that would shake the foundations of society—capitalist society.

Business men are of some use after all. Two of them got shot at Albany and the resultant indignation among the "respectable element" hastened the settlement of the strike and the withdrawal of the troops.

If the men shot had been workmen—strikers or not, rioters or not—indignation in respectable circles would have been at a discount.

The Hartford, Conn., "Telegram" says: "President Schwab is going about putting a chalk mark on the small plants to be closed by the steel trust. The life or death of a small manufacturing town may depend on the croaking of his thumb."

Well, doesn't the capitalist system guarantee the preservation of individuality?

If Father Phillips had been a Socialist instead of a "compilator," just imagine how the newspapers would have gloried over the apparently discredited circumstances of his death. As it is, all the "moulders of public opinion" are exerting themselves to prove that appearances are deceptive and that his conduct was quite irreproachable. "It makes all the difference in the world whose ox is gored."

When the "World" and "Journal" talk about Russian "Nihilists" we excuse them on the ground of general ignorance. But the "Times," which knows better, uses the same misleading phrase in reporting the Russian protest meeting held in New Henry Hall last Saturday evening. It also transforms the name of Comrade Sprague into "Spragow." Why not go the whole length and call him "Spragofsky," which would serve the purpose better?

It will now be in order for the boss of the "sunshiners" to revise the title page of one of the literary masterpieces circulated by his party. It should read something like this:

"TRAGIC PAGES  
"by Thomas Annals Hickey.  
"Late Gas-pipe Agitator for the S. L. P., Now Expelled for Misappropriation of Funds."

That would make a great hit, surely. Try it, Professor.

It is a peculiar fact that the people who continually insist that labor is not dishonorable, display a constant aversion to performing any labor themselves. They are content to allow others to work for them, but scorn the proposal that a system be inaugurated that would compel every person to work for themselves, and thus for society. These are the people who will never believe that they have any other mission in life than that of parasitism until the workers unite and force another mission upon them.

The New York "Journal" was kind and thoughtful enough to offer to send free of charge messages from relatives and friends to the young butchers in the gallant Twenty-third Regiment while they were engaged in their noble mission of quelling the savages in Albany. This sign of friendship for the American workmen entitles the "Journal" to many bushels of resolutions of thanks from trade unions everywhere. And the labor papers are thus furnished with further incentive to advertise Mr. Hearst as a "friend of labor" and his papers as "fearless and generous advocates of labor's cause."

A TRUCE TO APOLOGIES.  
The delegates in the Central Federated Union who spent so much time in deprecating the use of violence in the Albany strike might have used their breath to better purpose. We do not advocate the reckless and futile use of violent measures. We do not know whether any of the Albany strikers took part in such rioting as occurred or not. The officers of the union deny it and they probably tell the truth, at least so far as their knowledge extends. But, whether it was strikers or sympathizers who did it, we are not going to apologize for them. When the capitalist class ceases to use violence and fraud against the producers of wealth, then it will be time enough to read lessons of patience and meekness to workmen. If provocation is an excuse, then the strikers had ample excuse for violent action. The street car employees in Troy and Albany, as in New York and Brooklyn, and everywhere else, are treated like dogs, day after day. The company which profits by their excessive and unpaid labor shows not the slightest respect or consideration for their welfare as human beings. As soon as a man ceases to be satisfactorily profitable, though he may have worked faithfully for years, though his labor may have added thousands of dollars to the dividends of the company, he is turned off, without the least compensation, to shift as he can. And so long as he remains in the company's service he is bullied and insulted, in addition to being forced to half his product. The street car employees owe neither gratitude, respect, nor any other kind of feeling to Messrs. Brady, Whitney, and the others whom they have enriched.

Mark, we say the men had ample excuse for violence—not ample justification. Violent action—not any other action, for that matter—is justified only by its results. In general, under existing circumstances, violence on the part of strikers does not do much good. It is commonly supposed to do some harm, by "alienating public sympathy."

But what is called public sympathy is a very doubtful factor, at the best, unless public convenience is directly involved. And we all know that, however orderly a great strike, the capitalist press is always ready to manufacture stories of riot; and capitalists have been known secretly to incite riot in cases where the strikers obstinately insisted on preserving good order. It is a case of "give a dog a bad name, and shoot him." If the dogs are to be shot, it is easy to give them the bad name.

There have been many cases, on the other hand, where the fact that the workmen were well known to be ready for violent action, should occasion arise, has had the effect of strengthening their position and frightening the capitalists to a respectful state of mind. Of course this will generally be the case only where, as in parts of the West and South, every man is armed and where the violent action, if any occurs, is deliberate and organized.

If the rioting at Albany is to be condemned, let it be on the right grounds—simply and solely because it did no appreciable good. And let it be consistent, too, that the rioting was the expression of a perfectly right and praiseworthy feeling of resentment against legalized robbery and oppression and of sympathy with its victims. The thing for intelligent and sincere labor agitators is, not to counsel forbearance and respect for capitalist "law and order," but to foster this resentment and this sympathy and to give them intelligent expression in revolutionary action, both in the union hall and at the ballot box.

A few weeks ago some capitalist editors and preachers manufactured a scandal about Comrade Heron and spent barrels of red ink in parading it before the public as an argument against Socialism. This week a genuine scandal is brought to light with an anti-Socialist preacher in the leading role. Notwithstanding the genuineness of this latter affair, we refrain from following the example set by Hearst, Hills, DeLeon, and other hirelings of the sort in the Heron case. We frankly say that the rather disreputable passing of Father Phillips has nothing to do with the truth or falsehood of the religious dogmas that he preached or with the rightness or wrongness of the policy of "harmony between capital and labor" that he advocated. Socialists can afford to be honest and decent. Capitalist apologists cannot.

ADVICE FROM THE ENEMY.  
The "Times" takes occasion to give some good advice to the trade unions, gratis. That is, it gives to the trade unions some advice which is decidedly good for capitalist interests. There is much food for thought in the editorial. If the reader, instead of accepting the conclusions of the "Times" editor, will consider the matter for himself, here it is:

"It is well known that a part of the disadvantage that British trade feels in rivalry with the American is due to the excessive of the trade unions, and especially to the higher rates of wages maintained for inferior work and the reluctance of the unions to the employment of labor-saving machinery. To a considerable extent and much more than in this country the purpose of the unions has been to restrict the hours of work and increase the number of workers, rather than to extend the product and increase the amount of work to be done. Against this handicap employers are powerless to co-operate unless they can have the co-operation of the unions. For even a successful fight with the unions would badly cripple them in their competition with American rivals. Accordingly, they have appealed to the unions to study the whole question with them. The unions have been persuaded to do so by their perception of the fact that the demand for British labor is likely greatly to be cut down if the Americans secure the markets heretofore enjoyed almost exclusively by the British."

The essential point is that the community of interest thus recognized by both sides in this emergency really exists at all times, and that both parties will be vastly better off if they can come to a mutual agreement as to their relations than they can be when those relations are determined only by constantly renewed conflicts. The British Industrial Union ought to become permanent, and it ought to be an example for intelligent employers and employed in this country."

To test the correctness of the advice here given, let us ask: Suppose the English workmen do consent to work more hours for smaller wages, what will be the effect? Obviously, that British capitalists would make larger profits and that American trade would suffer by British competition. Then suppose the American workmen, acting on the advice of the "Times," also agree to the demands of their employers, what will be the result? Obviously, again, that the balance will be restored, and American capitalists will get larger profits. The capitalists on both sides of the water will have gained, and the laborers on both sides will have lost.

The interests of workmen everywhere are identical. Not only is it good for the American workman that he should work fewer hours and get higher wages, but it is good for him that the British workmen should do the same. When the workmen on

either side of the ocean allow their work to be made heavier, they benefit their employers at the expense both of themselves and of their fellow workmen across the water.

There was a time when the interests of the American capitalist class were really opposed, in many respects, to those of the British capitalist class, because they were actively competing to sell the goods their employees produced. That day is rapidly passing away. The financial columns of the daily press show us how largely the stock of American corporations is held in England, and how largely the stock of British companies is held in America. It is no longer a question of British capitalists against American capitalists; it is a question of capitalist against workman, regardless of nationality. But it is the shrewd game of the capitalist class to conceal this fact and to play off the workmen of one country against those of the other in every possible way. "Divide and conquer" was the wise maxim of the Romans; other nations allowed themselves to be divided, and they fell. The working class should profit by the lesson.

If the British workmen are cajoled into conceding to the manufacturers' wishes in order to "save British trade," the result will be disastrous to us as well as to the British working class. If any considerable body of American workmen are cajoled into the "harmony policy" of which we have heard so much, the result will be disastrous to both. The welfare of the working class is to be advanced only by resolute, aggressive, and uncompromising organization of the workers in all countries, for reduction of working hours, for increase of wages, for whatever advantages may be gained by trade action, and by corresponding action on the political field.

It is rather bewildering after being assured many, many times over that there are no sweatshops any longer on the East Side of New York to learn that no less than fifty factory inspectors are engaged in going through the sweatshops, hunting for violations of the factory laws. Aside from the revelation itself, one can gather the sort of conditions that prevail when fifty inspectors are needed at once to find violations. Of course, under a systematic enforcement of the laws, fifty would not be needed at once. But our wise executives do not do things that way. After the present attack of virtue has subsided matters will be allowed to run on unheeded until another crusade with the fifty inspectors will be necessary to clean up. Between spasms, the sweatshop proprietors will be allowed to violate the law at their own undecayed will. While the fifty are working here the sweatshops in other parts of the state are flourishing. Thus it is that, so-called factory laws are rendered ineffective, and the sweatshop workers continue to suffer at the hands of their exploiters.

SCHWAB AND UNIONISM.  
It is no new thing to hear that Mr. Schwab, president of the Steel Trust, does not believe in labor organizations. He never did believe in them and the wretched condition of the workers in the Homestead mills is sufficient testimony to the fact. Without organization or solidarity among the working class, the capitalist class can exploit labor to the full extent of its appetite. It is not so important to the workers that Schwab should be against trade unions as it is that the workers should and trade unions a means of resistance against the encroachment of capitalism. It is to be expected that Schwab, the representative of the capitalist class, should be opposed to any movement on the part of the workers to resist oppression, because the interests of his class require that the workers should be disorganized—that every individual workman should be left at the mercy of the trust of which Schwab is the head.

It is not the suppression of individuality that Schwab and his class fear—it is the restriction of the exploiting power of the capitalists by the determined organization of the workers. It is not the destruction of incentive on the part of the workers that Schwab quakes at—it is the destruction of the system that gives the capitalists opportunity to rob the workers.

This is the basis of Schwab's objections to labor organizations. It is upon the same basis that the bandit objects to armed resistance on the part of his victims. Instead of peaceful acquiescence in his wishes, and the very fact that Schwab should pronounce against labor organizations is reason enough for every workman to join the union of his craft—and help make it a "ragging union."

The "Journal," which advertises itself as a "twentieth-century newspaper" and a "friend of the toiling masses," made another exhibition of its inverted honesty last Monday. Among those who discussed the Albany strike at the Central Federated Union on Sunday was Isaac Cowen. He spoke at some length, and very clearly, showing that such conduct, with all their attendant evils, grow naturally out of the fact that the means of production are owned by private capitalists who live by fleecing the wage workers. He showed that Socialism would remove

the cause of these evils. He showed how important, in such cases, even to a more shortsighted view, is the possession of political power. Finally, he showed that, while the Republican and Democratic parties nate in using this power for the benefit of the capitalists, the Social Democratic Party alone stands pledged to use it for the defense of the workman.

The "Journal" gave what pretended to be a report of the meeting, including Cowen's speech. Undoubtedly the reporter gave in the matter in full. But before it went to the composing room, every reference to the Social Democratic Party was carefully stricken out, and the readers of the "Journal" might naturally infer that Comrade Cowen was urging the workmen to vote the Democratic ticket, that of the Citizens' Union, or any other.

The editors of the "Journal" are truly "wiser in their day than the children of light." They know the value of a lie and the value of a half-truth. It is time for workmen to cut such papers and support their own press.

Events have proved that the temperance advocates played into the hands of the liquor dealers when they secured the passage of the anti-canteen law. The soldiers now frequent the saloons and low dives instead of the canteens, and are becoming demoralized accordingly. Of course there is no prohibition of the supply used by the officers in their private quarters. That is unlimited, because the officers are of the class whose needs must be satisfied at whatever cost. So long as trade for the liquor trust is kept brisk, few care for the common soldiers. Recruits here plentiful under a system where improved machinery owned and operated for the benefit of a class constantly swells the army of unemployed. Then the duller the moral instinct, the more degraded the soldiers become, their recklessness and brutality increase and the more readily and blindly will they fulfill the mission of bloodletting, wrapped up for them by their "superiors." Nothing could more clearly illustrate the folly of attempting to patch up the present system than this anti-canteen fiasco. The trail of profit runs over and through every transaction of daily life, poisoning and corrupting all that it touches and daily making more imperative the entire destruction of the profit system. Work and vote for Socialism!

Li Hung Chang has made an appeal for help for famine-stricken millions in China. Li is the richest man in China. He has more than enough to supply him and thousands of others with plenty of food and clothes for the rest of his life; yet there are people starving at his very doors. There is probably enough food stored up and held by Li Hung Chang and his class to satisfy the demands of the hungry. It was so in India, where the few allowed millions to die rather than give them food without making a profit on it. What Li Hung Chang wants is American money to pay for the necessities in his keeping, which he can sell for a fat profit. He is a parasite and families can be made profitable for parasites who own the land and machinery which the people must use in order to live, whether in China or in America. Under Socialism, no man would be able to corner the necessities of life, and if droughts should come the people would be prepared to meet them. Then the danger of droughts would be averted by irrigation and other modern methods. But Socialism would be impracticable, for are not famines necessary to prevent the people from becoming extravagant and falling victims to over-indulgence?

A few years ago protests against the trusts were met with the statement: "The trusts will destroy themselves. Monopoly of any industry will tend to raise prices, and when prices are raised new capital will be invited into that industry and thus competition will restore matters to their normal condition." Has that been the case? Take the Standard Oil Company. Where are all the competitors that have entered the field against that monopoly? Disappeared within the jaws of the octopus itself. They had no chance against the unlimited capital of the trust, and their stockholders either went broke or were bought up by the Standard Company, if they became too troublesome. Many of these companies are wild cat schemes launched in order to be bought up by the trust. As it has been in the oil industry, so has it been in the sugar trust, and so will it continue to be in all other industries. A fifty million dollar company has been started in Pittsburgh to fight the billion dollar steel combine. Either the promoters are conducting a bunco game in order to beguile the public into buying stock and then sell out to Morgan & Co., or else they do not appreciate the game they are going up against. No matter which, they will finally go the way of all trust competitors. And this comes about because those who compose the billion dollar trust also compose the oil, sugar, tobacco, and other trusts and the capital of the nation is within their control. They dictate investment and when they have a monopoly of an industry they are not foolish enough to permit competition within that industry. That's why competition cannot sur-

vive industry. Ownership is constantly concentrating into fewer and fewer hands, and the real question before society to-day is whether we shall have an industrial despotism or an industrial democracy. It rests upon the working class to say whether we shall continue to suffer under capitalism or enjoy freedom and true prosperity under Socialism.

W. S. Wier, in Southern Labor News, To a student of sociology the question of foreign emigration is a question of industrial economy. The labor fight is an international one. The conditions which produce paupers in the old world will produce paupers here. The land in Europe is held by the aristocrats and the paupers who flock to our shores are fleeing from the merciless parasitism growing out of the social conditions of that country. They are not lazy people—wherever they go they will travel miles and miles a day peddling knock-knacks—all the while carrying a pack that would make a Georgia mule tired. If they are vicious, it is the result of the environment of ignorance and filth in which they are born and raised. If they are competitors in the field of labor here, they would be competitors at home. The great transportation companies can ship Georgia cotton to Europe and manufacture it into cloth as cheap as it can be made here. If they don't come here to work the owners of transportation facilities and machinery can go to them. The question must be solved by the people understanding the causes which produce effects and applying the remedy. The aristocratic princes of Europe occupy about the same position that the plutocratic princes of America are beginning to occupy here—and all because they know how to monopolize the land and instruments of production and distribution.

Winnipeg, Man., Voice.  
A commercial agency reports business prospects "bright in Canada and the United States." In the next paragraph it remarks that failures are increasing in both countries. It takes a purely commercial intellect to appreciate and reconcile such apparently conflicting accounts. Turning to past records we find that the failures of Canada and the United States foot up to a yearly average of about \$250,000,000 in liability; can a commercial system with such a percentage of wreckage be considered a wise or stable one?

San Francisco Advance.  
Prosperity is here. The advance agent will come around again soon to look upon his handiwork. We opinioned him a study of the causes which drove one man to suicide that his dead body might earn the food for his family which he could not win, and which drove another man to steal twenty-five cents worth of brass to get food for his family. Is this his vaunted prosperity?

Hamilton, O., Herald.  
It is said that 87 per cent. of nearly 4,000 American millionaires "made their own fortunes." They didn't. Other men made these fortunes for them. As soon as they got a little money they secured command over the services of other men, and they utilized these services to make more money. The more money they gained the greater became their command over the services of others, and they made profit out of the services of other men whose services they bought. That is how their millions accumulated. They didn't "make" it themselves; others made it for them.

The Public.  
Mr. Rockefeller's humble boast that he has good food by giving away millions of dollars in wages, is conclusively answered by the Pittsburgh "Post," which says that this "was not a gift, but value given for labor performed."

LABOR GOLD-BRICKED IN MANITOBA, TOO.  
The Manitoba legislature of 1900 enacted a "Factories Act" which was assented to July 5, 1900, and supposedly became a law in the province. Remaining inoperative and useless, a delegation representing the Trades and Labor Council and Labor Party waited upon the government early this year, and before the opening of the last session, seeking an explanation and urging application of the provisions of the act. The delegation was assured that the non-application of an inspector was the result of an oversight; but that as soon as an appointment could be made, an inspector would be appointed and the law administered. One of the last things done in the last session was to make an appropriation of \$800 per annum for an inspector, and up to date no appointment is made. In framing the act the government professed to take a great interest in the subject, but it looks as though it had passed in the same spirit as the liquor bill, as a sop, and that the laborers had been gold-bricked. It is as plain as a pikestaff that the government does not want to administer the act.—Winnipeg Voice.

Grant Allen's little book on "Charles Darwin, His Life and Work" is well worth the attention of every man who wishes to have an idea of the evolution philosophy. The Socialist Literature Company has still a few copies of the Humboldt Library edition, clearly printed and bound in stiff paper. Price, while they last, 30 cents.

A thief who entered J. Pierpont Morgan's home in London was taken away by the police before Mr. Morgan secured what house change the thief had in his pockets.—Chicago News.

You could hardly persuade a leaf on a branch that its welfare will increase with the mutilation of the other branches of the common parent. But you can a patriot.—M. Winchewsky.

Current Literature

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

NOW AND THEN, A Social Sketch and a Play in two acts, by Fredrick Kraft. New York: Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, 1901. Pamphlet, 32 pages. Price, 19 cents.

The author introduces this little play as being intended "to teach Socialists thought through the medium of the stage, with the limited means at the command of the amateur."

There is comparatively little incident; the story serving merely to justify the lively dialogue, which presents the sufferings of unemployment and poverty. Jack Williams is a young mechanic who is out of work, and the first scene is in his home, now a scene of want and despair. His wife and a friend, a shop girl, talk over their hardships. Their conversation is interrupted by the entrance of Mrs. Williams' brother, Johnny, who has "entirely swiped" a basketful of potatoes. With the common sense of untaught laymen he refuses to see anything wrong in his action, and his sister's accepted ideas of honesty give way when Jack enters, disheartened with failure and fainting with hunger and fatigue. A further dialogue ensues between Jack and a Salvation Army girl who brings some food and some pious cant for the relief of their sufferings. On her exit Jack falls into a sleep of exhaustion and a prophetic vision appears to him, pointing the way to freedom.

The second act is of a visionary character, the time being the year 1950. The joyousness of life to be expected in a Socialist commonwealth is brought out in the dialogue and is enforced by contrast when Williams, now an old man, tells the story of how he became a labor agitator. The scene closes with a song, the music for which is given in the last pages of the pamphlet.

The play is well adapted for presentation at entertainments given by the party or by labor organizations and should serve the double purpose of pleasing the audience and suggesting serious thought on social questions. It can easily be produced by amateur talent, and has been warmly received when presented at the Commune (Festivals in Jersey City, for which it was written).

May we express the hope that Comrade Kraft will find leisure and inclination soon to attempt something on a little more ambitious scale in the way of a play dealing with the trials and struggles of labor?

The book is attractively printed and bound. It forms No. 3 of the Socialist Library; the subscription for which is 60 cents a year. Single copies cost 10 cents, and ten copies, the number necessary for production, are sold for 75 cents. Address the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

POEMS OF THE TIMES, By Miles Mounsey. New York: The Alliance Publishing Company, 1901. Cloth, 170 pages. Price, \$1.

We should like to speak well of this book, for the intentions of the author are unquestionably good, his sympathies wide, and his ideas, if not original, yet generally right; and we are eager to greet any good literary expression of the forward movement. But it must be said quite frankly that the verses show very little literary ability and that the author could have expressed himself much better in prose.

We may pick out, as the best in the volume, some stanzas from "Solidarity," the opening poem:

The world is mine, to live in and enjoy,  
Is mine to love in and to weep,  
Is mine to build upon but not to destroy  
Is mine to labor in and sleep.  
The world is mine, my heritage it is;  
I feel no alienation;  
Who's her mother of woman, it is also his,  
His title is my own.

"Is more my own than were it given me  
To hold in undisturbed repose,  
For you make it blossom like the rose,  
And whom will not for my title fight  
Must likewise his resolve;  
And whose triumph on another's right  
Attitudes also mine."

We stand together; neither can escape  
Our joint responsibility.  
The injuries we do each other shape  
Our common racial destiny.  
Our interests are mutual, communal.  
Wherever we may be,  
Are we not all covering fellow-fall,  
Are we not all to die?"

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Considerably better in point of literary workmanship, but nearly if not quite as devoid of knowledge or sympathy with the subject are the extensive series of F. Hopkinson Smith, Octave Thanet, and a few other magazine writers. Almost invariably these popular authors have a case to prove that most workmen and all union men

Current Literature

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

NOW AND THEN, A Social Sketch and a Play in two acts, by Fredrick Kraft. New York: Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, 1901. Pamphlet, 32 pages. Price, 19 cents.

The author introduces this little play as being intended "to teach Socialists thought through the medium of the stage, with the limited means at the command of the amateur."

There is comparatively little incident; the story serving merely to justify the lively dialogue, which presents the sufferings of unemployment and poverty. Jack Williams is a young mechanic who is out of work, and the first scene is in his home, now a scene of want and despair. His wife and a friend, a shop girl, talk over their hardships. Their conversation is interrupted by the entrance of Mrs. Williams' brother, Johnny, who has "entirely swiped" a basketful of potatoes. With the common sense of untaught laymen he refuses to see anything wrong in his action, and his sister's accepted ideas of honesty give way when Jack enters, disheartened with failure and fainting with hunger and fatigue. A further dialogue ensues between Jack and a Salvation Army girl who brings some food and some pious cant for the relief of their sufferings. On her exit Jack falls into a sleep of exhaustion and a prophetic vision appears to him, pointing the way to freedom.

The second act is of a visionary character, the time being the year 1950. The joyousness of life to be expected in a Socialist commonwealth is brought out in the dialogue and is enforced by contrast when Williams, now an old man, tells the story of how he became a labor agitator. The scene closes with a song, the music for which is given in the last pages of the pamphlet.

The play is well adapted for presentation at entertainments given by the party or by labor organizations and should serve the double purpose of pleasing the audience and suggesting serious thought on social questions. It can easily be produced by amateur talent, and has been warmly received when presented at the Commune (Festivals in Jersey City, for which it was written).

May we express the hope that Comrade Kraft will find leisure and inclination soon to attempt something on a little more ambitious scale in the way of a play dealing with the trials and struggles of labor?

The book is attractively printed and bound. It forms No. 3 of the Socialist Library; the subscription for which is 60 cents a year. Single copies cost 10 cents, and ten copies, the number necessary for production, are sold for 75 cents. Address the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

POEMS OF THE TIMES, By Miles Mounsey. New York: The Alliance Publishing Company, 1901. Cloth, 170 pages. Price, \$1.

We should like to speak well of this book, for the intentions of the author are unquestionably good, his sympathies wide, and his ideas, if not original, yet generally right; and we are eager to greet any good literary expression of the forward movement. But it must be said quite frankly that the verses show very little literary ability and that the author could have expressed himself much better in prose.

We may pick out, as the best in the volume, some stanzas from "Solidarity," the opening poem:

The world is mine, to live in and enjoy,  
Is mine to love in and to weep,  
Is mine to build upon but not to destroy  
Is mine to labor in and sleep.  
The world is mine, my heritage it is;  
I feel no alienation;  
Who's her mother of woman, it is also his,  
His title is my own.

"Is more my own than were it given me  
To hold in undisturbed repose,  
For you make it blossom like the rose,  
And whom will not for my title fight  
Must likewise his resolve;  
And whose triumph on another's right  
Attitudes also mine."

We stand together; neither can escape  
Our joint responsibility.  
The injuries we do each other shape  
Our common racial destiny.  
Our interests are mutual, communal.  
Wherever we may be,  
Are we not all covering fellow-fall,  
Are we not all to die?"

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**"REVOLUTIONARY."****Comrade Feigenbaum Protests Against a Current Interpretation of the Word.**

No action ever yet suffered in treaty by preparing even in the moment of a nation, most vigorously for the field. — George Washington.

In contradistinction to the anarchist and political conception of revolution, as violence and bloodshed, it is in vogue in our printed and verbal agitation to define the word "revolutionary" in our mouth as meaning: "Aiming at a radical change of things." This definition is only a part of the truth, and consequently misleading. "The truest requisite of a correct understanding of things," says Engels (I quote from memory), "is a use of words in their most defined and exclusive meaning, not according to their philological origin, but to their historical development and common use at the present time. Take, for instance, the word 'locomotive.' Philologically it means a thing that moves from their resting places." In this sense a horse is a locomotive, an ass is a locomotive, a ship is a locomotive, a dog, everything that moves things is a locomotive. But taking the word in this broad original sense, it means nothing distinct, although the right thing also, and in this way we will not understand each other. What word will always be a mixture of truth and untruth. If, for instance, we say: "There were always locomotives," it will be partly true and partly untrue. We can pretend here to have been telling a truth, saying in view of the fact that the word "locomotive" has been used in the past to mean only one certain sort of mover, i. e., the steam engine, and to be correctly understood, we must use it in this sense ONLY. It is thusly defined to the exclusion of all other original meanings of it.

Equally is this the case with the word "revolutionary." It is true that originally and philologically it meant, pertaining to a radical turnover of things. It is also true that in other than political matters it is still commonly used in this sense. But in political matters this definition will represent only a part of the truth and will be misleading.

For when we speak of "revolutionary Socialism," we use this adjective in contradistinction to other kinds of Socialism. In the above-named meaning of the word revolutionary, however, every kind of Socialism—as far as it strives to the Co-operative Commonwealth—is revolutionary, for they all aim at a "radical turnover of things." Thus the Christian Socialists, the Fabians, the French, "Socialist Radicals," are even the most moderate progressivists, who admit the final aim of progress to be a radical change of the social structure, are revolutionaries!

Thus, there must necessarily be some more distinct meaning in this word, if it is used in contradistinction to other kinds of Socialism than ours. And so there is, and it is our duty to make it as clear as possible, lest the line of demarcation be wiped out and even the application of this adjective will no more save our party from having its platform unduly "broadened."

First we called ourselves Socialists, and a Sir William Harcourt could come and say: "We are all Socialists now." Then we answered: "No, that is not what we mean; we are revolutionary Socialists." Now other Sirs can—according to the above definition of the word—come and say: "Yes, of course, revolutionary, but we are all revolutionary Socialists now."

The same juggling is lately being performed with all the adjectives we prefixed to our name in the belief of thus guarding against being exchanged for valueless imitations. They are now not only all revolutionary, but also all class-conscious, all scientific, all materialistic, all believe in these things, only they differ in the way the words in the above-named line are used. It is true that the word "locomotive" has been used in the past to mean only one certain sort of mover, i. e., the steam engine, and to be correctly understood, we must use it in this sense ONLY. It is thusly defined to the exclusion of all other original meanings of it.

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Time in Philadelphia and Yank. Saknow, editor of the Literary and Political Review, "Obsequies" (The Common Cause), in Sofia. The so-called "Liberal" majority, however, refused to set any of the Socialist deputies.

In the elections of last February, consequent upon the fall of the Liberal front-hoof ministry, the Social Democrats held in the industrial centers, to face a coalition of the capitalist parties. In spite of this, and in spite of the arbitrary suppression of Socialist papers, our comrades elected two deputies—G. Aikhoff, editor of the party organ, "Rabotnichesky Vestnik" (The Labor Journal), at Silvest, and T. Bakaloff, a writer and poet, at Tienovo. The total vote was larger than even in 1900, and the activity of the party covered a larger number of cities and towns.

Parliamentary elections were held in Spain last Sunday. It is reported that the government has obtained a working majority which it usually does, elections in Spain being much like elections in Arkansas. No report of the Socialist vote is yet obtainable. The dispatch says that at Bilbao there was a quarrel between a ministerialist and a Socialist, in which the latter was killed. The name of our murdered comrade is not given.

The Socialists of Paris commemorated the fall of the Commune of 1871 last Sunday by processions to the La Champs, bearing garlands to be laid at the foot of the wall where so many brave Communards were shot by the victorious butchers of "law and order."

There is a general but entirely erroneous idea that the lands of the islands of Great Britain and Ireland are cultivated to their utmost capacity to support the population. The truth is the reverse. In 1860 the total area of the United Kingdom was officially given at 75,535,572 acres. The number of acres under grain crops was only 8,863,500, and of those rather less than two million were under wheat. There were 10,579,805 acres under hay, clover and roots. The rest of the country, less that covered by cities, towns, villages, and factories, is under pasture or used for deer forests, sporting purposes, or left wild. Landlord's rents, church tithes and all kinds of rates and taxes have driven the people off the soil into the cities, or to the colonies and the United States. There are now less than 700,000 people engaged in the cultivation of the land in Great Britain and Ireland out of over 41,000,000 in the population. They cannot compete with the cheap wheat of America, Russia, and India, especially the last, where the wages of an agricultural laborer are about \$20 a year, whereas with to keep himself and family.

European papers are alarmed at the Socialist activity in Italy. In Stradella the Socialists made a splendid increase and elected their candidate to Parliament. In Catania a veritable triumphal procession was held in honor of the man who was released from prison, when he was sent for showing that the Mafia was conducted in the interest of the capitalist government. The party has increased its branches from 546 to 782, and its dues-paying membership from 19,174 to 28,497 in the last six months, and its publications consist of two magazines, one daily and sixty-two weekly newspapers.

The census returns just published show that Ireland has a population of 4,450,546—a decrease of 5.3 per cent. in the last ten years. This is slightly less than the loss in the previous decade. The steady decrease of the population of this beautiful and fertile island, so dearly loved by its natives, is due to the oppressive exactions of the capitalist class.

A St. Petersburg dispatch of May 20 says: "The strike here is practically crushed. A very large number of arrests have been made, 250 persons having been taken into custody at one factory alone. Over thirty and possibly a hundred persons were wounded in a street fight, with the mob shouting the police. Several deaths are reported elsewhere as a result of strike riots."

The students have done much to rouse the workers in the factories to a sense of solidarity and of resentment against exploitation and tyranny. Though the movement has, so far as its immediate objects are concerned, been crushed by military power, the workers have learned much and will not give up their revolutionary ideas.

The Socialists of Japan held a meeting on April 28 at Tokyo and decided to organize into the Social Democratic Party. The announcement of the platform and the issuance of a manifesto were postponed until a later date. The Tokyo "Labor World" says: "Those present at the meeting are all good and sound Socialists and thoroughly mastered on Socialism."

All working people and others interested in the Socialist movement who live in the Twenty-first Assembly District and vicinity are invited to attend the next meeting of the Social Democratic Party of that district, to be held at Colonial Hall, corner of One Hundred and First street and Columbus avenue, Sunday evening, May 26. Dr. J. J. Moore will speak. Questions and discussion will be invited after the lecture. Comrade Spargo will be the speaker at the following meeting, Sunday evening, June 2. Come and bring your friends to hear what the Social Democratic Party is in the field for.

The Bulgarian Social Democratic Labor Party has branches in all of the cities and in several villages. Even in its infancy the party contributed to the downfall of the tyrannical Stambouloff. "The Organ of the Balkans," which took place in 1894. In the elections of that year the Social Democrats won two seats in parliament and carried the same constituencies again in 1896. After the fall of the Conservative ministry of Stambouloff in 1896, our comrades elected six deputies—including the two members of the movement, Dr. Stambouloff, editor of the "Balkans," and Dr. Stambouloff, editor of the "Balkans."

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**PARTY NOTES.**

J. S. Roche is speaking for Socialism throughout Southern California, "but creating a lively stir among the people."

State Organizer Scott Anderson is touring California. Established new locals at Dixon and Sacramento, and held fairly successful meetings at other places.

"Social Idents," published by Geo. H. Gibson at Elgin, Ill., has suspended.

The "Social Crusader" announces that Comrade W. T. Brown of Rochester has allied himself with the Social Crusade, and will conduct work throughout the east on evenings during the week, as he will remain in Plymouth Church for the present. Those who desire him will need to pay expenses to and from Rochester only. In the May number of the "Social Crusader," Comrade Brown gives his reasons for joining the crusade in a characteristic article entitled, "The Need and the Duty of the Hour."

State Committee, New Hampshire S. D. P., will meet at 441 Congress street, Dover, N. H., Thursday, May 30. Visitors will be cordially welcomed.

Geo. E. Brown (Uncle Sam) is now assistant editor of the Seattle "Socialist." His "Thoughts by Your Uncle" are invariably good. So are the illustrations and descriptive articles published weekly by the "Socialist," which is in the front rank of Socialist papers.

The Italian comrades will get out a special issue of the "Avanti" on June 8 for the city and state of New York. It will contain articles of local interest: 1. The appeal of the "Labor Secretariat" to the labor organizations. 2. The attitude of the S. D. P. towards the trade unions. 3. What does the Social Democratic Party want? 4. The state and national platforms. 5. The Socialist vote, etc., etc.

It will be a good sheet for propaganda for all times and very effective to hatter down the prejudice of some Italian comrades against the S. D. P. A few loyal Italian comrades are working with the "Avanti" against great odds. The S. L. P. comrades having boycotted the paper, comrades all over New York state wishing to spread this special number amongst the Italians of their locality will please send in their orders at their earliest convenience. Bundle rates are: For 50 copies, \$1.25; 100 copies, \$2.00; 200 copies, \$3.25; 300 copies, \$4.25. Address "Avanti," 229 E. Ninety-fifth street, New York.

Springfield in the latest place to fall in line with a splendid new S. D. P. local. "We organized with twenty members and with a hundred before the campaign is on," writes an enthusiastic comrade. That's the way to talk! Ohio is the map, you bet! There are now fifteen good working locals in the state, and several more in sight, as well as a number of independent branches. It has been an uphill fight to bring order out of chaos. What with the crazy patch Populist Union Reform movement, the mendacity of the old S. L. P., that is now ready for the corner, the misunderstanding with the Chicago board, and the antagonism of the old parties and their politicians, capitalists and newspapers, as well as the hypocritical pretences of the Jones non-partisans, the Social Democrats of this state have had their own troubles. But the brave, steadfast comrades are marching out, out of the shadows. Their organizations are growing, and their memberships are growing, and here's, hoping that the good work will continue.—Cleveland Citizen.

Eugene V. Debs and Mother Jones have been invited to be the Labor Day orators at Cleveland in September.

Comrade A. M. Simons of Chicago speaks at Kalamazoo, Battle Creek, and Ann Arbor, Mich., before June 1.

Comrade John H. Powell, who was elected assistant, assessor in Ward Three, Haverhill, last December, died recently.

At the special election for alderman from Ward Five held in Lynn on May 14 the Social Democratic candidate polled 113 votes and the Socialist Labor Party 83. The refusal of the S. L. P. to unite with the Social Democrats gave the capitalist press opportunity to ridicule the Socialists. This, together with the campaign of abuse and vilification carried on against the Social Democrats by the S. L. P., injured the Socialist vote as a whole.

The Eleventh and Twelfth Ward branches of Jersey City have appointed a committee to secure subscribers for The Worker and also to call upon those whose subscription have expired. This committee is made up of hustlers.

Local Hudson County will have a water excursion to Richmond Beach on August 25. All branches are requested to send a delegate to the excursion committee, which meets Tuesday, June 4, at headquarters, 224 Central avenue, Jersey City.

The Social Democratic Women's Society held a meeting at 206 E. Eighty-first street last Wednesday, with Dr. Anna Ingemann as the speaker.

The comrades of Queens County held a joint meeting to put into effect the general vote for the consolidation of locals in that county into one body. The united body will be known as Local Borough of Queens. L. Hahn was elected as organizer. Jacob Hill, a treasurer, and P. Heller as financial secretary. Comrade Heller lives on Grove street, between Covert and Underwood avenues, Wyckoff Heights.

The difference between the highwayman and the captain of industry is just this: In exploiting mankind the former generally draws the line at children.—M. Wischniewsky.

**THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE.**

Grain workers at Ogdensburg, N. Y., struck against the introduction of patent shovels, which enable five men to do the work of twenty. Shovels are running men are idle. So are the capitalists, who own the shovels, but the capitalists won't go hungry. Workingmen and capitalists vote together for the capitalists to continue owning the machines.

The International Union of Textile Workers and the American Federation of Textile Operatives have joined forces and formed one union to be known as the United Textile Workers of America. "The combination" will unite the textile workers of the North and South and affects unions with 75,000 members.

The "Labor Record," edited by R. L. Zitz, has been removed from Joplin, Mo., and will be published in future from Kansas City, Mo.

Six miners were killed and eight injured and burned in an explosion at Farmington, W. Va.

William F. Sherlock, former editor of the "Unionist," official organ of Typographical Union No. 6 of New York, died of pneumonia last week. Sherlock was prosecuted by the "Sun," found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment on Blackwell's Island, where he contracted the disease from which he died. It is said that the libelous article appeared in the "Unionist" without his knowledge.

At the annual election of officers of Typographical Union No. 6 held last week, Mansel G. Scott was elected president and Jerome F. Henley re-elected secretary-treasurer.

The rapid growth of labor organizations in San Francisco has so alarmed the capitalists that they have been looking for some opportunity by which they can concentrate their efforts in an attack upon the trade unions. The demands of the cooks, waiters, and restaurant employees for one day's rest a week and \$9 a week have presented the opportunity, and now organized labor and capital are lined up in a fierce struggle. There are several hundred strikers with the whole force of organized labor in San Francisco behind them, while the employers have the support of the bosses, who believe that the strikers will find it harder to retain public sympathy in a boycott against restaurants than in any other fight. The Social Democrats held a mass meeting and endorsed the strike, pledged their support and are hustling for the strikers. "Advance" is doing valiant service.

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America had \$14,175.25 in the general treasury on May 1.

Bricklayers and masons won their strike at Elizabeth, N. J. They will receive 47 cents an hour, and no pay on Saturday for the hours they do not work. They were receiving 40 cents and asked for 50 cents and a Saturday half holiday.

The electrical workers of Newark prefer a six-hour day the week round to a ten-hour day with Saturday half holiday, and it is said that the desire is quite general. The present agreement, which specifies a week of fifty-four hours, the men consider that the extension of ten hours' work in five days is not compensated by the longer rest at the end of the week. The employers oppose the demand because they have incidental expenses by the present plan. Of course, a difference of 1 or 2 per cent. in fuel is more important to them than a corresponding difference in the workman's physical health and his enjoyment of life.

At the convention of the American Federation of Musicians, at Denver, the following officers were elected: President, Joseph M. Webber, Cincinnati; secretary, Owen Miller, St. Louis; treasurer, Otto Dörschner, St. Louis; vice-presidents: George Nachman, Baltimore; Frank Spiegel, Denver; John Phoebe, Peoria; L. G. Herie, Syracuse; Will S. Rose, Kansas City; Charles E. York, Portland, Ore.

There is likely to be another shut-down of the New England cotton mills. The Manufacturers' Association met last Friday and appointed a committee to arrange, if possible, for a further four weeks' curtailment. Reduction of wages was considered, but the other plan was decided on, as serving the purpose of the employers—increased profits—just as well and presenting less danger of trouble. Whichever way the capitalists go about these things, the workmen "get the worst of it."

The printing press feeders are up against it. The "Coming Nation" describes a new invention of a rotary sheet feeder with a speed of 5,000 net feet per hour. It is entirely automatic, feeds separate sheets and will take anything from French folio to nine-point cardboard. As a job contrivance it is also a wonder and will wipe out many press workers in large offices.

A Philadelphia firm is advertising a new printing machine warranted to do the work of sixteen men and is operated by two men.

According to statistics, coal mined in England last year was \$39,000,000, and wages received by the miners amounted to \$27,000,000, or about one-sixth. The ratio holds good in this country. It doesn't mean robbery; it is "business."—Cleveland Citizen.

National Union of United Brewery Workers voted \$200 for workingmen of Puerto Rico.

Mother Jones is organizing the servant girls of Scranton and Wilkes-Barre.

It is a pleasure to learn that Comrade F. L. Robinson has been elected a delegate to the International Typographical Union convention that meets

**FROM THE WORKERS.**

Comrade F. L. Robinson of Louisville, Ky., is one of the most energetic and able workers for Socialism in the South. For this reason the following opinion from him is especially gratifying: "I must say The Worker grows better right along, and its position on questions of facts, etc., is impressive. At least this is the way I view it. I am opposed to subsidizing the working class with Carnegie libraries or Carnegie checks to build labor lycées."

Two subscriptions came in from Comrade Shay of York, Pa., who is one of the faithful.

Comrade Dinges of Chicago renews his subscription for a year and remarks: "I like The Worker better every time it comes, and wish it success." Thanks.

The boys at Union Springs, N. Y., are going to get up a club of subscribers for The Worker, but Comrade Russell says he doesn't want to mislead any members, so he sends in his subscription to avoid accidents. Send in your clubs. They can't come too fast or too large.

Along with his subscription to The Worker, Comrade P. Levin of Brooklyn sends these encouraging words: "I cannot depart with The Worker of April 28 without expressing my gratitude for the good it did me. I am a Socialist, but being young and lacking experience in life, which is the best education of Socialism, many questions were confronting my mind. I was delighted when I found these questions clearly answered in the May Day issue. I hope that The Worker will continue its vigorous work and with every number make converts to the cause of Socialism." Increase our readers and our kind words.

William Madson is a Philadelphia comrade who knows how to make the best use of The Worker, as shown by the following: "I have taken your paper for six months, and I am satisfied that it is the paper for the working people, and I can say that I never destroyed a single one of them, but handed them around to my shopmates, and I know that the papers have done a lot of good. I renew my subscription for six months, and for a friend for the same period. This is the real practical work that counts. If all our readers would follow the example of Comrade Madson the cause would make greater progress."

Comrade Duffie of Dover, N. H., sends in a bunch of subscriptions and says: "I think very highly of your paper, and especially in regard to the attitude of the paper on the Labor Day matter. I hope to be able to send you more subscriptions from time to time, but my sphere of action is limited, as I work in a small shop. We were very much pleased with the May Day Worker." Every little helps. Comrade Duffie.

Plans for organizing a watch trust are reported to have been abandoned.

Milwaukee coal concerns pooled into one company.

Rumors are current that a gigantic soap combine to include all the big soap manufacturers is being organized.

Retail grocers of Grove, Ia., have soap manufacturers to save rent and other expenses and make more profits.

Plans are being made to consolidate the Chicago elevated roads under one company. It is said that the owners would save \$250,000 a year—mostly in wages.

The reorganization of the Leather Trust is practically completed. William Rockefeller owns one-third of the stock.

Mine owners in Indiana are discussing a consolidation with a capital of from \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000.

It is stated that the Union Lead and Oil Company is negotiating for control of the Sterling Lead Company of Pittsburg, and contemplates building a million dollar smelter at or near St. Louis.

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**NOTES OF COMBINATION.**

Plans for organizing a watch trust are reported to have been abandoned.

Milwaukee coal concerns pooled into one company.

Rumors are current that a gigantic soap combine to include all the big soap manufacturers is being organized.

Retail grocers of Grove, Ia., have soap manufacturers to save rent and other expenses and make more profits.

Plans are being made to consolidate the Chicago elevated roads under one company. It is said that the owners would save \$250,000 a year—mostly in wages.

The reorganization of the Leather Trust is practically completed. William Rockefeller owns one-third of the stock.

Mine owners in Indiana are discussing a consolidation with a capital of from \$15,000,000 to \$20,000,000.

It is stated that the Union Lead and Oil Company is negotiating for control of the Sterling Lead Company of Pittsburg, and contemplates building a million dollar smelter at or near St. Louis.

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**OFFICIAL.**

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Secretary, Wm. Butcher, Room 12, 184 William street, New York City. Treasurer, Bldg., Court Square, Springfield, Mass.

THE SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO.—184 William street, New York City. (The Party's Literary Agency.)

CALIFORNIA STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, John M. Reynolds, 422 Sutter street, San Francisco. Meets on first and third Fridays in the month.

CONNECTICUT STATE COMMITTEE—E. White, 222 Exchange street, New Haven. Meets second and fourth 17 days in the month, at 65 North Clark street.

ILLINOIS STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, R. A. Morris, 314 E. Indiana street, Chicago. Meets second and fourth 17 days in the month, at 65 North Clark street.

KENTUCKY STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, Dr. Walter T. Roberts, 214 West Main street, Louisville, Ky.

MAINE STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, N. W. Leonard, Thomaston.

NEW JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, John P. Weigel, Trenton, N. J. Meets first and third Fridays in the month, at 5 p. m., at Newark.

NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, Lewis D. Hill, 65 E. 4th street, New York. Meets every Monday at 8 p. m., at above place.

OHIO STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, Harry D. Thomas, 130 Champlain street, Cleveland.

MISSOURI STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, Wm. J. Hager, Room 7, 22 North Fourth street.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, Albert G. Clifford, Mount Auburn station, Cambridge, Mass.

MICHIGAN STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, Clarence Neely, 917 Johnson street, Saginaw, Mich. Meets at 121 N. Baum street.

MINNESOTA STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, Geo. R. Leonard, 412 Globe Bldg., Minneapolis.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, J. K. 6222 Woodland avenue, Philadelphia. Meets at 121 N. Baum street.

VERMONT STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, P. V. Danahy, Brunswick house, Rutland.

WASHINGTON STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, Jas. D. Curtis, 1735 18th avenue, Seattle, Wash.

NOTICE: For technical reasons, no Party announcements in this issue are not in this office by Tuesday, 3 p. m.

**THE WORKER CONFERENCE.**

A regular meeting of The Worker Conference was held Sunday afternoon, May 20, at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. 4th street. The following were present: Mr. Wm. Butcher, National Secretary, B. D. W. Springfield, Mass. Dear Sir and Comrade:—Replying to your favor of the 15th inst., we beg to say that your former communication was referred to the executive board, and is now under consideration. The routine business, several matters of importance were discussed, but owing to the meagre attendance no action was taken at the meeting. It was decided to call a special meeting







# The Worker

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PRICE 2 CENTS.

## AN EARLY CONVENTION.

**National Convention of Socialists to Be Held at Indianapolis, Beginning July 29.**

Chicago Board Accedes to Suggestion from Springfield—Unaffiliated Organizations of New Hampshire, Iowa, Oklahoma, and Texas Participate.

The readers of The Worker will undoubtedly be glad to learn that the date of the convention to be held for bringing together the Social Democratic forces of the United States has been advanced from September 10 to July 29. The earlier date, it is considered, will make it possible to complete the details of the united organization in time so that in all states where elections are to be held in November an energetic campaign may be made without any needless distraction by internal party affairs.

This convention, which was called by the Chicago convention of the adherents of the Chicago National Executive Board, in accord with a suggestion from the Springfield National Executive Committee, was set by the former body for the second Tuesday in September. The Springfield committee urged that the date be changed, if possible, to the month of July, and the same suggestion came, it seems, from other quarters also.

The Chicago Board has acceded to this suggestion, its decision being announced in the following words, forming part of a communication addressed to the party members affiliated at Chicago and dated May 10:

"Requests have been made for an earlier convention, notably by the S. D. P. of Springfield, Mass., and many members and branches of our own party have also urged the change. It is argued that not only the reason that the Socialist forces should occupy a definite attitude toward each other at an early date as possible, but that the elections which take place in some states in the fall make the expense doubly burdensome and will reduce the energy and activity in those campaigns; added to this the expense of maintaining the separate national organizations makes it desirable that an early convention be held.

"Therefore, in view of the foregoing, our executive committee does hereby change the date of holding said convention from September 10 to July 29, 1901. All other conditions in the original call, so far as concerns our organization, remain the same. This is to be considered the official act and will of the party unless on or before the 10th day of July, 1901, there shall be a general demand on the subject by ten local branches located in one state, or five branches located in three different states, according to Section 13 of the constitution."

It is not expected that any objection will be made to the change or, at least, that such objection will have sufficient support to require a general vote of the Chicago adherents on the change.

The convention will, therefore, in all probability, meet at Indianapolis on Monday, July 29. The terms of the call are such as to admit all organizations holding as their aim the collective ownership of the means of production and recognizing the necessity of independent political action as a means to that end. Aside from the two national organizations having their headquarters at Springfield, Mass., and at Chicago, respectively, the unaffiliated Socialist organizations of New Hampshire, Texas, Iowa, Oklahoma have already signified their intention to participate.

Each organization may send as many as five delegates as it finds necessary or convenient, each delegate having a voting power equal to the length of his constituency as shown by the attested signatures of members standing attached to his credentials. Thus a local constituent of one hundred members in good standing may send only one delegate if it so chooses, and if his credentials bear the signature of one hundred members he will send one hundred votes to the convention. If it chooses to send two delegates, each member will sign the credentials one or another, so that the hundred votes will be divided among them.

## SOCIALISM IN OKLAHOMA.

Under date of May 20, Comrade Chas. Vall writes to me from Medford, Oklahoma, as follows: "I have had fine success all through Oklahoma. The movement is under good leadership here, is surprising how the farmers are being held of the question. Many are in fifteen or twenty miles to attend the meetings. I finished my first territory Saturday night, having given 250 addresses. \*\*\*

We have some good clever men in movement in Oklahoma, and we have good reports from the territory at the next general election. I am very much pleased with the outlook. Socialism in Oklahoma, and the grades of it encouraged with the success of the meetings and will push the work from now on."

The Socialists entered the political arena in Oklahoma for the first time last year when 815 votes were cast. Since that time the movement has gained fifty in strength and aggressiveness.

## SOCIALIST AGITATION.

Active Outdoor Propaganda Under Direction of N. E. C.

The National Executive Committee at Springfield has begun the work of agitation which is to be carried on energetically from now till election day.

Comrade Vall, having completed his work in Oklahoma, is spending the present week in Iowa, speaking at Hittman on Monday, May 27, in Ottumwa on Tuesday, May 28, in Muscatine on Wednesday, May 29, in Clinton on Thursday, May 30, and in Van Buren on Friday to Monday, June 1.

Arrangements have also been completed for sending out two speakers for outdoor agitation. Silvio Origo of Springfield has already started on his tour. He spoke this week at Chicago, Holyoke, Worcester, Clinton, and Hallowell, Mass. His dates for the next week are as follows:

Monday, June 3—Brookton, Mass.  
June 4—Fall River.  
June 5—Lawrence.  
June 6—Amesbury.  
June 7—Nashua, N. H.  
June 8—Portland, Me.  
June 9—Adams, Mass.

During the following week he will speak at Bennington, Rutland, Ludlow, Montpelier, Barre, Granville, and Burlington, Vt. Thence, according to present plans, he will proceed through New York to Ohio and back through Pennsylvania and New Jersey, finishing the tour at Port Chester, N. Y., on July 15.

Comrade Geiger, who is now engaged in fighting the Dayton lockout, will begin a tour next Tuesday, with the following dates:

June 4—Portland, O.  
June 5—Xenia.  
June 6—Toledo.  
June 7—Cleveland.  
June 8—Mansfield.

Thence he will go through Pennsylvania and New Jersey to New York. It is expected that Comrade Spargo will also begin a tour in a short time, beginning in Connecticut.

All locals which desire to be included in these circuits should at once communicate with the National Secretary, in order that arrangements may be made with the least possible expense.

## OHIO MINERS AND THE SYNDICATE.

The Columbus "State Journal" says that there are indications that the miners of Ohio are preparing to protect themselves against the syndicate that is rapidly securing control of the coal fields of the state. The 2 per cent. assessment on the gross earnings of all miners of the state, ostensibly levied to provide funds to aid the strikers now out in the district, is said by some well informed authorities to be the first step in the campaign. An operator is quoted as saying:

"I do not think that there will be any trouble, but there is no doubt that the miners view with alarm the attempts of a syndicate to get control of the coal fields of the state, and feel that it will not be well to be left to its mercies."

The miners recognize that it will be much harder to fight a syndicate owning practically all the coal mines in the state than to fight a large number of competing operators, as in past years. They are doing their utmost to strengthen their organization for the conflict. It is to be hoped that many of them will think also of strengthening the only party that is sure to support them by political methods in time of trouble. Public ownership of the mines, with a working class party like the S. D. P. in power, would be the best possible guarantee of short hours, fair remuneration, and protection of life and limb for the men who do the work in the mines.

## CAPITALISTS PLAY DOG IN THE MANGER.

The Pennsylvania House has failed to pass a bill to revoke all licenses granted under the act of 1848, to dig and mine coal under public lands and rivers, which had not been taken advantage of within twenty years after they had been issued, although it was asserted that by the revocation the state would recover enough to pay for the erection of a dozen state capital buildings.

The Pennsylvania legislature is completely under capitalist control and it is not to be expected that it would pass such a bill. It often suits the interests of capitalists to get control of lands, mineral deposits, and other natural resources, as well as of patents for improved methods of production, simply to hold them out of use. As some one has remarked, the difference between the capitalist class and the hog species is that the four-legged animal lets others get to the trough when he has had enough. Even if the capitalist cannot make a profit by working a mine he will not let anyone else work it so long as the law allows him to retain control.

Remember that the first thing to be done in order to get Socialism is to place the working class in control of the government. This cannot be done by voting for the various "reform" parties, because these do not even claim to be strictly working class parties. The Socialist Party boldly declares its hostility to the capitalist class, and when it is placed in power the working class will be in power. Where now the capitalist class rules in politics because of its dollars, then the working class will rule because of its numbers. Missouri Socialist.

How many new subscriptions to The Worker have you sent this month?

## VICTORY IN SPAIN.

**For the First Time a Socialist Is Declared Elected to Parliament.**

Opposition to Government Methods of Influencing and Falsifying Elections Growing More Resolute.

The most that can be learned about the result of the late Spanish elections, so far as Socialists are concerned, is that one Socialist candidate was declared elected to the parliament in Madrid. This is the first victory in a parliamentary election in that country, and although the news came over the cables, the capitalist papers all suppressed it.

Spanish elections are far from being a free expression of the will of the people, as the government uses both corruption and intimidation to affect the result, and when such means fail often brutally falsifies the count. This has been done in previous years when Socialists were actually elected in Bilbao and other cities. The government has tried the same game this year to keep its majority, but the people are becoming more resolute in their resistance to clerical and military abuse and the government may come to grief.

## ANOTHER VICTORY.

**Two Socialist Candidates Are Elected in an Alabama City.**

At the city election held in New Decatur, Ala., May 7, Comrade Jas. J. Morrow, Socialist candidate for city clerk, received 688 votes; Republican candidate, 162; Democrat, 151. Socialist plurality, 526; Socialist majority, 375.

L. W. Allen, Socialist candidate for alderman in the Third Ward, was elected over the Democratic candidate by six votes. The Socialist vote at this point last fall was 125, showing a gain of over 300 per cent.

## STRIKE OF CUBAN LONGSHOREMEN.

Havana Stevedores and Other Laborers Show Their Solidarity—Military Government Abuses Its Powers to Aid Employers.

All the stevedores of Havana harbor are on strike and longshoremen are required, in the interest of the solidarity of labor, to keep away from Havana until further notice.

The authorities at first tried to break up the union, as previously reported, by imprisoning its officers on charges of "sedition." This attempt failed of its purpose, however, and was abandoned, because the government saw that, instead of intimidating the rank and file, it only filled them with indignation and renewed their resolution to resist the combined capitalist and military oppression.

The political leaders then beseeched the union to submit the question to arbitration, to which they consented, subject to certain conditions.

Secundo Toral, secretary of the union and one of the men who were unlawfully imprisoned, writes as follows: "The strikers were to be introduced to Governor Wood by General Garcia, who has been our champion all through the strike. Wood refused to receive our committee and Garcia tendered his resignation of official position and protested against the attitude assumed by the Governor-General."

"Arbitration is now pending. The strike grows out of the strike of March, which was due to the meddling of the government in private affairs of the workmen, seeking to assist the employers in forcibly imposing a scale very detrimental to the interests of longshoremen and stevedores. That strike was ended by brutal interference of the military government, thus tampering with our legitimate rights."

"The present strike is for the same reasons and because the scale agreed upon at the end of the former strike has not been complied with, resulting in the most oppressive conditions being imposed upon us. The strike movement was very strong and absolute solidarity prevailed throughout the labor organizations of Havana. We have received demonstrations of fraternal sympathy from the federations of Cardenas, Matanzas, Cienfuegos, Barahona, Pinar del Rio, and Santiago de Cuba, and from other ports. The importance of the movement to all laborers is evident. Complete order prevailed throughout the whole conflict, showing the good organization of the men. There is a firm determination in all of us to renew the strike in case the board of arbitration does not satisfy the legitimate demands of our class."

It is worth noting that none of the American capitalist papers have published any news of the strike—the Bryanite and anti-imperialist press thus showing the insincerity of its opposition to the administration which is helping to oppress the laborers. The only papers which have so much as given the news are those of the Social Democratic Party—the daily "Volks Anzeiger" and "The Worker."

The effects of a large nation, industrially organized, have reached their ideal of happiness when the producing, distributing, and other activities are such that each citizen finds in them a place for all his energies and aptitudes, while he obtains the means of satisfying all his desires.—Robert Spencer.

## RECORD OF COMBINATIONS.

**Combines Formed in Last Five Months Aggregate More Than Two Billions of Capital.**

Street Railways, Gas and Electric Systems, Iron and Steel, Railroads, Glass, Cigars, Salt, Tin, Copper, and Many Industries Affected—A Record That Shows the Futility of Bryanite Palliatives—Collective Ownership the Only Solution.

The New York "Sun" of May 31 prints a remarkable article on "Trusts Made This Year"—giving a list, confessedly incomplete, of the industrial combinations formed since the going out of the old century, less than five months ago. In this short time, according to the estimate of the "Sun," combinations have been formed involving an aggregate capital "above the two billion dollar mark—above it, possibly, by several hundred million dollars."

The list starts with the consolidation of the Detroit STREET RAILWAYS, with a capital of \$12,500,000. This was closely followed by the consolidation of four ACCIDENT INSURANCE companies, with aggregate capital of \$30,000,000.

Several days later the representatives of a number of GLASSWARE WORKS of Pennsylvania and other Eastern states met at Philadelphia and formed a combination with about \$20,000,000 in capital stock.

## TO TRUSTIFY CIGARS.

Next was the American Cigar Company, capitalized at \$10,000,000 and formed as an annex of the American Tobacco Company for the purpose of extending the domination of that powerful monopoly so as ultimately to control the manufacture of cigars. The International Machinery Company, a combination of manufacturers of machinery used in the tobacco industry, was formed at about the same time.

A combination of a somewhat different sort, but as powerful in its way as any of the others, was formed on Jan. 19 at Salt Lake City. This was the American Cattle Growers' Association, in the formation of which men from fifteen "range" Mississippi states, who represented hundreds of millions of capital, were concerned.

Another Western combination was effected at Denver late in January when all of the PAPER-MAKING FIRMS in that city were consolidated by a syndicate in which Delaware capitalists were prominent. The name of the new company is the Rocky Mountain Paper Company.

On Jan. 23 a combination of Florida pine apple growers was made, the object being to provide a central market so that economies might be made in transportation.

Jan. 26 brought the news that the England Brick Company, recently organized at Boston, had acquired a number of brick yards in Maine, and was after all the rest.

Early in February the Planers' Distributing Company, commonly called the millboard combine, was formed. It was reported that 132 Southern cane planters had already joined it.

On February 26 the great MEAT PACKING HOUSES of Swift & Co. of Chicago absorbed fifteen Eastern competitors, forming a combine with a capital of \$7,500,000.

Thirty FLYING MILLERS, most of which are in Pennsylvania and Maryland, were organized a day or two later under the name of the Eastern Milling and Export Company, with headquarters in Philadelphia. The mills in the combination have a daily capacity of 10,000 barrels.

About the same time came the news of a great financial combination—the North American Trust Company, incorporating the International Banking and Trust Company and the Trust Company of New York, as well as several New Jersey corporations, two national banks and the Bank of Havana. The capital of the new corporation is \$50,000,000.

The same month saw the formation of the Canadian Salt Company to control the whole salt production of the Dominion, and a consolidation of Eastern carpet companies with a capital of \$5,000,000.

The month of March made a still greater record. The first notable event was the combination of several large coal and coke companies, with an annual product of 1,000,000 tons a year.

At the same time the Lackawanna Coal and Coke Company acquired the Viaton Colliery Company for \$175,000 and the Black Lick Land and Improvement Company's holdings for \$225,000.

The San Jose Light & Power Company was consolidated with the two street railway systems of that city, and the motor line to Alhambra.

The Consolidated Copper Company was incorporated with a capital of \$3,000,000, to acquire thirty-one copper mines in Arizona as well as sundry railroads and gas, electric, and water plants.

On March 18 eleven well known manufacturing firms, combined under the name of the National Wire Hazard Company, with a capital of \$1,000,000.

The American Can Company, commonly called the Tin Can Trust, about which a great deal was said before the actual formation of the company, was incorporated at Trenton on March 19, with a capital stock of \$80,000,000. The persons really interested did not appear in this great combination with the formation of this great combination with several days later. The president is Edwin Stearns of Chicago and a number of the other officers are prominent in the affairs of the American Tin Plate Company.

The avowed intention of those controlling the new combination was to secure practically all of the tin can factories in the country, and they came pretty near securing them, for ninety-two firms came into the consolidation, enabling it to have representation from Maine to California and from Florida to Alaska. Three Manhattan firms joined at first, four in Brooklyn, also from Chicago, twelve from Baltimore, four from Boston, two from Buffalo, two from Detroit, three from Philadelphia, three from Toledo, two from San Francisco and so on. Since that time the Independent Tin Can Company, capitalized at \$1,000,000 and owning a number of valuable patents, has been absorbed.

Other large combines formed were the Eastern Milling and Export Company, capital, \$4,000,000; the Federal Water Power and Cable Company, capital, \$1,000,000; the Europa Realty Company, capital, \$1,000,000; and the American Cereal Company, which united ten cereal companies with a capitalization of \$3,000,000.

been making profits of \$107,000 a month for sixteen months past.

## LOCOMOTIVE COMBINE.

The American Locomotive Company, with a capital of \$50,000,000, comprising practically all the locomotive firms in the country except the H. K. Potter Company of Pittsburgh and the Baldwin Company of Philadelphia, came into public view only a few days later. Several of the holdings of the new company were taken over from the International Power Company.

The particulars of the big SALMON DEAL, by which four-fifths of the world's salmon industry will be united, were made public about May 20. The combination was planned on an estimated business of more than \$15,000,000 a year, and it is estimated that over \$800,000 will be the annual saving as a result. Charles R. Flint is one of the men most interested in this great combination.

## MORE COMING.

The foregoing is, as stated, only a partial list of combinations formed in the first five months of the year. And there is no evidence that the progress is coming to a halt. Here are a few combinations which are in process of formation:

The huge molten plants of Pennsylvania and Ohio.

The fourteen largest shoe making concerns in the country, with a capital of \$10,000,000.

Nearly all of the agricultural implement makers of the country, with a proposed capital of from \$50,000,000 to \$75,000,000.

The three tile guarantee, and trust companies of Cook County, Illinois, to stop rate-cutting.

A lead trust out in Missouri, in which Thomas F. Ryan and William C. Whitney are said to be interested.

Consolidation of the Elgin National Watch Company, the Waltham Watch Company and the K. S. Yost Watch Case Company into a big \$75,000,000 Watch Trust, to introduce Swiss movements and to stop overproduction.

Agreement of eight publishers of popular magazines to combine into the American Music Publishing Association, with a capital of possibly \$4,000,000.

## THE ONLY SOLUTION.

This summary may well be read in connection with the article which appeared three weeks ago, showing the wide ramifications of the Standard Oil Company, which link together all the great combinations into a single system, daily growing more closely organized and more powerful. In the face of such facts it is idle to talk as the Single Taxers of "restoring competition" or to indulge in the Bryanite dream of "controlling the trusts." The Bryanite has died in giving birth to its legitimate child, monopoly. Organization, combination, concentration—this is the order of the future. The only question is: Shall the trusts own the people or shall the people own the trusts? Shall all the benefits of centralized industry continue to belong to a ruling and exploiting class or shall they be made the heritage of all the people?

While the Democratic party stands wringing its hands and waiting in Spain, while the Republican party, standing for the capitalist class, declares that property is here and that change is needed—

"The Social Democratic Party boldly looks to the future, and announces the only possible solution to the problem of the working class: collective ownership of the means of production and distribution for the benefit of all the people."

## GROWTH OF THE COPPER COMBINE.

William O. Rockefeller, secretary of the Amalgamated Copper Company, has issued a call for a special meeting of the stockholders on June 1, to take action on the proposed increase of the company's capital stock from \$25,000,000 to \$100,000,000.

The increase of capital is so upon the advisability of acquiring the stock of the Boston and Montana Mining and the Butte and Boston Mining, either for cash or by the exchange of stock of the Amalgamated.

The consolidation of the copper interests under standard oil control is certain to be completed within a short time.

## GLUCOSE FIGHTS INDEBTED.

The end of the long and bitter fight between the Glucose Company and the independent planters of the Charles Pope Glucose Company, which began in 1898, reached its final and decisive result in the absorption of the latter by the former.

May 3 was signalled by the formation of the MACHINERY TRUST under the name of the Allen-Chalmers Company, with \$500,000 capital, which combined four of the largest American engine and machine manufacturers, located in Milwaukee, Chicago, and New York.

On May 7 the SHIPBUILDING COMPANY, came to the front—the United States Shipbuilding Company, with a capital of \$65,000,000, combining seven of the largest concerns in that industry.

On May 13 a big combine to control the marketing and the price of EGGS formed at Kansas City, for egg shippers controlling practically the entire output of Kansas, Oklahoma, the Indian Territory, and Southwestern Missouri. The Armour Packing Company and Swift & Co. were among those interested.

The next day appeared the COTTON DUCK COMBINE—the United States Cotton Duck Corporation, with a capital of \$50,000,000, with mills in New Hampshire, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, South Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia. One of the absorbed companies is known to have been making profits of \$107,000 a month for sixteen months past.

## MEN ARE CHEAP.

**Human Life Does Not Weigh Against Capitalist Profits.**

International Class Struggle Illustrated by Three Great Mine Disasters—So Long as Capitalism Rules, Laborers Will Be Sacrificed.

Cable dispatches report two mining disasters during the past week, one in Germany, the other in Wales, both of them involving great loss of life. In the Wales catastrophe over eighty men were reported lost, many of whom will never be recovered. As if as a reminder that the interests of labor are international in scope and suffering comes a report of a disaster in Dayton, Tenn., by which at least thirty men have lost their lives and several others are injured.

In each case, an explosion was the cause of the accident. But what was the cause of the explosion? In the Dayton case, coal dust was attributed as the cause. But this is a deeper one than that. Coal dust explosions can be prevented by the use of water, for it is through the lack of water that coal dust explosions take place. Why was not water provided then? Simply because it would have cost the company something and profits would have been lessened thereby.

Nine-tenths of the coal mine disasters could be prevented with the proper precautions and safeguards, but these cost money, and men are cheaper than money. Even now men will be hurrying to Dayton to take the place of those killed, to run the mines and probably meet similar disasters.

These industrial disasters, enacted where labor struggles, enacted for the capitalist system, are for a livelihood, are features of the international capitalist system, and the exploitation and oppression of the laborers of the world is as much a part of the human beings as the doctrine that the interests of American workmen are separate and apart from those of England, Germany, or Australia.

The mine is the property of the capitalist, who never saw yet the mine probably never will, and from the mine he draws dividends. And the mine is the property of the laborer, who is the source of the world's wealth. The mine is the property of the laborer, who is the source of the world's wealth. The mine is the property of the laborer, who is the source of the world's wealth.

The profit by the same method, equalizes the world will be the "industrialism" for a workman to express his opinion of a seal or for a union to threaten to expel members who should violate their rules by dishonorable conduct.

Third, that acts of this kind are criminal conspiracy, contrary to the laws of the state of Connecticut, and rendering the offender liable to arrest and punishment—which is undoubtedly true, as the laws are made for the good of the capitalists.

Fourth, they ask whether the strikers "realize that the manufacturers may have" not "have" but "may have" mind you "in their hands the means of sending a goodly number of them to jail, and that there may be thousands within our grasp, which is so far true, that the employers' manufacturing evidence to order."

Fifth, they intimate that "the law on the subject is most clearly defined and that it is not difficult, for capitalists with spies at their backs to prove a case"—which, again, is undoubtedly true, as the judges are very friendly to the capitalists.

There is more of this remarkable document, which The Worker will take up next week. But this portion is so full of ineptitude, that it is in itself IS IN ITSELF INTIMIDATION, LAWFUL OR UNLAWFUL OF THE MOST BRAZEN AND FLAGRANT KIND. The capitalists, however, show no signs of being frightened, but will carry on their fight to a finish.

## CIGARMAKERS ON STRIKE.

The cigarmakers of the factory of Theo. Winters & Co., 31 E. 42nd street, are on strike against a wage reduction. The firm has secured some scabs from among the poor and uneducated workmen of the Jewish quarters.

All cigarmakers are requested to keep away from Montreal, as there is a strike on there for higher wages. About 600 cigarmakers are out and the firm are trying to get scabs in New York, advertising for them in all the capitalist papers. Financial assistance is needed for the strikers.

## BOSTON.

Local Boston will hold its special business meetings on Thursday evening, beginning June 6. On Sunday evening, June 2, Representative James F. Carey will speak at the S. D. P. headquarters, 265 Washington street. All are invited.

## MALDEN.

Local Malden, Mass., will hold its monthly meeting in Bailey's Hall, 23 Pleasant street, on Thursday, June 13, at 8 p. m. All readers of The Worker in Malden are invited to attend this meeting and to join the organization of the S. D. P. as far as possible. The organizers of the local S. D. P. are: J. L. Leland, street, will give any further information desired.

## SOCIALIST LECTURE.

Comrade Spargo will speak under the auspices of the S. D. P. S. D. P., at Colonial Hall, corner of One Hundred and First street and Columbia avenue, Sunday evening, June 3. His subject will be "The Purpose of Socialism—Economic, Ethical and Political." All are invited to attend. Admission free.

## CAPITALIST INTIMIDATION.

**Bridgeport Manufacturers Try It on the Striking Machinists.**

Make Guarded Threats of Sending the Strikers to Jail—Say That Conviction Is Not Difficult—General Prospects for Machinists Are Good.

The general strike of machinists for the nine-hour day, at the date of publication, still in full force. Considerable progress has been made toward a victory for the union, as many districts in various parts of the country have acceded to the demands of the men. On Tuesday the strike committee of the New York district was able to announce that eight more arms had submitted, bringing 500 men back to work. The complaints of the capitalist press about the "tyranny" and "unreasonableness" of the union are sufficient to indicate that the union has pursued a generally wise course and that the machinists are behaving with creditable resolution and unanimity of purpose. The employers would like very well to deal with their employees individually or even with the organizations of the shops separately, and would make many concessions if the men would treat on that basis. But the men knew that concessions so gained would soon be lost and insist on presenting their demands through the international union and enforcing a uniform scale of wages and hours throughout the whole trade.

While many of the opposing companies have succumbed or will soon do so, most others show a disposition to resist to the end. An example of this spirit is shown in Bridgeport, Conn., where the employers have given to the press a very remarkable statement, somewhat in the tone of an official proclamation, denouncing the strikers.

"They allege: First, that 'threats of violence on the part of the strikers have already been actually made,' which, unless possibly in the case of some irresponsible individuals, is absolutely false.

Second, that 'intimidation has been systematically practised by the strikers, having for its object the prevention of a return to work on the part of individuals and also the prevention of the bringing in of labor from other points,' which is also false, unless it is 'intimidation' for a workman to express his opinion of a seal or for a union to threaten to expel members who should violate their rules by dishonorable conduct.

Third, that 'acts of this kind are criminal conspiracy, contrary to the laws of the state of Connecticut, and rendering the offender liable to arrest and punishment,' which is undoubtedly true, as the laws are made for the good of the capitalists.

Fourth, they ask whether the strikers 'realize that the manufacturers may have' not 'have' but 'may have' mind you 'in their hands the means of sending a goodly number of them to jail, and that there may be thousands within our grasp, which is so far true, that the employers' manufacturing evidence to order."

Fifth, they intimate that 'the law on the subject is most clearly defined and that it is not difficult, for capitalists with spies at their backs to prove a case,' which, again, is undoubtedly true, as the judges are very friendly to the capitalists.

There is more of this remarkable document, which The Worker will take up next week. But this portion is so full of ineptitude, that it is in itself IS IN ITSELF INTIMIDATION, LAWFUL OR UNLAWFUL OF THE MOST BRAZEN AND FLAGRANT KIND. The capitalists, however, show no signs of being frightened, but will carry on their fight to a finish.

## TAILORS MAY STRIKE.

A general strike involving all the tailoring trades in New York, Brooklyn, Bronxville and Newark is threatened. The various unions have issued a notice to the manufacturers that the workmen demand the abolition of the middlemen in the trade. If the manufacturers do not agree to deal directly with the workmen a strike will be ordered, which would involve 30,000 workers.

The tailors claim that it has become impossible for the average workman in the trade to earn enough to live on. This condition is said to be caused by the competition between the small contractors. The men therefore demand the abolition of the contract system, in order that the workers may have the benefit of the middlemen's profit.

The resolution adopted also sets forth that the present system results in 25 per cent of the tailors dying of consumption, being obliged to work sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, being housed in stuffy shops and breathing foul air.

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# The Worker.

Organ of the Social Democratic Party.  
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various that if the results of the ar-  
bitration are not in their favor, they  
will strike again and continue their  
fight. Their courage and forethought are  
admirable. This is the sort of com-  
pulsory arbitration that will be found  
most effective for labor. It is what  
capitalists practice on the other side  
every three-fourths of the year. They  
have the courage to do it frankly and openly.

## NO GROUND FOR CONGRATULATION.

Under the heading, "A Victory for  
Labor," our unclassified contemporary,  
the "Civic Council," says:  
"The Civic Council takes some pride  
in reporting the veto of the employer's  
liability bill by the governor. The reason  
for this is that the governor has  
vetoed it on the exact grounds for  
which the Council opposed it and  
which it communicated to the govern-  
or. The bill was a fraud and the  
wage earners are to be congratulated  
on its defeat. Another session we may  
now hope for an honest measure."

The facts in the case are these: The  
labor organizations asked for a law  
which would give working people some  
effective protection by making the em-  
ployers responsible in cases of acci-  
dents occurring to employees at their  
work. Governor Odell, as the real head  
of the Republican machine, had com-  
plete control of the legislature. It was  
impossible for the bill to pass. The  
fact was an encouragement on the ex-  
isting law. The legislature amended  
that bill in such a way that, instead  
of giving more protection to the work-  
ingmen, it virtually destroyed the little  
protection that the present law gives  
them. The labor organizations were  
then obliged to let the legislature pass  
it. When the legislature passed the  
bill in spite of their opposition, they  
were obliged to beg the governor to  
veto it. This he did. And this is the  
"Victory for Labor" over which our  
Civic Council friends are congratulating  
themselves!

Because a set of politicians, after  
promising us some scanty measure of  
justice, have refrained from knocking  
us down and kicking us, we are to  
thank them and congratulate ourselves  
on having won a victory! Really, this  
sort of talk is getting tiresome.

"Another session we may now hope  
for an honest measure." May we?  
And on what ground?

If the labor organizations follow the  
lead of the "Civic Council" in beg-  
ging for favors and then congratulating  
themselves when they get insults  
instead, then we have no ground for  
hope.

If, on the other hand, the working-  
men, or any considerable part of them,  
repudiate the begging policy, recognize  
the fact of the class struggle, and re-  
fute the capitalist politicians by work-  
ing and voting for the one party which  
stands on a distinctly working class  
platform, then we shall very likely  
see even the capitalist politicians  
frightened into giving us some real con-  
cessions in the way of effective labor  
legislation.

It is for the organized workingmen,  
as the responsible leaders of the work-  
ing class, to decide which we shall  
have—victory or insult.

By request we reprint from San Fran-  
cisco "Advance" an article by Comrade  
Putnam of St. Louis, to which we  
would call the special attention of all  
party members. The question dis-  
cussed is an important one and calls  
for the serious consideration of all mil-  
lions of Socialists. We reproduce also  
a part of an article by Comrade Dels  
on the Detroit Conference, which has a  
close connection with the subject dis-  
cussed by Comrade Putnam. There  
may be room for difference of opinion  
on these matters and we therefore in-  
vite a general discussion through our  
correspondence columns.

## THE CHANGE IN SOUTHERN POLITICS.

The situation presented in South  
Carolina through the resignations of  
Senators Tillman and McLaure is an  
interesting one. McLaure, while as-  
suming to be a "new" Democrat, is to  
all intents and purposes a Republican  
of the modern Hanna school. He re-  
presents the growing feeling among the  
business and capitalist classes of the  
South for the commercial policy of the  
Republican party, a feeling that is the  
natural result of the new industrial  
conditions developing in the South.  
Tillman has long been recognized as  
one of the staunchest upholders of the  
old Bourbon element that has domi-  
nated the Southern Democratic party  
since before the Civil War. He is try-  
ing to perpetuate that domination at  
the cost of the material interests of  
those he represents.

Since the disfranchisement of the il-  
literate negro and white men also by  
which the fear of "negro rule" is re-  
moved, the business classes of the  
South are beginning to align them-  
selves politically on questions of na-  
tional policy, and as the Republican  
party is the party of capitalism, the  
Democratic party is being deserted by  
its former allies and supporters.  
Whether the tendency toward the Re-  
publican party is yet strong enough to  
ensure McLaure's victory and Till-  
man's defeat only the result of the De-  
mocratic primaries next fall can de-  
termine. Tillman has been shown

enough to force the fight before the old  
loyalty and prejudice for the Democratic  
party has waned sufficiently to cause  
an endorsement of the new commer-  
cialism advocated by McLaure. If  
Tillman should win, it will be a tem-  
porary extension of the lease of life  
of the Democratic party, and that is all.  
The Democratic party, as the repre-  
sentative of a class that developing in-  
dustrial conditions is destroying, must  
disappear with that class. With the  
development of a capitalist class, of  
factory, mine, railroad, and mill opera-  
tives, there will develop more and more  
strongly a tendency toward the Repub-  
lican party as the representative of the  
material interests of that capitalist  
class.

But for the same reasons, with the  
development of a working class of fac-  
tory, mine, railroad, and mill opera-  
tives, there must develop a political  
party which will advocate working  
class rights and emancipation. The  
workers of the South must be taught  
to see that their material interests lie  
with a party that partakes neither of  
the Bourbon, slave-holding Democracy  
nor of the capitalist, slave-driving  
Republicanism, but one that attacks  
wage slavery as tyrannical in the pres-  
ent capitalist system, and advocates  
work for the workers.

The International Miners' Congress,  
meeting in London, has unanimously  
passed a resolution inviting the Ameri-  
can miners to send delegates to future  
international congresses. The congress  
is composed of delegates representing  
miners in all the European countries.  
We suggest that the American miners  
accept the invitation. There would be  
more good grown out of such action than  
attendance upon all the "peace" con-  
ferences that will be held between cap-  
ital and labor from now until Social-  
ism is inaugurated.

## THE EMPLOYMENT OFFICE FRAUD.

John J. Bealin, superintendent of the  
Free Employment Bureau of the New  
York State Labor Department at 107  
East Thirty-first street, says:

"I have been making investigations  
and I am satisfied that a large number  
of the private employment agencies are  
not run according to law. People are  
led to patronize these places by fraud-  
ulent advertisements. When they pay  
a fee without receiving a position they  
never get any of their money back. A  
man not long ago was asked to put up  
five dollars by one of these agencies.  
He had only three dollars, and the  
manager took it, but he got no posi-  
tion, and would not give the money  
back."

"Another man, whose case came un-  
der my notice, was charged five dollars  
by an employment agency, and was  
sent to another agency to get his refer-  
ences investigated; and was charged  
ten dollars more, which he paid. He  
got no job, and came to me with his  
complaint. I told him to go to the two  
concerns and ask for his money, and  
to tell them that I had sent him. He  
did so and they became scared and re-  
sented it."

There can be no doubt that Mr. Bealin  
states the facts very fully in regard  
to the rascalities perpetrated by the  
private employment bureaus. And the  
provision for free state employment  
bureaus is so inadequate that it hard-  
ly makes the slightest impression upon  
this system of petty fraud.

A Social Democratic administration  
would, as one of its very first measures,  
establish free employment offices, un-  
der the supervision of labor organiza-  
tions, in every part of the city, so that  
they would be easy of access to all who  
needed their services. But it is not to be  
expected that any other party will take  
such action on a scale and in a manner  
to meet the needs of the working class.

A number of women on the East Side  
of the city have, since January, 1900,  
been organized in a society called the  
"Working Women's Education and Aid  
Society." Realizing the necessity of  
educating themselves concerning the  
industrial problems of the time, they  
have been holding weekly Socialist lec-  
tures and discussions and distributing  
Socialist literature. There is also a  
benevolent fund in connection with the  
society, as the members feel that it is  
demoralizing to have to depend upon  
the bounty of their employers or the  
charitable agencies supported by them.  
They are all members of the trade uni-  
ons, and declare that as part of the  
general working class movement it is  
their duty to render all the assistance  
possible to the unions in their strug-  
gles. We congratulate our women  
comrades upon their splendid spirit  
and upon the work they have done so  
far, and wish them success in all their  
efforts for Socialism. We hope that all  
our comrades who can do so will help  
them in their great work.

The grocery clerks of this city are  
complaining that the Sunday closing  
law is not enforced and that, in conse-  
quence, they have to work eight hours  
or more on Sunday after working  
twelve to sixteen hours a day all the  
week. The Committee of Fifteen and  
other respectable reformers have no  
time to listen to complaints of this sort  
and the city government does not  
trouble itself to enforce the law. Laws  
beneficial to the working class will  
never be vigorously executed till the  
working people put a working class  
party in power.

## WARNING TO SOCIALISTS.

### Comrade Putnam Writes on the "Public Ownership Party" Experience in St. Louis.

Comrade E. Val Putnam of St. Louis  
writes to the San Francisco "Advance"  
as follows:

"Socialists of St. Louis have just  
passed through an experience that may  
be of great value to the movement na-  
tionally. In the recent campaign they  
were opposed by a municipal owner-  
ship movement that called itself 'The  
Public Ownership Party.' The reader  
will readily understand how alluring  
was the 'this-is-Socialism' argument to  
the new beginner when sugar-coated  
with so suggestive a name. It proved  
an obstacle which St. Louis Socialists  
could not surmount on short notice. We  
gained nearly two thousand votes. In  
November. Many of these votes were  
won for us by the street car strike.  
Was it to have been expected that we  
would be able to hold these new voters  
who were holding over with resentment  
against the Transit Company, when they  
saw before them an opportunity to  
elect a man pledged to being about the  
public ownership of the street rail-  
ways? In North and South St. Louis  
many a voter still bore the scars of a  
fight from that campaign, and many a  
vote was lost which might have been  
won for us. These workingmen  
and women, who had for weeks and  
months ridden on rude contrivances,  
or walked great distances to and  
from their work; they had looked into  
the muzzles of repeating rifle guns;  
they had heard the whistling of bullets  
about them when they had nothing but  
stones; with which to defend them-  
selves; they had seen mounted mil-  
lions of the law riding through crowds  
of innocent women and children,  
tally shooting right and left; they had  
seen armed forces of military arrayed  
in marching through the streets, frighten-  
ing children and shamefully abusing  
their authority; they had fought long  
and bitterly and against great odds;  
and as the hope of victory died away  
it left in their breasts a deep desire  
for revenge."

"And while this spirit was still rife,  
a man came before the public and pro-  
posed that if they would elect him  
he would take these street rail-  
ways from the Transit Company and  
place them under the control of the  
city. He had sufficient money to sear-  
ter his literature freely. He had suffi-  
cient prospects of success to draw to  
him a goodly number of pit bull  
fighters and fanatics. He had a  
work when success is in sight. What  
more natural than that these men, who  
were accustomed to following leaders,  
should take to this man as a means of  
avenging revenge upon the Transit  
Company?"

"All the argument Socialists might  
advance were of no avail, when once  
the tide had set in. These men had  
made up their minds and there was no  
turning them. All the radically in-  
clined, except the class-conscious So-  
cialists, were swept off their feet, and  
when the vote was counted it was  
found that thirty thousand had been  
recorded for the Public Ownership  
Party, to say nothing of the number  
of votes thrown away by corrupt  
judges and clerks. What of it? The  
Socialists lost many votes or not is  
questionable. On the face of the returns  
it appeared that the larger portion of  
our November vote had gone to the  
Public Ownership ticket, but subse-  
quent developments lead us to believe  
that, while we lost a few in the wards  
carried by the P. O. P., our decrease  
was chiefly due to a failure on the part  
of election officials to count our votes.  
As the frauds perpetrated at this  
election were the most flagrant ever wit-  
nessed, we place no reliance whatever  
on the official returns."

"But aside from the influence of the  
strike on their local campaign, we dis-  
covered something of which we think  
it proper to warn our comrades in other  
cities. It is this—that the Socialists  
of America will have to meet nation-  
ally in 1904 the same kind of a move-  
ment that St. Louis comrades have  
met locally. The signs are so unmis-  
takable as to leave little doubt. Both  
political and economic indications are  
that way. The middle class has not  
yet made its greatest political effort in  
this country; it will make that effort  
however, in 1904. Bryan editorially sup-  
ported Merriweather, the Public Own-  
ership candidate. Altgeld spoke at his  
meetings. With Tom Johnson and Sam  
Jones in Ohio working on similar lines,  
it is not hard to see the outlines of a  
national public ownership party. And  
these outlines become very perceptible  
when one observes that the gold bug,  
or conservative, element of the Demo-  
cratic party is rapidly showing Bryan  
and all his kind out of the party. I say  
that this view of the situation has been  
impressed upon us by Missourians (who  
have to be shown very forcibly dur-  
ing the past few weeks, and we warn  
all Socialists of America to prepare for  
the coming conflict with a middle class  
"Socialist" movement."

"What the platform of this new party  
will be is hard to predict in detail. One  
plank it will have though—the public  
ownership of railroads. It will proba-  
bly follow the Public Ownership party  
of this city and hedge on nearly all the  
other questions for fear of scaring the  
"business" interests. For instance, the  
conservative party started out by declar-  
ing its allegiance to public ownership  
of public utilities, and then, as though  
startled at its own audacity, in the very  
next sentence it says: 'We are not op-  
posed to corporations; on the contrary,  
we recognize their importance in the  
business world and favor such free  
switching and other privileges as will  
make St. Louis the greatest commer-  
cial and manufacturing center of the  
country.' This is Bryan to a dot, and  
the national platform of the new  
party does not contain similar drivel it  
will not be its fault."

"But how to meet this new party in  
the political arena? It will whisper to  
our new converts: 'Here, don't tell it,  
but this is Socialism, too, and besides,  
we've got a chance.' It will undoubt-  
edly be the hardest proposition the So-  
cialists have ever tackled. Of course,  
our speakers and our press will teach

the class struggle, will show the mid-  
dle class nature of the new movement,  
etc. We have plenty of arguments,  
and all sound enough in answer to any  
man if you can get his ear. But there  
is the rub. The science of propaganda  
is the art of getting a man to listen to  
and understand your arguments. But  
let a man once become infatuated with  
this 'public ownership' movement of the  
middle class and you will not get his  
ear until you dig him out of the snow-  
drifts sometime after election.

From all of which I conclude that  
there is only one thing for us to do—  
to get the voter's attention long before  
1904. Talk to him now, and begin to  
show him that there is a difference be-  
tween government ownership for 'busi-  
ness' reasons and collective ownership  
for the benefit of the workingmen. To  
do this we must begin now, and we  
must begin by making a party of which  
we can be proud. We must be able to  
reach every sympathizer personally,  
and to see the new party. Had we been  
thoroughly organized in St. Louis,  
which was rendered impossible by the  
division of our party last April, the  
long street car strike which suspended  
all meetings and the two campaigns in  
close succession, we would have been  
able to meet the Public Ownership  
Party in its infancy and to show it  
that it was not the only party in the  
city."

## DETROIT CONFERENCE.

### Why Class-Conscious Socialists Cannot Take Part in It.

The "Social Unity" organ of the So-  
cial Reform Union, has an editorial on  
"A New Party" in its April issue. It  
is a curious mixture, the product of a  
disordered vision and confused mind.  
Brief extracts follow:

"One of the main functions of Social  
Unity is to find out what people think,  
by instituting referendums. We held  
a referendum on the class-conscious  
question and found that among the  
2,000 people to whom this movement  
goes, no great interest is taken in this  
special question, but that of those who  
did take the trouble to express an opin-  
ion, a large majority was opposed to  
the class-conscious position. We are  
now glad to institute a referendum on  
the question whether or no there should  
be a new political party formed for  
the campaign of 1901. We shall be  
curious to see how people vote on the  
question."

"Eventually, we believe, we can do  
away with parties, but it may be that  
for the present we cannot and that it  
is necessary and possible, without be-  
ing partisan, for the reform forces to  
establish and make use of a new party."

"These people, mostly honest, imagine  
themselves Socialists, that is, in a  
mild, not a militant sense. They have  
decided that there is no class-struggle,  
and now they propose to determine  
whether or not to organize a new party  
—that is to say, whether or not cap-  
italism will abolish itself. If a new party  
should be decided upon, it must not be  
partisan. Can any sane person con-  
ceive of such a monstrosity? Think of  
the wolf and the lamb in loving em-  
brace, the fox and the pullet dancing  
a two-step and the lion and the ox  
scouting the class-conscious doctrine  
over their peaches and cream, while  
the ass mused, 'I have long been wait-  
ing for this party of all the people!'"

"Socialism was born of the class an-  
tagonisms of capitalist society without  
which it would never have been born;  
and in the present state of its de-  
velopment it is a struggle of the work-  
ing class to free themselves from their  
capitalist exploiters with which mod-  
ern work is done. This conflict for  
mastery of the tools is necessarily a  
class conflict. It can be nothing else,  
and only he is a Socialist in fact, who  
perceives clearly the nature of the  
struggle and takes his stand squarely  
and uncompromisingly with the work-  
ing class in the struggle which has  
been the attempt at liquidation of the  
capitalist system and the total aboli-  
tion of class rule."

We count every one against us who  
is not with us and opposed to the cap-  
italist class, especially those "reform-  
ers" of chicken hearts who are for  
everybody, especially themselves, and  
against nobody."

While I believe that most of these  
"reformers" are honest and well-mean-  
ing, I know that some of them, by no  
means inconsiderable, are charlatans  
and frauds. They are the representa-  
tives of middle class interests, and the  
shrewd old politicians of the capitalist  
parties are not slow to perceive and  
take advantage of their influence.  
Bent on the capitalist game by better  
shufflers, dealers and players, they  
have turned reformers and are play-  
ing that for what there is in it. They  
were failures as preachers and lawyers  
and politicians and capitalists. In their  
new role as "reformers" they dare not  
offend the capitalist exploiters, for  
their revenue depends upon their treas-  
ure to the exploited slaves over whom  
they mourn dolefully and shed crocodile  
tears."

I suspect the honest effort of any  
man or set of men, however misguided,  
to better social conditions, and I have  
no quarrel with the frauds and quacks  
who wear the masks of meekness and  
in the name of "brotherhood" betray  
their trusting victims to the class that  
robs them without pity and riots in the  
proceeds without shame."

On the very eve of the last national  
election some of these "Socialists" sprang  
a petition on me to withdraw  
in favor of Bryan. The Associated  
Press was called and primed and the  
petition was flashed over all the wires  
and appeared in all the capitalist pa-  
pers. It was a political sandbagging  
conspiracy that would have done vic-  
tury to the code of Hinky Dink. The  
reports were freely published that the  
Socialists had turned me down and  
would support Bryan. I tried to put  
the truth on the wires, but it would not  
do. The wires had their orders, my  
denial was refused and the dispirited  
lick served the miserable purpose  
of its reptilian instigators."

This element will be conspicuously in  
evidence at the Detroit conference and  
the capitalist press will record their  
patient and respectful consideration.  
—Eugene V. Debs, in the Social Demo-  
cratic Herald.

## STORIES OF THE CITY—1. PETROFF'S DREAM.

It was the hour when the first tinge  
of grey showed the coming of morn-  
ing. The stars had not yet faded from  
sight, and the birds were still asleep.  
In a secluded corner of Central Park,  
where he had hidden himself the night  
before, Petroff lay in untroubled slum-  
ber—the sleep of the outcast, broken  
by hunger pains and half delicious  
dreams.

A year ago he had left his home in  
the old world Russian village by the  
Neva, to seek the land of his dreams—the  
great Republic of the West, where he  
would surely find the liberty he so  
much longed for. There in America,  
he felt, he would be a free man in  
every way. The great statue of the  
Godless of Liberty which seemed to  
guard its shores was to him, a pledge  
of that glorious fact. So, knowing that  
the last time, upon his mother's grave,  
he had cursed the despotism which had  
killed her and robbed him of his lov-  
ing care. For had she not died with  
a broken heart when they took his  
father away to the Siberian wastes,  
because he had clung to his mother,  
a man and to his mother's love?

Then he had heard that his father  
was dead and he hoped that it was  
true. "Better death than life which is  
worse than death," he said. But he  
never knew for certain and constant  
longing had made him bitter. He  
cursed the land of his birth, though in  
truth he knew that it was only the  
cruel government that was wrong.  
Then he had kissed the old world  
dearer to him than all else beside, and  
told her to be brave. "I will send for  
you when I get work and a home," he  
said, and she, brave girl, knowing well  
how his spirit-chafed like an im-  
prisoned bird longing to be free, sup-  
pressed her tears and bade him farewell  
with words of loving encouragement."

It was her name that broke from his  
lips as he lay and dreamed again of  
the great land where he would find  
Liberty outstretched and where there  
would be no fear and no oppression.  
Again he was telling her how happy  
they would be together, he was able to  
send for her. "Ever not, my Ninette,  
it will not be long," he whispered  
gently, with a smile that looked  
strange, upon his pallid face. Then  
he started to his feet and shouted "Lib-  
erty! Liberty!" as he did when first  
he saw Barthold's statue and greeted  
it with a kiss, as did the golden rays  
of the setting sun."

As he fell back on the grass, the  
stars and truth came to him and once  
more, and he wept like a child. The  
long struggle with hunger, the fruit-  
less search for work, he remembered  
then and his soul cried out with











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## CLARK AND THE COPPER TRUST.

### How the Montana Senator Deceived His Supporters.

Walter A. Clark, After Getting into the Senate by Attacking the Copper Trust, Urges to Be Affiliated with That Organization.

The miners, smelters, and other wage workers of Montana and the neighboring states have received another lesson on the necessity of class-conscious labor policies.

For many years the Montana workers have suffered under the increasing oppression of the Copper Trust, an aggregation of capitalist interests dominated by the same Standard Oil ring which organized the criminal conspiracy against labor in the Coeur d'Alene, and which is rapidly gaining complete control of all the industries of the nation. The workmen knew that political action was necessary to resist the aggressions of this "octopus," but they had not yet developed sufficient solidarity, self-reliance, and independence of mind to stand together as wage workers. In a party of their own, to achieve their own emancipation through the collective ownership of the mines and mills that their collective labor had created. They chose, rather, to depend upon some capitalist with political ambitions, who should champion their cause for them and promise, through the influence of the wealth he had secured from them, to secure for them some partial protection from the tyranny of other capitalists.

The longest "friend of labor" appeared in the person of Walter A. Clark, the millionaire copper king, who had a great interest in getting into the "Millionaire's Club" of Washington, formerly called the United States Senate. He had cherished this lofty ambition for some twenty years, but the other copper king, Marcus Daly, had been able to thwart all his plans. Which of the two was better qualified to fill a senatorial chair—and worse qualified honestly to represent the working people of Montana—is a question that it would be very difficult to decide. The corrupt methods by which "one sought to gratify his aspirations and the other to defeat it are well known throughout the country; they did not uphold him, denouncing the political morality of the state and disfiguring it in the eyes of its neighbors.

After once buying his way into the Senate and being refused a seat, Clark, copper king, in the campaign of 1900, saw his great opportunity in the widespread fear and hatred of the Copper Trust. As the "Miners' Magazine," in a recent article, describes this incident: "Senator Clark, in his campaign of 1900, traveled over the state and denounced the Amalgamated Copper Trust and all other trusts in the most scathing language man take the rostrum and denounce the trusts in the same manner, and use the same language that Senator Clark used he would be in jail at this time; but Senator Clark was a millionaire, and, according to his own words, was fighting for the interests of the commonwealth of Montana in opposition to this snake-headed monster that threatened their destruction, and therefore he was applauded by the people from one end of the state to the other.

"His paper, the Butte 'Miner,' in its editorial day by day, denounced the Copper Trust and said that the only barrier that stood between the people of Montana and their liberties and their very existence was W. A. Clark; and the morning after election his paper published a picture of his owner under the glaring headline: 'The Man of the Hour.'

"From the beginning of the campaign until the announcement of the result, Senator Clark took all the credit for the fight he had made against the Copper Trust in behalf of the people."

So far, so good. Clark was elected. But what happened next? Hardly had the news of his success gone over the country before the further news appeared that he had joined forces with the Amalgamated Copper Company—the divided and hated Copper Trust—that he had so recently denounced. That news has since been definitely confirmed, and W. A. Clark sits at the Capitol, not as the representative of the people of Montana, not as its guardian against the Copper Trust, but as the ally and agent of that organization.

The "Miners' Magazine" comments as follows on this remarkable experience: "During all this time Senator Clark played the game of bunco stoner. No confidence man, ever stood upon a street corner and tried to deceive his audience by such steady means and plausible arguments as Senator Clark has used to deceive the people of Montana. He was negotiating with the Amalgamated Copper Trust while he was traveling over the state denouncing them in no uncertain language."

"If the Copper Trust has an injury to the people of Montana, as Senator Clark contended previous to his election, we would like to know how it has changed since election. If Senator Clark has so improved it by his presence that it is now the people and stock creature that will benefit the people, we wonder if Senator Clark's moral influence will have such a far-reaching effect on this monster corporation that it will become the instrument of the people of Montana, to be used at will, and not the monster that pictured it in former days. We wonder if the moral influence of Senator Clark will be so great on John D. Rockefeller, Morgan, and Rodgers and their co-conspirators that the people of Montana will re-elect him to a second term in the United States Senate."

"It is the duty of the people of the state of Montana to rise in their might against this man, who deceived and betrayed them. It is their duty and their right to raise their voice in protest against his being seated."

"He has betrayed the people of Montana in the past and they can expect no other treatment from him in the future. He has, according to his own words, worked against their most vital interest by pooling his interest with the Amalgamated Copper Trust, and if he is permitted to retain his seat in the United States Senate, the people of Montana and of the United States know that his voice and vote will stand against their interest. No confidence can be placed in a man who will stand upon the public rostrum and perpetrate such an outrage upon the people of any state as Senator Clark was guilty of in the last campaign."

And the lesson of it all is: Never trust your money to protect your interests. Montana is not the only place where such things have happened. Clark is not the only capitalist that has played "friend of labor" until he got what he wanted and then came out in his true colors. If the men who work in the mines and smelters of Montana do not want to be owned, body and soul, by the Copper Trust they have one thing to do. They must resolve to act together as one man at the ballot box, to demand that the people own the land, the mines, the mills, and all the means of production, and operate them for the common good. Seven hundred of them set the example last year, for the first time in the history of the state, by voting the ticket of the Social Democratic Party. Let it be seven thousand next time, and Clark will cease to be a danger.

## NO COMPROMISE!

Stockton Socialists Antagonize Democratic Politicians by Prompt Rejection of Proposed Trade.

San Francisco "Advance" reports an incident which conveys further proof of the difference of principle of the Social Democratic Party and its members. Coming so quickly after the experiences of our comrades of Battle Creek, Mich., and West Hoboken, N. J., this new incident is worthy of comment and remembrance. "Advance" says:

"A municipal election is on in Stockton. A very hot fight is being waged there. The office of the Superintendent of Streets is one of the special bones of contention. The Democrats came to our Stockton comrades, who have only a partial ticket in the field, and asked for their support for that office, promising a liberal distribution of political jobs in the event of success. The newspapers report that the reply 'staggered' the Democrats. It was a hard blow they did not expect. The Socialists refused point blank to even consider the proposal and the Democrats retired in confusion. Well may we exclaim 'Bravo, Stockton!' The comrades there by their clear-cut, class-conscious, uncompromising stand, have struck not only the Democrats a blow, but a good, powerful stroke at capitalism itself. The cry of 'No compromise! Down with capitalism!' which they have raised through the breast of every teller in the ranks and inspired each to hammer away harder and harder at the common foe. We rejoice in such acts, which display the good faith of those who perform them and inspire confidence in those that behold them. Few things have been better done this year."

We heartily endorse the sentiments expressed by our Pacific Coast contemporary, and we commend the Stockton incident to the attention of those who falsely maintain in the face of facts that the Social Democratic Party is not an uncompromising party, as well as to those who would make the cause of Socialism the plaything of unclean capitalist politicians so that "thrift may follow fawning."

## IN MR. JOHNSON'S TOWN.

According to Acting Judge Whelan's decision, scab molders have the right to go armed, for there is nothing to prevent them from falsely claiming that they are threatened with injury by union men. How does Mayor Johnson like the decision of his appointee? And how do the molders who voted for Mr. Johnson like the manner in which the imported hordes of greedy capitalists are encouraged by this authority to continue their infamous tactics? It appears from Whelan's rank decision that lying scoundrels and union snafus brought to this city have lived here all their lives who struggle for better conditions against overwhelming odds, and who have produced the wealth that has enriched the capitalists who are now using a part of it to further enslave their employees. It's up to the molders and other trade unionists. It is for them to say whether they are dissatisfied with the rule and dictation of capitalists and their politicians, or whether they will not soon have the wisdom and backbone to place class-conscious men in places of power in order to control industrial affairs in this community. —Cleveland Citizen.

The function of a minority party, it has been well said, is to become a majority party. Every Social Democrat should bear that maxim in mind and act upon it.

## OHIO NOMINATES.

### Social Democratic State Ticket Is Put in the Field.

Convention Held at Columbus—Name of Thompson for Governor—Name of "Socialist Party" Is Favored.

The state ticket of the Social Democratic Party of Ohio, nominated at the convention held in Columbus on May 30, is as follows:

For Governor—H. C. THOMPSON of Cincinnati.

For Lieutenant Governor—MICHAEL HEINS of Dayton.

For Auditor—E. H. RANDALL of Springfield.

For Attorney General—JOHN G. WILLERT of Cleveland.

For Treasurer—J. FREUDENTHAL of Toledo.

For Judge of Supreme Court—PETER FRANK of Portsmouth.

For Member of State Board of Public Works—JOHN FLYNN of Canton.

The convention was called to order with twenty-one delegates present and other delegations arrived later. All parts of the state were represented. Charles Parker of Toledo was chairman and H. C. Thompson secretary.

On recommendation of the State Committee the following propositions were favorably considered and referred to general vote:

1. An assessment of \$1 per capita put an organizer in the field.
2. A state paper to be started as soon as necessary funds can be raised.
3. The present party name to be retained until the holding of the National Convention, with recommendation to that body that the name be changed to the "Socialist Party."

All "immediate demands" were stricken from the platform, which consisted in a clear statement of the revolutionary principles and purposes of Socialism. Dayton was chosen as the seat of the state committee. The delegates reported the party in excellent condition throughout the state.

## ALREADY IT CRUMBLES.

St. Louis Public Ownership Party Loses an Active Member, Who Joins the Social Democratic Party.

A. J. Lawrence, former secretary of one of the Public Ownership Party ward clubs in St. Louis, has joined the Social Democratic Party. He says: "I, O. P., is bossed by five men, whereas the S. D. P. is governed entirely by the votes of its members. He concludes in a letter to the "Missouri Socialist" as follows:

"I shall hereafter devote myself earnestly and enthusiastically to building up the class-conscious Socialist movement as represented by the Social Democratic Party, and I am confident that during the next few months a large number of the sincere and energetic workers in the Public Ownership Party will see the mistake they have been making and will do as I have done."

The Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis has again taken action that shows the strength of Socialist feeling there. A great jingo jamboree in the shape of a Fourth of July celebration to be participated in by "good citizens of all classes" is being arranged by a committee of union-smashing business men and other patriots. The C. T. & L. U. was invited to take part and promptly tabled the invitation. All invitation to participate in the workers' celebration on the Fourth, arranged by the Social Democratic Party, was then taken up and accepted by an almost unanimous vote.

## SOCIALIST AGITATION.

Comrade Charles H. Vail speaks in Minneapolis and St. Paul June 6 and 7, and at Fargo, N. D., June 9.

Comrade Sparzo starts out next Tuesday on his outdoor agitation tour. His dates for the first week are:

Tuesday, June 11—Port Chester, N.Y.

June 12—Bridgeport, Conn.

June 13—Ansonia.

June 14—Waterbury.

June 15—Danbury.

June 16—New Haven.

June 17—Stouington.

June 18—New London.

After that he speaks at Montville, June 20; New Britain, June 21; Hartford, June 22; Danville or Windsor Locks, June 23; Rockville, June 24; Springfield, June 25.

Comrade Origo is also on a tour in the New England states. His dates for next week are:

June 10—Adams, Mass.

June 11—Burlington, Vt.

June 12—Ludlow.

June 13—Rutland.

June 14—Montpelier.

June 15—Barre.

Comrade Geiger has begun his tour in the Central states. His dates are:

June 10—Cleveland, O.

June 11—Allegheny, Pa.

June 12—York.

June 13—Yoe.

June 14—Reading.

June 15—Pottstown.

The comrades in the various cities are urged to do their utmost to make these meetings successful.

## CAUTION.

"Did that man say he wanted to get up an article about me, telling how I attained my present proud position in life?" asked Senator Sorghum.

"He gives that as his errand," answered the private secretary.

"Well, see him again and find out which it is a case of, delicate flattery or blackmail." —Washington Star.

## YET ANOTHER INJUNCTION.

### Court Comes to Aid of Lockout Conspirators in Dayton.

Terms of the Debs Injunction of 1894 Renewed Against Metal Workers—Street Car Men on Strike—A Decisive Battle Being Fought for Right to Organize.

The Dayton lockout, organized by the National Cash Register Company and other corporations for the purpose of crushing the labor organizations, has called forth one more injunction to add to our long list of the crimes of the courts against labor.

On petition of the Dayton Manufacturing Company in its case against Metal Polishers, Buffers, Plates, and Brass Workers' Union No. 5, Judge Kumler has granted a perpetual injunction against the union, its officers and all its members, forbidding them to boycott the products of the firm, forbidding them to picket the disaffected other workmen from taking the places of striking or locked-out employees, or in any other way to "interfere" with the business of the plaintiff.

The present action of the court makes permanent a temporary injunction which was granted a year ago in the same case. It was evidently brought to climax by the present extensive strike and lockout. The entry is in effect the same as in the famous "Debs case," the injunction against the American Railway Union, in 1894.

The National Cash Register situation continues about the same. Several conferences have been held during the past two weeks between President Gompers of the A. F. of L. and other interested labor men, but to no avail. The State Board of Arbitration is now on the ground, but as yet has been unable to accomplish anything.

## STREET CAR STRIKE.

Over one year ago the employees of the People's Street Railway Company—an Eastern corporation—went on strike for nine hours, 20 cents an hour, and recognition. After a fight of a few days the settlement of the strike was left in the hands of a committee with power to act; by shrewd manipulation a settlement was effected whereby the men were made to believe they had recognition, but not so. After ten days they found that their victory was what is termed a "sell out," and they were about to strike again. Cooler judgment prevailed, however, and they have stood by the contract which expired June 1, 1901. A new contract was prepared, presented, and refused. The strike began on Monday. It affects two lines—the "White Line" and

## GIRLS LOCKED OUT.

Because They Refuse to Yield to Inhuman and Arbitrary Impositions—Time for Workingmen to Come to Their Sisters' Rescue.

The lockout of fifty girls at the ladies' waist factory of Goldsmith & Co., 40 Broadway, gives an illustration of the petty tyranny and meanness of the capitalist system.

"It has been customary in this shop in past years to quit work at noon on Saturday from June 1 through the summer. In accordance with this custom the girls went home last Saturday at noon, although the boss, after keeping them idle through the whole forenoon, said he had some work for them to do. During the summer months the elevator does not run Saturday afternoon and the girls did not fancy the idea of climbing nine flights of stairs to do work that could as well be given them at another time."

When they came to work Monday morning they were given their pay, what little there was of it—and summarily discharged. A number of other girls, but directly concerned, then went out in sympathy.

The employees have had much to complain of in the past, especially that they were kept idle a large part of the time, but were required to be present in the shop nine and one-half hours a day, whether there was work to be done or not. As the work was paid by the piece, all this waiting time was so much dead loss to the girls. Sometimes a girl would have to wait a whole day for the privilege of making one waist and thus earning 12½ cents. When some of them proposed to put in their idle time doing sewing for their own use they were positively forbidden to do so. "What do you do with all your time after you leave the shop?" asked the boss. "If you want to make clothes for yourselves you can do it in the evening." Other arbitrary rules were enforced, as that girls must not talk or sing, must not leave their machines without permission, etc.

In the rush season the very swiftest workers were sometimes able to make \$10 in a week; but this was a rare exception. Six to eight dollars is nearer the average for the swiftest and during a large part of the year it is not possible to earn more than \$2 or \$3 a week. Some of the girls, of course, live at home. But many are alone or even have to help support widowed mothers or younger brothers and sisters. How this is possible on an average wage, the year round, of something like \$5 a week—and that very uncertain—the fine ladies who wear the waists these girls make do not care to inquire. It must be remembered, too, that very many working girls are far worse paid and more treated even

## UNDER ARMS.

The militia has been in readiness to move on short notice ever since the N. C. R. locked out their employees, and now that a street car strike is added these brave defenders of law and order are really anxious for a call to arms.

The machinists are progressing slowly as holding their men together is concerned. As yet not one firm has acceded to their demands. The union men are also standing firm. Not one man has deserted the union, and additions to their ranks are accruing nearly every day.

"Will Fight to a Finish" is the motto displayed by the manufacturers on every hand, and the organized workers are working night and day to hold the men together, realizing that this is the fight of their lives.

Summing it all up, the situation is more critical than two weeks ago, and any former statement that the lockouts were a premeditated plan by the Manufacturers' Association and that it was a battle without words of organization against organization, has been fully verified. Who in Dayton can successfully deny that there is a class struggle?

## SOCIALISTS ARE ACTIVE.

Agitation in the interest of Socialism has been carried on nightly, and on every hand we find that intense interest prevails. Ward meetings are being held with audiences of from 150 to 500, papers and tracts distributed, and everything possible done to enlighten the workers as to how to act as a unit politically as well as industrially. Last Saturday a meeting was held at the court house with an audience of nearly 1,000 people, and for two and one-half hours Comrade Geiger expounded Socialism and answered arguments against our cause.

We hope that the wage workers of this city will awaken to the fact that the only way to emancipate themselves is to carry their strike and boycott to the ballot box and vote for a political organization of their own class.

## CLASS STRUGGLE OPENLY AVOWED.

Capitalist Tells Striking Machinists the Whole Moneyed Interest of the Country Is Backing the Employers' Association.

An instructive incident is to be noted in connection with the machinists' strike at the shop of Hughes & Phillips in Newark. When the men came for the wages due them on the payday following the beginning of the strike, they were invited to a discussion with the employers, George Phillips, a member of the firm, addressed them at some length, the main point of his speech being in essentially the following words:

"Men, you want to understand that you have not only the Metal Trades Association to fight in this affair, but that you have to fight the whole moneyed interest of the country, which is backing us up."

Comrade Magnette, one of the strikers, replied in his behalf. He thanked Phillips for the unexpected frankness of his speech. It was true, he said, that in such a struggle as this the machinists had the whole moneyed interest of the country and the whole moneyed interest of the world arrayed against them. In order to fight this organized capitalist class, the machinists must depend on the strength of the working-class of this country and of the world. They must be aggressive, united and class-conscious, acting always as loyal members of the working class, such an open declaration of the class struggle from the capitalist side was worthy of careful thought.

The machinists of Essex County have learned a great deal about Socialism since the strike began. The comrades have seen to it that they were supplied with Socialist literature and given a chance to hear Social Democratic speakers, and a deep impression has been made.

Every reader who is a member of the Social Democratic Party should read and consider this week's editorial, "Discussions Is Invited."

## WAS IT A JOKE? AND ON WHOM?

Pious Clergymen Denounce Unions for Meeting on Sunday, but Refuse to Consider Request That They Pray for the Eight-Hour Day.

Last Saturday's session of the general synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, meeting at Pittsburgh, was the scene of a bitter attack upon trade unions by the clergymen assembled. Resolutions were introduced condemning the unions, both because they are to a certain extent, secret organizations and because they often hold their meetings on Sunday.

Ex-Moderator Foster supported the resolutions, denouncing the "unlawful" labor organizations, which do not "leave a free field for labor," but "wickedly restrict competition by fixing wages and hours for men employed in their trades. Elder Robb of Sharon, Ia., said the emblem of a trade union was 'the mark of the beast' and demanded a resolution to condemn and denounce absolutely all labor unions. Elder Walter Miller and Rev. J. M. McKnight spoke in the same strain.

A minority defended the unions. Rev. J. C. McPeckers pointing out that the synod did not propose to censure or organize of capitalists, although they were also secret organizations, and were in the habit of requiring their employees to work on Sunday. The conference, however, evidently thought that the practices of the trusts were sanctioned by the law and the profits; and, by a vote of 71 to 54 instructed the committee to remodel the resolution so as to condemn all labor unions and forbid the church members to join them.

But the climax came on Monday, as told in the following dispatch: "Moderator Martin of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod has received a telegram from the Associated Ministers of Labor Unions asking the Synod to pray for an eight-hour work day, so the laboring men would not have to hold meetings on Sunday to devise means to secure it. Dr. Martin said he thought the telegram was meant for a joke."

The pious elders at Pittsburgh seem to be as deficient in a sense of humor as in a sense of truthfulness, decency, or humanity. They have nothing to say against bosses who compel many of their employees, on pain of discharge, to work seven days when week; but they condemn the workmen for taking the only day when most of them have time for thought or discussion to meet and plan for their common welfare. They profess to believe in the power of prayer. But when they are asked to pray that their employers will grant a shorter workday, so that the men might not be too tired to hold their meetings on weekday evenings, they consider that the request must be meant for a joke!

They are quite right, too. But the joke is on them—and a bitter joke it is, revealing the hollowness of their sanctimonious pretenses. The church has been called upon to decide on which side it would throw such influence as it may have—for the men who create the world's wealth and bear the world's burdens or for the men who exploit the workers and build churches out of the plunder. They have decided to back the employers to hold the ministrations of such hypocrites.

## A LESSON IN SOLIDARITY.

We heartily endorse the position taken in the following letter from a comrade in Yonkers:

"Some three weeks ago the Yonkers bricklayers and hod-carriers went on strike for an increase in pay and the Saturday half holiday. The boss masons and bricklayers offered to grant the Saturday half holiday with an increase of twenty cents per day. The offer was a compromise and the president of the International Bricklayers' Union, who, it appears, had been delegated to make the settlement, agreed to accept the terms offered and instructed the bricklayers to go back to work and take stuff from anybody. In other words, 'To hell with the union hod carriers.'"

"Now labor organizations, according to our friends, the DeLeonites, are so purely simple that they will not and cannot accomplish anything. But it is a fact that the hod carriers have, with the able assistance rendered by the Building Trades Council of Yonkers, succeeded not only in beating the bosses and securing for themselves the Saturday half holiday and an increase of the whole amount asked—that is, an advance from 20 to 33 cents per hour—but they have made those aristocrats of the labor movement, the bricklayers and plasterers, stay idle for three weeks, and taught them the lesson that it would have been better for them, even financially, if they had known what the solidarity of labor meant at the beginning of the strike. It would have been settled long since—fill of course, the fight comes on again. It seems a deplorable fact that the bricklayers and the locomotive engineers, so-called intelligent bodies of the workers, are further behind the age in a true knowledge of what is meant by the modern labor movement than are the so-called 'ignorant' hod carriers, who in this city, anyway, have shown several times that at least on the economic field they understand their class interests. Let us hope that in the near future they will also learn their duty on the political field and become class-conscious and election day."

## QUESTIONS WORTH THINKING ABOUT.

Last week we referred to the manifesto issued by the machinist employers of Bridgeport, Conn., wherein threats were made of sending strikers to jail upon the evidence furnished by company detectives.

Besides this attempt at intimidation, there are other matters in the document worth considering. Some of the things that the manufacturers suggest are, first and important—but there is another inference to be drawn besides the one the bosses drew from them.

They ask: "Do the machinists realize that the question of pay for labor performed is merely a question of supply and demand?"

That is a good question to think over. Do the workmen realize that so long as a capitalist class own the land and machinery and other means of production their labor power, their very lives, are only a commodity like potatoes or pig iron? Do they realize that under the capitalist system they have no right to be considered as human beings, but only as living means of production, to be bought and sold in the market? It is time that they realized this.

The manufacturers infer that workmen, as commodities, ought to be as passive as potatoes or pig iron, as submissive as oxen. Socialists make another inference. We say that workmen ought to use their united power to change a system which treats them as commodities and set up in its place a system under which all men would be workers and all workers would be men and treated as such. That condition will come only when the people, as a body, own the means of production. Is it not worth thinking about?

The manufacturers ask (we sum up three of these questions into one): "Do

## MORE SERFS FOR RUSSELL SAGE.

Court Decision Expropriates Hundreds of Minnesota Farmers in His Favor.

Several hundred hard working people of Stearns County, Minnesota, will now have occasion to think seriously about Socialism. The courts have decided that 30,000 acres of land in that county, which have, for many years, been occupied and cultivated by these bona-fide settlers, legally belong to Russell Sage of New York.

Mr. Sage has neither the ability nor the desire to cultivate or use all this land that the courts have presented him with. As for the people who have worked upon the land, improved it, and multiplied its value many times over by their years of labor, Mr. Sage will graciously allow them to continue to work upon it on condition that every year they shall pay over to him or his agent a certain share—as large a share as he can extort from them—of the value of the crops they produce.

As year after year the land is still further improved by their labor and as the demand for land becomes greater through the increase of the population, Mr. Sage or his heirs, without ever performing one iota of useful work, whether manual or mental, will be able to demand larger and larger rental from those who do the work. And if they refuse to yield to his demands he can call in the power of the government, with marshals and, if necessary, militia and soldiers, to drive them from their homes to seek other opportunities in this "glorious land of opportunity."

If the people of Minnesota had voted to put the Social Democratic Party in power, had elected Social Democrats as legislators, executive officers, and judges, that case would have been decided differently. It would have been decided that the people who worked upon the land had a right to the use of it, and that no other man had any right to levy toll upon the product of their labor. And the whole power of the state would have been exerted to support that decision against the outrageous claims of Mr. Sage and to protect the producers in the enjoyment of the fruits of their toil.

It is a pity that only about 3,000 of the people of Minnesota voted that way last fall. But they are learning, and decisions like this will help them to learn faster. Socialism is coming, and the reign of parasites like Sage is approaching its downfall.

## FEASTED BY THE ENEMY.

The so-called labor leaders who were dined at the Democratic Club last Monday evening, to ensure their support of Tammany Hall this fall, and to get the workmen to do likewise, are reckoning without their host if they believe "the labor vote" is any longer a commodity to be bought and sold in the market. They know little of the working class if they believe the experiences of years have not brought bitter lessons that are being remembered by increasing numbers of the working class. The "labor vote" is fast becoming a class-conscious vote that cannot be swayed around at the pleasure of a few labor leaders. Workmen are getting tired of supporting their enemies—the capitalist class—at the ballot box. These "labor leaders" and the Tammany politicians, as well as the anti-Tammany politicians, will not learn these things until they see an increased Socialist vote next fall, and those who attempt to lead the working people into the shambles of capitalist politics are either knaves, fools, or ignoramuses, and as either or all they are unfit to speak directly or indirectly for the working class.

## THE DEMAND FOR BRAINS.

"The country is being ransacked for brains," says Chas. M. Schwab, who has enough brains to satisfy those who control the big steel trust. The big capitalists are looking for brains without measure, and that is why they are so anxious to get rid of a failure as meanness without brains.

The kind of brains in demand by the capitalist is the kind that can skin the people the slickest and make the people believe all the time they are not being skinned! The kind of brains in demand by the capitalist is the kind that can figure down to a cent how little a workman can live on and just how much more he can squeeze out of that workman must be kept alive, or there would be no capitalist.

The kind of brains in demand by the capitalist is the kind that will force down wages till little children have to work to keep themselves alive. The kind of brains in demand by the capitalist is the kind that forces young girls to sell their virtue or face starvation.

The majority of us have got enough of this kind of brains. We are looking for brains of another sort. Marx had brains; Liebknecht had brains; Engels had brains; even Herron has brains! What's the matter with such brains? Doesn't that kind suit you, Mr. Schwab?

Oh, yes, we know that what the capitalist is looking for is brains. And we also know that if there were a million men (and perhaps there are) who had just as much brains as Mr. Schwab there would be only one man needed as president of the Billion Dollar Steel Trust.

There may be a man now who has brains enough to discover that a white man can live on rice as well as a Chinaman, and if he can invent a plan by which he can get the white man to do it, he'll get Mr. Schwab's place. The slave driver who can get the most work at the least expenditure will win, and the only way to do that is by taking a little more blood out of the workman.

The kind of brains that can plan the biggest steal, the kind of brains that can conceive the biggest lie, the kind of brains that can "do up" the largest number is the kind of brains that wins! —Aunt Sally, in Seattle Socialist.

## TO SUPPRESS STRIKES.

Tammy Hall Commissioner Devery delivered himself thus at the convention of police chiefs last week:

"We meet here to exchange views on how to suppress strikes, riots, and all disturbances. As for our own town, I say, act promptly. Go at it. Don't let it spread. When you are tied up in doubt about a situation, commit it to the hands of the police. Give them what they will help you. And when you are asked for help in some waters, drop every hind and stand to it."

Referred to a case in which a workman who with a vote for a Tammany y by labor leaders died at the Reformatory Club's Monday.

## A GLEAN OF LIGHT.

A woman in a tattered shawl rang the bell of a stately mansion. "May I die on your doorstep, sir?" she asked, respectfully of the butler, who presently appeared. "No," was the brusque reply. The woman was turning sadly away, when a beautiful child with golden hair, exclaimed, "Oh, papa, please let the woman die on the doorstep." "Very well," said the father, for he could give his little daughter nothing. So the woman died on the doorstep, feeling that the world was not altogether dark, after all. —Detroit Journal.



**Our F steamed**

**Our Esteemed Contemporaries**  
 (and OTHERS)

The New Dispensation; Springfield, Mo.  
 The Illinois legislature has been con-

**Omaha Daily News.**  
It has always been generally understood that these joint debates (as of Tillman and Mc Laurin) are devoid of results. Since one has led two United States senators to resign, however, it demonstrates that there is some utility in the institution after all. Let us have many senatorial joint debates.

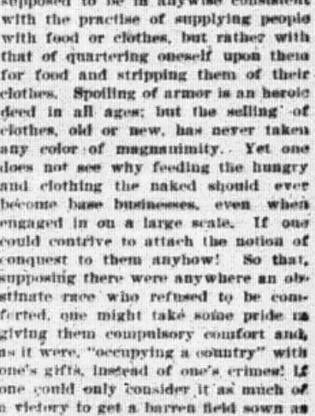
This, in the very nature of things, cannot cease until exploitation of the

workers cease. If every wage worker received five dollars a day for a five-hour day, the "labor question" would be no nearer solution than it is to-day. This cannot be settled except by the abolition of the profit system, when labor will receive as its reward its entire product.

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## WAR AND WORK.

The wonder has always been great to me that heroism has never been



to get an eared field stripped, and contend who should build villages, instead

the forms of heroism conceivable in doing these serviceable deeds? You doubt who is strongest? It might be ascertained by push of spine as well as by push of sword. Who is wisest? There are wittier things to be thought of in planning other business than campaigns. Who is bravest? There are always the elements to fight with, stronger than men and dead nearly as merciless.

The only absolutely and unapproachably heroic strategy in the soldier's work seems to be that he should fight for it—and regularly; while you trade, lenders and ex-changers and others acquiesce in presumably benevolent business, like to be paid much for it—and by any chance. I can never make out how it is that a knight-errant does not expect to be paid for his trouble, but a

POST ON THE LABOR WAR

Tell Walt Whitman Fellowships held its eighth annual convention in this city on Friday of last week. One of the features of the meeting was a dedication to the "good gray poet" from Blitarman, which was worth reproducing: "Dear Walt Whitman, we still have need of you, of your love and your thoughts and your way of life. We are in need of your cheerfulness and your hopes these days. For today, really, they are all gone in them." Then he said to his friends, "I am not an car conductor. They say it is a strike, and they are very pleased with the regiments that have gone up from Manhattan to kill these fellows. But I am not pleased or proud of these soldiers. I am ashamed and very, very sorry. I do not call it a strike, Walt. It is a war. I call it the beginning of the last war, the great war of liberation. I know it—strike and hate and fear."

—Fifteen cents a week is not much spare from your income. Yet it will send The Worker for three weeks to some man who needs to know about Socialism, but does not. Judicious canvassing you could get at least twenty-five renewals or of one fifty-two subscriptions. How many new Socialist votes would that mean in a year? Try it and find out.



## NOW A ZINC TRUST.

English Capitalists Organize an \$8,000,000  
Ore Combine to Exploit Missouri  
Miners.

A Joplin, Mo., dispatch of June 3 states: "A big zinc mining deal involving \$8,000,000 worth of property has been consummated in London, a cable-gram to that effect having reached here today. The purchase embraces many rich producing zinc mines, mills, and leases and several thousand acres of undeveloped mineral lands."

"Many of the mines are near Joplin, and the deal was promoted by a Joplin man, J. D. Cameron. Its effect upon the Missouri-Kansas mining district which is now preparing to export one-fourth of its zinc ore to Europe, will be important. It is reliably stated that the English syndicate which is investing so extensively in American zinc property will secure other mines and seek to control enough of the zinc output to dictate prices."

Of course, the numerous zinc workers will not be able to labor under any free and sovereign citizens, and they will give the syndicate of English capitalists the major portion of the value of the product of the mines. These idle capitalists in England are absolutely necessary; they must receive nice dividends, or else the zinc industry could not get along.

Yes, the American workmen are "free and sovereign citizens," and they secure the "foreign" role, and all that sort of thing, but the international yoke of capitalism is borne without complaint. The zinc workers would rebel against the rule of King Edward, but they accept the rule of King Capital with headquarters in London gladly and thankfully. And Socialism that would make all free and remove all despots, whether monarchial or industrial, is looked at as impracticable, visionary and destructive of individual initiative!

CONSOLIDATING  
STREET RAILWAYS.

The entire street railway system of Toledo will pass into the control of the Everett Moore syndicate of Cleveland. It is said that very shortly all the Detroit and Toledo suburban roads will be under the control of the same syndicate.

The Everett Moore general plan is to acquire all the electric lines between Cleveland and Port Huron, Mich., and from Cleveland south to Wheeling, W. Va., and all the other suburban feeders, and when the Toledo city deal is completed every city terminal in the lake section of this territory will be under their control.

## COMPETITION ENDED.

The argument that attempted monopoly of any industry tends to promote competition in that industry has received another boost under way, and this time it is from the Standard Oil Company, that has delivered it. The oil company considered practically as the only competitor of the trust has given up the fight and sold out to its mighty rival.

Standard, Shreve & Teagle of Cleveland, the competitors in question, have yielded to the inevitable after a hard battle. This company includes two remaining companies, the consideration paid for all being \$1,000,000.

It is reported that another new company is being organized to fight the trust. There may be various reasons for this. Either the promoters want their company to be bought up by the trust, or else they are trying to get glibble people to buy stock in a company which has no story of existence.

There is no use attempting to defeat a trust whose ramifications are world-wide and which has unlimited wealth behind it. The Standard Oil Company will hold the field until Socialism comes along and takes the field away from it.

## BIG TOBACCO DEAL.

Not a report that a new big combination of tobacco manufacturers is nearly completed. It will include the American Tobacco Company (the trust), and the Continental Tobacco Company, and will practically control the entire tobacco and cigarette industry of the country. It will also take first place as one of the largest combines in the world.

This will mean more wiping out of small capitalists and dealers, more concentration of manufacturing and consequent displacement of tobacco and cigar workers, and still lower wages for those at work. When the combine gets fully under way, and the manufacturing of tobacco and cigarettes is entirely under its control, what are the unions going to do? The combine's policy will undoubtedly be the same as the American Tobacco Company's is now—one of direct and unflinching antagonism to organized labor. This will be detrimental to the union labor agitation, as the consumer of tobacco will have to buy the products of the trust or go without. There's a hot time ahead for the trade unionists who believe the salvation of the working class is to be gained through economic action alone.

## YELLOW-PINE COMBINE.

One of the largest combinations of yellow-pine lumber manufacturers ever attempted in the Southwest is about to be consummated at Beaumont, Texas. The deal is controlled by Boston capitalists who have long been interested in yellow-pine timber holdings in Eastern Texas.

The new corporation will take over all of these properties under a single ownership and will be capitalized at \$10,000,000 to \$20,000,000. While it will not, it is said, attempt to control the yellow-pine market, it will be a very powerful combination and will mislead with the services of many employees.

We emphasize the material side of life, because we think that it is impossible for the masses to be moral and intelligent in their present lack of unity, dependence and exposure to all kinds of temptations. —Charles H. Vail.

## The Economic Struggle.

United Labor League of Philadelphia has had various issues for the arrest of Director of Public Works Haddock and Chief Hand of the Bureau of Water, for violating the act of assembly, which provided that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work on all municipal work or contracts.

Members of Journeymen Bakers' International Union are writing to the "Bakers' Journal" advocating that the paper be conducted on Socialist lines hereafter.

The fifteenth annual convention of the International Printing Pressmen's Union will meet at Washington, D. C., June 17.

At the recent convention of the waiters and bartenders at St. Louis the following officers were elected: Joseph R. Michaels of Syracuse, N. Y., president; W. H. Cristof, Chicago, first vice-president; John H. Suntrup, St. Louis, second vice-president; W. A. Donnelly, Auburn, N. Y., third vice-president; Fred. Bauman, Omaha, Neb., fourth vice-president; Harry J. Chancy, Youngstown, fifth vice-president; H. W. Zieffler, Scranton, Pa., sixth vice-president; Lewis Rindoff, Erie, Pa., seventh vice-president; J. E. Sullivan, Cincinnati, general secretary-treasurer. The delegates to the American Federation of Labor are J. H. Schura of Alton, Ill., and F. B. Hobbs of Cleveland. Louisville was selected as the next convention city. A movement to organize the waiters apart from the bartenders is causing some concern to the union officials.

Newsboys of Warren, O., have organized.

A trades union conference at West Auckland, New Zealand, has adopted resolutions urging the government to abolish overtime for children employed in factories; to compel all boys working at trade to be indentured; and to establish a state coal mine and tailoring and boot workshops. The conference declared against federation.

Railway engineers at their convention last month, unanimously voted that "this union should study and act on all the problems of labor making Socialism our legitimate goal." We scarcely forget to mention that this convention was held in Japan, not in America. —Cleveland Citizen.

Root and Ross Workers' National Union had \$33,848.96 in general benefit funds March 31.

## NOTES OF COMBINATION.

Brickmakers of Hackensack, N. J., have formed a trust.

A New York real estate combination is reported as being organized.

The Waters Pierce Oil Company will begin preparations immediately to handle the product of the Beaumont oil fields in Texas. This company is understood to be a part of the Standard Oil Company, and the independent oil operators are frightened accordingly.

The two leading salt companies of Canada have merged with a capital of \$8,000,000 into the Canadian Salt Company.

A National Tea Importers and Tea Dealers Association is on the way. Members want to safeguard their interests by influencing legislation. Going to elect workmen for the purpose. "What do you think?"

Leading manufacturers of collars, cuffs, shirts, etc., propose to consolidate under the name of the American Shirt and Collar Company, with a capital of \$1,500,000.

A rival for the copper trust is reported from the West in the shape of the United Copper Company, with a capital of \$80,000,000. The new company will acquire all the ore mining property in the West outside of the Amalgamated Copper Company, which it will fight. W. A. Clark is associated with the latter company.

The combination of the Cramps, Vickers-Maxim and the Bethlehem Iron Company, despite rumors to the contrary, is authoritatively stated to be certain of accomplishment with in the next few weeks.

A gigantic combination of yellow pine lumber manufacturers is being organized in the Southwest.

A new combination of rafflelike houses is being formed, which will include all the large first-class houses west of Chicago, and will work in harmony with the similar associations east of Chicago. It will have a capital of \$3,000,000.

It is reported from Evansville, Ind., that the American Chemical and Spirit Company of that city has gone into the hands of a New York trust. The plant will be closed, and 300 men will be thrown out of work. The factory is the only one of its kind in the West.

Till a man is independent he is not free. The man who is in danger of want is not a free man, and the country which does not guard him against this danger or does not insure him the means of a livelihood, is not a free country, though it may be the freest country that is. Liberty and poverty are inseparable, and if the poverty is extreme, liberty is impossible. The worst which we can labor troubles is nothing more or less than an endeavor for the liberty which the working class are disposed of. —William Dean Howells.

You believe in the survival of the fittest, but wish to prove the existence of the social system that is most unjust. —Charles H. Vail.

## Over the Water

A large Scandinavian match trust has been organized which will include all the Danish match factories, several Swedish and one English match factory with a capital stock of about \$1,200,000.

William Clarke, M. A., known widely as one of the contributors to the famous volume of "Fabian Essays," died on May 8 at Mostar, Herzegovina. He was one of the best known journalists and writers on economics and political subjects in England.

According to a dispatch received from St. Petersburg on May 31, it appears that the conflict at Alexandrovsky, in the vicinity of St. Petersburg, between the strikers at the Obshchikoff iron works and the authorities, on May 20, had much more serious results than was admitted in the police reports of the affair issued on May 21. It was then said that after twelve of the police had been injured they were reinforced by soldiers, who fired three volleys, killing two men and wounding seven. The relatives of the strikers declare that forty men were killed and that 150 others were wounded. A reliable source says he saw four volunteers of wounded persons covered with blood, and another spectator declares that he saw two thousands of wounded taken to the hospital.

The Belgian government is having trouble with its soldiers. Last week a mutiny is reported to have occurred among the élite guards at Antwerp, the soldiers parading the streets singing the "Marseillaise," while the police had to be called on to protect the officers. The Socialists have been doing energetic propaganda work among the soldiers in Belgium, as well as in other European countries.

Gustave LeFranchais died recently in Paris in his seventy-fifth year. He was one of the Communists who, in August, 1872, being condemned to death by the Versailles government, escaped to London. He began his career as a schoolmaster, was arrested for conspiring against the government in 1870, and later for his opposition to the Napoleonic coup d'état and was obliged to flee to London. He returned to Paris in the early sixties, and soon made himself conspicuous by his open attacks upon the Empire. He was several times arrested, and when Louis Napoleon fell in 1870, he entered the Hotel de Ville and upbraided General Trochu and Jules Ferry for the inactivity of the National Defense Government. Then came the Commune. He returned to France when amnesty was proclaimed by the Third Republic, and from then until the time of his death occupied himself in writing for the most advanced Socialist organs, and attacking the republican government as the Bourbons and the Imperialists.

During the year 1900 no extraordinary event has occurred in our party, but we have been carrying on the agitation and have made steady progress.

There have been strikes and meetings in which we have always brought before the public our principles, and we have spared no effort to try and effect improvements in the condition of the proletariat.

In Castile, in Biscaya, in Galicia, and other parts of Spain, our forces have increased, and there has been a very great increase in the province of Asturias.

During the past year we have held seventy meetings in Asturias, and I reckoned that these have been attended by 30,000 people. In 1900 there were six groups in this province with 600 members, and in 1900 there are thirteen, with a membership of 7,000. Most of these men are miners. They have a paper, "La Aurora Social," which has a circulation of 4,000.

The first of May last year was well celebrated in Spain. Work ceased on that day at Madrid, Valencia, Bilbao, Valladolid, and other large towns, and even in some agricultural districts. Many meetings and reunions were held. At Madrid a meeting was attended by 12,000 persons. Perfect order prevailed at these meetings.

Preparations have been made to celebrate this Festival of Labor this year, but it is possible that there may be disturbances in some places as the anarchists are very active and may exercise a disturbing influence.

The Socialist press has become more important, and the following now appear: "El Socialista," the central organ at Madrid; "La Lucha de Clases," at Bilbao; "La Aurora Social," at Oviedo; "La Voz del Pobre," at San Sebastián; "La Solidaridad," at Vigo; "El Obrero Rebelde," at Palma; "El Bien del Obrero," at Ferrol; "Adelante," at Elber.

We also now publish a weekly review at Madrid, "La Nueva Era," and after June 1 we shall publish new papers at Barcelona and San Sebastián.

The Union of Workmen is now mainly under Socialist management, and there are in it 172 groups, with a membership of 22,288.

In this union the anarchists have been very active, and have tried to do they could to hinder its progress, and to cast discredit on the Socialists.

In doing this they have not always used fair or legitimate means, and have even tried to wreck the union, but so far they have not succeeded.

## PARTY NOTES.

The pastor of St. Paul's Universalist Church of Rutland, Vt., has arranged for a series of six Sunday evening addresses on "Good Citizenship" and has secured a banker, lawyer, editor, and a clergyman to speak, and a representative of schools to speak. Comrade James M. Lall will close the series with an explanation of the Socialist position.

The "Macon Press," official journal of the Macon, Ga., Central Labor Union, gives two columns weekly to "Things Socialistic," and some good articles are included.

Chairman McFall of the Oklahoma territorial committee, has issued an address to the party in which he says: "Those of us who have had the benefit of the past year's meetings appreciate that they have been an effective means of propaganda and education. In all Africa meetings were held at ten different places. With one or two exceptions the attendance was good, and in every case the audience was carried by Comrade Vail's irresistible logic. These meetings have proved a great stimulus to the comrades, and have added to our number many converts. We are only sorry that arrangements could not have been made for meetings at other points in the territory."

An appeal is made to build up the Socialist press for the campaign of 1902. If the weekly press is not built up, the Socialist press will probably be placed in the territory next fall.

The state executive committee of the Social Democratic Party of New Hampshire met at Dover on May 30. The meeting was a business one. Louis Arnsperger acted as chairman. D. Whitehouse was elected treasurer to fill vacancy. It was voted to put two organizers in the field during the month of June, one French and one American. The committee decided to call a state convention to meet at Dover on July 4 for the purpose of selecting delegates to attend the national unity convention to be held in Indianapolis, July 24.

The Social Democratic Party of Trenton have decided to change their regular time of meeting from Sunday to Tuesday evening, and hereafter no Sunday meetings will be held, except for a lecture.

"Don't write on both sides of paper." "CORRESPONDENCE." "Don't write on both sides of paper."

Editor of The Worker. Reading over late issues of our Socialist paper I have certain tendencies of thought that seem to me to be open to frank criticism. I refer to the propositions for abolishing the party, the party, the party, etc., on the one hand, and the proposition for a unity that will permit of division, that will permit of division, that will permit of division, etc., on the other hand.

"I think I am well within the bounds of fact when I say that there has been a time since the Rochester convention of 1898, when an overwhelming majority of the party have been in favor of a unity that will permit of division, that will permit of division, that will permit of division, etc., on the one hand, and the proposition for a unity that will permit of division, that will permit of division, that will permit of division, etc., on the other hand."

"I believe that the few leaders who feel that they must take such a course, because they would be brought into contact with some one who has 'rubbed' them in the face with the fact that they are not the party of the future, what is the use of their going to the party, the party, the party, etc., on the one hand, and the proposition for a unity that will permit of division, that will permit of division, that will permit of division, etc., on the other hand."

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## PARTY NOTES.

The pastor of St. Paul's Universalist Church of Rutland, Vt., has arranged for a series of six Sunday evening addresses on "Good Citizenship" and has secured a banker, lawyer, editor, and a clergyman to speak, and a representative of schools to speak. Comrade James M. Lall will close the series with an explanation of the Socialist position.

The "Macon Press," official journal of the Macon, Ga., Central Labor Union, gives two columns weekly to "Things Socialistic," and some good articles are included.

Chairman McFall of the Oklahoma territorial committee, has issued an address to the party in which he says: "Those of us who have had the benefit of the past year's meetings appreciate that they have been an effective means of propaganda and education. In all Africa meetings were held at ten different places. With one or two exceptions the attendance was good, and in every case the audience was carried by Comrade Vail's irresistible logic. These meetings have proved a great stimulus to the comrades, and have added to our number many converts. We are only sorry that arrangements could not have been made for meetings at other points in the territory."

An appeal is made to build up the Socialist press for the campaign of 1902. If the weekly press is not built up, the Socialist press will probably be placed in the territory next fall.

The state executive committee of the Social Democratic Party of New Hampshire met at Dover on May 30. The meeting was a business one. Louis Arnsperger acted as chairman. D. Whitehouse was elected treasurer to fill vacancy. It was voted to put two organizers in the field during the month of June, one French and one American. The committee decided to call a state convention to meet at Dover on July 4 for the purpose of selecting delegates to attend the national unity convention to be held in Indianapolis, July 24.

The Social Democratic Party of Trenton have decided to change their regular time of meeting from Sunday to Tuesday evening, and hereafter no Sunday meetings will be held, except for a lecture.

"Don't write on both sides of paper." "CORRESPONDENCE." "Don't write on both sides of paper."

Editor of The Worker. Reading over late issues of our Socialist paper I have certain tendencies of thought that seem to me to be open to frank criticism. I refer to the propositions for abolishing the party, the party, the party, etc., on the one hand, and the proposition for a unity that will permit of division, that will permit of division, that will permit of division, etc., on the other hand.

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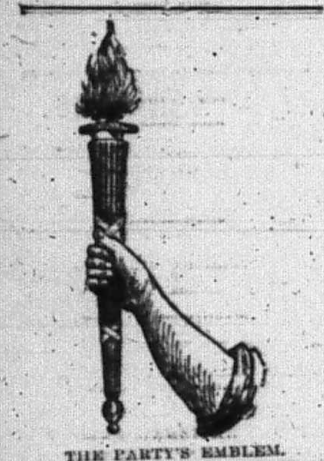
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## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	2,088
In 1890 (Presidential).....	15,331
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,167
In 1894 (Presidential).....	35,133
In 1896 (Presidential).....	96,584
In 1898 (Presidential).....	82,204
S. D. P. ....	96,918
S. L. P. ....	33,450



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

## TO NEW READERS.

This issue of *The Worker* will fall into the hands of a large number of workingmen who have never seen the paper before. To each of these we say: Give the paper a careful and candid reading. When you are done with it pass it on to a friend. If you get several copies, distribute them among your fellow workmen. If after reading it you think the paper is doing a good work and advocating true principles—and we are sure you will think so—then see if you cannot spare 50 cents for a year's subscription or, at least, 25 cents for six months. You will get your money's worth, and you will also materially help in strengthening a paper which is wholly devoted to the interests of the working class—your class and ours.

It is peculiar that only those who are poor can see the advantages of poverty.

As between wage-slavery and industrial freedom there is nothing to arbitrate.

The longer the Socialist returns are in arriving after an election the larger the Socialist vote may be expected to be.

The strongest arguments against private ownership of industry are to be found in the columns of the papers that defend it.

Why don't the members of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod set workingmen an example by not holding meetings on Sunday?

Since McKinley has declined a third term, the millions of American citizens who "have a chance to be president" can breathe freely again.

The fact that capitalists employ traitors to spy in the trade unions is another evidence of the identity of interests between capital and labor.

When the capitalists endow universities they are only providing means to have the question, "Does a College Education Pay?" settled in their favor.

Constitution or no constitution, the working people of the colonies will be forced anyway—only the capitalist politicians are choosing the easiest way to do the forcing.

The New York "Journal" is mainly tainting its reputation for generally discussing things of which it knows nothing by writing editorials upon "news" paper news.

Compulsory arbitration under capitalism means the legitimization of involuntary servitude, which is opposed to the constitution. Republic

lican and Democratic judges would probably get over that difficulty. But Socialists are against it, constitutional or not.

The nearer the municipal election comes the further away from the question of vice wanders the mind of the reformer, and the closer it draws to the question of spoils.

The capitalist press of New York apparently act upon the theory that the only "news fit to print" about Socialists concerns nobody, but individual Socialists themselves.

There is no danger or value in anti-monopoly laws while private ownership of monopoly is left untouched. That's why the monopolists in many cases are also anti-monopolists.

If appearances are not deceitful, Mr. W. J. Bryan of Nebraska will soon be running Hon. Sam Jones of Toledo a hot race for the dubious distinction of being "a man without a party."

The people who assert that there are no classes in America might explain how it is that while a comparatively few people can go to the seashore and mountains for the summer, the great majority are compelled to stay in the city.

Rev. Banks, who has the effrontery to call Comrade Geo. D. Herron a tramp, was a resident of Cleveland during the street car strike two years ago, and actively assisted the company in breaking the strike. A correspondent says that Mr. Banks made tramps of many strikers and helped break up many homes. Altogether, it certainly looks as if Comrade Herron can be proud of the enemies he has made.

President Cutting of the Citizens' Union is a great practical reformer. He wants to "give the East Side the moral equivalent of fresh air and pure food." This is good. It would cost something to give them the real thing. But "moral equivalents" are cheap. Are women starving in the sweatshops? The Citizens' Union will feed them with "moral equivalents." Are workmen's babies stifling in the tenements? The Citizens' Union will fan their fevered cheeks with cool breezes of "moral equivalents." What more do you want?

Another nice disaster! Every day comes fresh news of some new holocaust. This time it is in Port Royal, Pa., and nearly thirty lives are lost. What an old story. It is to be sure! It has become so frequent that few pay more than passing attention to it. And yet each disaster means suffering and privation for women and children left behind, and each disaster could be avoided with proper precautions. But profits count for more than human life, and the welfare and happiness of working people weigh for little against the luxuries and bank accounts of a small class.

## BREAKING UP THE HOMES.

In reply to the charge that Socialists seek to break up the home, we have repeatedly asserted that the present system of private ownership is breaking up the home faster than Socialists could desire it. This statement is borne out by no less an authority than the New York "World," than which a stauncher supporter of capitalism does not exist. The "World" states that the divorce granted in all other civilized countries put together do not equal the number granted in the United States, while our population is growing at the rate of 23 per cent. per annum, the number of divorced persons is increasing at the rate of nearly 70 per cent. per annum.

These figures vividly reflect the terrible conditions that prevail in modern society. In the face of them, what must be the mental and moral standard of those who proclaim that the existing family life is the basis of civilization, and that a change in the economic system of society would destroy the sacredness of that family life? There can be no certainty, no peace, no security in the homes of the people while their livelihood is uncertain, while they are haunted by fear of ruin and beggary, while the satisfaction of social wants is the plaything of economic insecurity. The struggle for existence, with its incident, social failures and thwarted ambitions, fosters distrust and dissatisfaction, breeds jealousy and betrayal, and makes have an outcast and beggar upon the human highway. Economic conditions dictate marriages in the majority of instances and from the beginning these are already stricken with moral failures.

The true basis for a permanent family life will be found in a just and rational industrial system where all men and women will be assured of the opportunity to live their own lives as reason and love may dictate. There can be no nobler task for men and women who love their kind to undertake and follow than the establishment of such a system. And the task should be the nobler and more inspiring task knowing that against us are massed the forces whose existence depends upon the perpetration of a system that drives love and kindness and sweet

charitableness from the hearts of human kind.

Every one who enlists under the banner of the Social Democratic Party becomes one in a world wide crusade against the existing system of lovelessness, immorality, and hypocrisy. Every one who joins in this crusade clasps hands with a universal army of workers and thinkers whose every heart throbs is committed to the coming of Socialism. We are calling for recruits. Every recruit gained is one more added to the great roll of world emancipators.

The "Journal" and the "World" are fond of posing as "friends of labor." Here is an example of their friendship. Last week a ladies' waist manufacturer named Goldsmith arbitrarily locked out the girls who had been working and making profits for him for years, because they got tired of submitting to petty tyranny and insult. The "Journal" and the "World" showed their friendship for labor—the former by disfavoring, the other by suppressing the news of the lockout, and both by printing for Mr. Goldsmith an advertisement for seats to take the places of the locked-out girls.

Next fall these papers will tell their working-class readers which capitalist candidates they should vote for. Will the workingmen voters take their advice?

A happy omen for the outcome of the Indianapolis convention may be drawn from the frantic endeavors of Mr. DeLeon's paper to sow the seeds of mutual suspicion among Social Democrats by the publication of imaginary conversations alleged to have been overheard by the ever-watchful "Crisis." McDonald. Nothing would please DeLeon better than to see the convention fall to effect thorough organic unity. But his plan for cultivating discussion is altogether too transparent. It will not work. The would-be dictator may as well resign himself to his fate—to be leader of an insignificant sect instead of foremost fighter in a self-controlled and advancing party.

New York is not the only city afflicted with wrong-headed "moral crusades." Albany is suffering from the same sort of outbreak just now and the latest symptom is the issuance of an order instructing the police to stop children dancing to the tunes ground out on hand organs in the street. The order is inspired by the so-called Humanitarian Society. The idea of all these hypocritical reformers of the species represented by Comstock and Gerry seems to be that the pleasures of the poor are necessarily immoral and must be suppressed. If you suggest that they turn their attention to abolishing the exploitation of labor—which allows the workingmen's children no playground except the streets, they hold up their hands in horror and say you are attacking the foundations of society.

## A PROPOSED CAPITALIST BOYCOTT.

That there is a motive in the continual publication of false and malicious statements by the daily press against Comrade George D. Herron must be apparent to even the most unsophisticated. That the motive is a dastardly one and worthy of its source is becoming plainer every day. The people who are carrying on this unjust and wicked crusade are not of those who could invite an investigation into their own private affairs with impunity, and their posing before the world as the conservators of public morals is as hypocritical and inconsistent as are all the pretensions of the corrupt and servile defenders and beneficiaries of the present system.

The most striking feature of the whole affair is the manifestation of the close alliance existing between the various newspapers and magazines, which apparently differ in interests, views and methods upon other occasions. We see the "Journal," yellowest of yellow journals, a Democratic deceitful purveyor of "radicalism," working in harmony with the "Sun," the bitterest and most consciousness supporter of capitalism in the metropolis, notorious as a "scab" Republican sheet and defender of all that makes against progress for humanity. Then we have such weeklies as "The Outlook," among representatives of all that is irreverent in the organized church of to-day, contributing its quota of misrepresentation and defamation. Along with these can be thrown in all the remainder of the hypocritical, falsifying enemies of progress that poison public opinion from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The reason for this unanimity of action on the part of papers that otherwise appear to conflict in their political and theological views is not far to seek. We have before stated that the reason for it can be found in the fact that Comrade Herron has not only antagonized the organized church in its Christless attitude toward social problems and their solution, but because he has struck hold and deep at the foundations of social injustice, at the source from which the organized church draws its sustenance—the capitalist system of wage slavery. And in addition to that he has proclaimed the alternative for the capitalist system—a Social Revolution that will culminate in the Cooperative Commonwealth.

Confirmation for this statement is

found in an article in "The Outlook" itself. Commenting in the usual strain upon Comrade Herron's marriage—a marriage morally and legally correct—it closes by saying:

"The only penalty which an offender can be made to feel is empty audience rooms and unmarketable books, and we trust that the American public will visit this penalty on Dr. Herron."

In those few words is laid bare the full animus of the attack upon Comrade Herron. It is not his supposed "sin" that frightens the slavish gossamer of his detractors—it is the message he brings in the written and spoken word that causes fear and alarm among the enemies of the exploited working class. If Comrade Herron could be ostracized by the public, if those he wishes to reach and rouse to a proper realization of the monstrous conditions existing to-day could be induced to turn away from him with eyes and ears closed to righteousness and reason then his detractors would rest well satisfied.

But these sages know neither the time nor the people. Comrade Herron will be heard, and the people will listen because the time for him, and such as he, to speak and be heard is now. The people can no more be prevented from hearing the truth of Socialism than can the persecution of Comrade Herron prevent him from speaking it. And his vindication must surely follow after as "it is inevitable" that Socialism will triumph against all the obstacles, great and small, that may be thrust in its pathway toward victory.

The newspapers are being deluged with letters complaining about the manner in which the street car system of the city is operated. Some people will apparently never learn that if it is right for private corporations to own the transit system, then it is only the business of these corporations to say how they should operate the roads. Ownership concedes operation. The rights of private property are superior to the rights of society, because the people themselves have said so. Suffering patrons of the roads will have to grin and bear it—which is what the transit companies expect them to do. The directors of the roads do not have to ride in open or crowded cars.

The United Traction Company of Troy and Albany has already begun discharging the men who were active in the late strike and against whom it promised not to discriminate. "The word of this is: Never believe that a capitalist intends to keep any promise that he makes to workingmen. The trade unions are proposing to retaliate by boycotting the street cars. We have our doubts whether that will have much effect on the U. T. Co. It will do much more good if they boycott the capitalist class next November by voting for the Social Democratic Party.

The company engaged in building "model tenements" reports a handsome dividend after interests, taxes, and all other charges are accounted for. The company is quoted as being philanthropic and practical, too. All very well, but it should be remembered that the company's success is based upon the fact that there are bad tenements. There is a demand for model tenements because there is an excess of bad ones. Should the latter be rare instead of plenty there would be no demand for "model tenements." So these gentlemen are reaping a good dividend from their philanthropy because the occasion for philanthropy exists. Just as there are other landlords who extort by keeping up tenements. If the people had good houses to live in, "model tenements" would not be at a premium as now. And the success of the model tenement company is proof that the people will live in decent houses when they get a chance. But while there are profits in renting indecent houses they will never get that chance. The working people can never own their own houses under capitalism.

Whenever the workers are the recipients of so-called privileges gratuitously granted by their employers, they are dependent upon that the employers expect the workers to yield something in return. This something is not profits alone, but invariably the workers' misbehavior. The employers provide bath tubs, curling irons, or free towels and demand in return that the workers shall waive their independence, their right to organize into trade unions and to conduct their own affairs. In short, while the employers are trying to hide the class struggle by attempting to bribe the workers with "concessions," they are demanding the abandonment of that which empowers the existence of a class struggle, i. e., the organization of the workers into class organizations. The interests of the capitalist class and working class are not identical and any concessions granted by one to another must inevitably result in injury to one or both. The class struggle permits of no compromise.

The imperialists already have their eye on another country to be "benignly assimilated." There is beginning to be open talk of the necessity of "interference" by the United States in Mexico where President Diaz shall come to rule—an event which is likely to come only with his death. American

# THE JOY OF THE BATTLE.

BY GEORGE D. HERRON.

I feel the joy of the battle in my soul.

It is the battle of the sons of slaves for the land where all are free and equal—the land of comrade-labor and ransomed love. It is the battle of the common workers and poets of the commonwealth—the commonwealth that is to be the romance of the universe, yet the solid floor of fact beneath each worker's feet. It is the battle so good that its call to death is like the hearing music of mystic silver bells, and its tragedies are as the cup of love. It is the battle so pure that it gathers its courage from the defeats of its bravest, and from the disgraces of its best spring the revolution—ecstasies that cleanse and lift the world.

II.

From the four winds, from the forewarned and armed nations, recruits are gathering for another stand in the good, great battle. The gladness of revolt lifts high the arm and heart of labor. It enters the doors where other deeds bend young men, and their faces become beautiful, like the faces of strong angels. It comes into the hearts of gentle maidens, and they change into goddess-avengers of the world's disinherited. It starts the expectancy of children in the streets, and they grow solemn with brave wonder.

It blends with the songs of the birds and the blue of violets, and fills the world with the signs of the coming, spring-time of the son of man. If the universe is worth while, this battle is worth while, and by its revolutionization I am moved to drink the sweetness of its slain.

capitalists have acquired great interests in Mexican railroads, copper and silver mines, coffee plantations, and other industries. Diaz does whatever the American profit-takers want. But in the event of his death the cry of "Mexico for the Mexicans" might be heard. Then "we" should feel called upon to fulfill our "manifest destiny" of introducing true liberty—McHanna brand-into that benighted land. As we have before remarked, the flag follows capital.

Our own Senator Beveridge of Indiana is touring Europe "investigating" industrial and political conditions. As, for instance, at Berlin one of those interviewed was Von Bulow, German Chancellor and chief adviser of Kaiser Wilhelm. At St. Petersburg he is reported as seeing M. A. Rothstein, the banker. From this can be judged what sort of an "investigation" Beveridge is making. No doubt his visit to the European capitals will strengthen the cordial relations between this government and those across the sea. We are quite sure the senator did not hunt up the representatives of the Social Democratic Party while in Berlin, though that party is the strongest numerically in Germany. Nor will he stop to interview the victims of the Russian government while he traverses Siberia on his return journey. This sort of investigation is no more in Beveridge's line than it is for him to consult the interests of the workers of his own country when he casts his vote or flounders superficial eloquence in the senate.

It would not be hard to prove that most class-conscious Socialists in the early beginning of Socialism agitation had some erroneous ideas on Socialist philosophy, but I respect and honor the men who have become strong enough to reach the plane of class-conscious Socialism and possess the manhood and courage to contend for it; and I have no disposition to bound them for the mistakes they made in their evolution from middle-class politics into the realms of pure Socialism. Great movements can never be crystallized by such a policy, and in my opinion it is a false system of tactics out of which only evil can come.

Our Anarchist contemporary, "Free Society," seems hard put to it for something to say against the Social Democratic movement. As usual, it takes refuge in lies. In order to avoid contradiction, it tries a long-distance lie, saying that the Social Democrats in the Austrian parliament opposed the miners' eight-hour proposition. The editor of "Free Society" knows perfectly well, if he knows anything of what is going on in Austria, that it was the Social Democratic members who introduced this bill and that they supported it to the last against the capitalist parties.

This incident bears out our contention that, while there are undoubtedly a number of honest men among the Anarchists, the Anarchist movement, here as in Europe, is being used by the capitalist class as a weapon against Socialism and trade unionism.

## THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

In northern snows the raging hearth  
Protests himself and his kind;  
Where snow is deep and ice is stark,  
And half the year is cold and dark,  
He still survives a time like that,  
By growing fat, by growing fat.  
These traits, O hearth, which thou transmit,  
Prove the survival of the fittest.

To polar regions, waste and wan  
Comes the conquering spirit of man;  
He conquers the cold, he conquers the snow,  
He conquers the ice, he conquers the frost,  
He conquers the wind, he conquers the rain,  
He conquers the sun, he conquers the moon,  
He conquers the stars, he conquers the earth,  
He conquers the universe, he conquers the world.

## MAY TAKE TO VOTING.

One great packing firm in the stock yards has prohibited entering among its employees, notices to that effect having been posted in conspicuous places on the premises of the company. This, if we mistake not, is a "step" in the right direction. There is little doubt but that profanity has to some extent acted as a safety valve for capitalism, the discontented wage slave often seeks satisfaction in cursing the conditions of his toil and all connected with it. If the example of this corporation is widely adopted it may have some effect in inducing the laborers to substitute voting for swearing, in which case the possessing classes might be expected to promptly withdraw their prohibition. A Socialist workman who votes for the interests of his class is a far more disagreeable individual in the eyes of the capitalist than the fool who wastes his breath in a string of useless oaths. The Worker's Call.

# Current Literature.

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

THE CRIME OF CREDULITY. By Herbert N. Casson. New York, Peter Eckler, 1901. Paper, 254 pages. Paper, 25 cents. Cloth, 75 cents.

The title of this book may startle some readers. "What," they will say, "credulity may be a weakness, but surely it is not a crime." Weakness and wickedness, however, are not very far apart, and on the question of the positive immorality of credulity we may refer the reader to William Kingdon Clifford's admirable essay, "The Ethics of Belief," where it is lucidly shown that the very same considerations which make it wrong to speak an untruth make it wrong also to believe an untruth. "The credulous man," says Clifford, "is a father to the liar and the cheat; he lives in the bosom of this family, and it is no marvel if he should become even as they are."

Mr. Casson's book handles "without gloves" some of the more notable among the myriad credulous fads and "occult" impostures that have, in recent years, afflicted the civilized world and more especially the United States. We are pleased to see that Mr. Casson is capable of such healthy "intolerance." It is to be hoped that he will have a hearing.

The following paragraph does not at all overstate the case:

"There is a certain sort of hopelessly incurable sentimentalism, which is ready to believe anything that has a romantic or mystical flavor. Their minds have been let down by the influence of the occult, theosophy, and a lack of contact with the world has prevented them from having any knowledge of everyday life. They have no more power of reflection than a child, and have an abnormally developed imagination. Shortly before the return of Devey from his tour of the United States, a lady in Boston, at the close of her remarks to a lady friend, said: 'Oh, tell me, don't you think Admiral Devey will be the hero of the morning?' There is no doubt that if a Devey religion had been started, and if he had been proclaimed as the Heaven-sent Messiah of His mission, hundreds of these sentimentalists would have thrown themselves at his feet. Here worshippers must have heroes, whether celestial or planetary, or even of the earth. As long as we have a large class of women in doll houses, we shall have such foolish, credulous, and sentimental people."

It is a fact—and a fact full of ill omen—that the last few years have brought, especially in this country, a great recrudescence of superstition. Every childish delusion of antiquity, every morbid fantasy of the Dark Ages, every grotesque figment of savage ignorance has been revived under some new name in this land of free schools and newspapers. No belief is too perverse or too ridiculous to find devotees if only it is clothed in terms borrowed from the language of science and accompanied with vague phrases about "ineffable beauty" and "divine impulses" and "eternal verities." These mystic cults are an insufferable nuisance to all men of real education or of sound common sense in the present age; but they will doubtless present a very interesting subject for the scientific historian who, in a later day, shall study the transition period from capitalism to Socialism.

The sources of this flood of sublime nonsense may be found in the lowering of the old bonds of authority, the general superficiality of education, the idleness and emptiness of the lives of a certain portion of the people and, finally, the shifting and insecure position of the middle class.

It is significant that these cults draw their devotees chiefly from the middle class. It is significant, too, that the French Revolution was preceded by just such a period of fads. Pessimism seems to be one of the incidental symptoms—but by no means the only one—of the transition age. It is very true that "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." We need not take the maxim on a poet's authority. Thomas H. Huxley, one of the most enthusiastic advocates of popular education and one of the wisest of men, has said: "In these times a man may as well be purblind as unable to read. I am, as unable to write. But I protest that, if I thought the alternative were a necessary one, I would rather that the children of the poor should grow up ignorant of both the alphabet and of that knowledge to which these arts are means."

We in America boast of our universal education. We have little reason to boast, for our education is as crude and superficial as it is widespread. Property is not education, but merely its adequate instruction. And this is true not only of the poor, but in quite as great a degree, of the middle class.

The first effect of partial instruction is to give the learner an unbounded confidence in the powers of his individual mind. The half-instructed man always thinks himself profoundly wise. Add to this, that a general, but very indefinite knowledge of the wonders of science has, in the absence of scientific training, an almost inevitable tendency to stimulate credulity. People who have read newspaper accounts of the Roentgen rays readily believe a street fakir who shows them (for five cents a peep) how to see through a brick or a medium who materializes the dead and buried ancestors at so much per hour.

This is a general tendency. But among the working people it is largely contracted because their daily experience keeps them face-to-face with facts, because their lives are comparatively free from sham, and because they have better business than mooning around waiting for "occult manifestations" or cultivating hysteria and hallucinations.

With the middle class, it is different. Many of these especially, as Mr. Casson remarks, of their women have little of "practical" concern to occupy their minds; and they have no training in serious study or accurate thought. They fall an easy prey to pompously phrased mysticism, nebulous sentimentalism, and a sort of fastidious ethicalism.

But there is a further stimulus to this unwholesome tendency in the middle class. The credulous character that is going on, and the consequent social changes perplex and trouble them. They feel

the ground shifting under their feet. They are no longer sure of any of the old faiths or customs or habits which once served their purposes. The forces that are so shaking their little world are above them and beneath them—sediment within their sight. They are like Alice after she engaged the White Rabbit's burrow: "everything comes out different" and they cannot understand. So they gape wildly about for something to cling to, they clutch at straws and set out to find the pot of gold under the rainbow, in a world where nothing is any more intelligible to them than they naturally find, the absurdities of things quite credible.

In a word, just as Christianity came as a "religion of consolation" to the oppressed classes of Imperial Rome, so the various forms of "occultism"—theosophy, spiritualism, "Christian Science," and the like—serve as a religion of consolation to the perturbed little bourgeois of to-day. Christianity had lived because the oppressed classes have perished and have always been oppressed. "Occultism" will die when the middle class shall disappear. So far as they are concerned, it would be futile to discuss remedies.

But insofar as the working people are, by contagion, afflicted with this strange delirium, there is occasion for serious concern. For them it can serve no good and does untold harm. Among them it should be fought by preventive and curative measures.

Someone has well said that "the cure for the evils of liberty is more liberty." It is equally true that the cure for the evils of superficial education is thorough education. There are many, many, many who are now receiving the education of the masses, and the old "three R's" plus technical training. Against these obscurantists all haters of superstition and especially all Socialists must raise their voice. Not only must we guard the school system we have; we must insist on its being made accessible in all its as well as open in theory to every child in the land; we must insist on its improvement and extension; we must insist on no less an ideal than this: That every person be given the opportunity for such a complete education as the more fortunate few now receive in the schools, the colleges, and finally the technical or professional institutes. This may be a distant ideal. But it will be approached only as we keep it in view and strive for it.

In the meantime, Socialists can do good practical work in their limited field by circulating good books and papers, by encouraging the study of real science in the place of fads, and in all their activities, by sticking close to facts and carefully avoiding "gush" and the phrases.

Mr. Casson's book is written in a lively, readable, and vigorous style. It should have a wide circulation, for it is sure to do much good.

With the June number the "International Socialist Review" completes its first year. The publication seems to have met with very gratifying success. The publishers promise that during the second year they will be able to count still heavier on realizing their ideal of a Socialist magazine. We wish them continued and increased success.

The present number opens with a discussion of "Paganism and Christianity" by Julian. This article deserves a careful reading. It probably lays the foundation for a full discussion of the relation between Socialism and Christianity. It is announced that J. Stitt Wilson will reply to Julian in the next issue. Herman Whitaker writes on "Some Misconceptions of Marx," presenting especially against the rash and untenable inferences, sometimes drawn by too enthusiastic Socialists, "Marxism" sums up what has been, on the whole, a rather unsatisfactory controversy, growing out of his article on "Trusts and Socialism"—unsatisfactory, because it has been characterized by too passionate a temper on the part of "Internationals" and by a tone of cynical superiority on the part of "Marxists." An article on "Socialism in Belgium" by K. Vinck, and an account of the revolutionary movement in Russia, by the Russian Revolutionary Committee in Paris, add much interest to the magazine.

We have received from Charles H. Kerr & Company advance proofs of Liebknecht's "Life of Marx," translated by E. L. L. We welcome the work as a very desirable acquisition to our literature. It is not, certainly, exactly what might be expected from the title. An adequate biography of Marx has not yet been written. But Liebknecht's book, which contains largely of personal recollections, and presents a picture of the man rather than a study of his life and work, will have a lasting value.

It is to be issued in handsome cloth-bound volume of 180 pages. Price, 50 cents. Further mention will follow.

The June number of the "Arcus" completes the twenty-fifth volume of that magazine. The leading feature is an article on "Imperialism" by William Parkes, B. O. Flower writes on "C. V. Wood and Alice in interview with him on 'England's Crime in South Africa.' Mrs. Walter Freeman writes a 'The Servant Question in Social Evolution.'

Professor Charles J. Bullock of Williams College writes in the June number of the "Atlantic Monthly" on "Trusts and Public Policy." It declares that the trusts are paving the way to Socialism.

The spirit of love, fraternity and brotherhood grows out of contempt, interest and mutual independence. Socialism would realize the conditions for a "good life" by making the interests of all identical.—Charles H. Fair.

Still leading in the sale of Socialist pamphlets is Job Harriman's "Class War is Inevitable." The book has had a larger circulation than any other pamphlet, and is still doing "Ten copies for 25 cents." Socialist Literature Co., 184 William Street, New York.

The church that condemns love makes probably wonders why it is losing its hold on the workingmen. The Worker's Call.



## NEW TOBACCO TRUST.

American and Continental Companies Amalgamated, with a Capital of \$50,000,000—American Cigar Company Also Controlled—A Problem for Cigarette and Tobacco Workers.

The new combination in the tobacco industry has resulted in the organization of the Consolidated Tobacco Company. Incorporated last week, the company is composed of the American and Continental Tobacco companies, and the following are the directors: James B. Duke, president; Oliver H. Payne, Thomas F. Ryan, J. B. Cobb, W. W. Fuller, Grant B. Schley, Frank H. Ray, Anthony N. Brady, C. C. Dula, Wm. H. Harris, P. A. B. Widener, Percival S. Hill, B. N. Duke, and Charles E. Halliwell.

The capital of the new company is \$50,000,000, all of which will be paid in cash.

Through the control of these companies the Consolidated will also control the American Cigar Company, as 70 per cent. of the capital of that company is held in equal amount by the American and Continental companies.

The American Cigar Company, which was organized only a short time ago as an auxiliary of the great tobacco combines, is establishing immense factories and will also centralize the whole industry, except for some special grades of cigars.

An officer of the new concern says that the Consolidated Company under its charter can buy, sell, and manufacture tobacco in all its forms, and that its operations may not be confined to the United States.

The two component companies, as well as the American Cigar Company, have been bitterly hostile to the Tobacco Workers' Union and the Cigarette Workers' Union, and there is no doubt that the same policy will be followed out by the Consolidated. The unions have been able in the past to take advantage of the fact that a large part of the manufacture both of cigars and of tobacco was carried on in small or medium sized establishments, which were in competition with each other.

Now, with the new combination, the employment of women and children and the use of machinery are already seriously threatening the workers in both trades.

The unions have undoubtedly a serious problem confronting them, and it is hard to see how they can solve it by the methods of pure and simple unionism. Undoubtedly one effect of the consolidation of these industries will be to stultify the growth of Socialism among the cigarette and tobacco workers.

## ANOTHER STEEL DEAL.

It was announced on Tuesday that the Pennsylvania Railroad had obtained control of the Pennsylvania Steel Company. This step has been taken because the railroad company wished to protect itself against a threatened strike, through monopoly, in the price of steel rails. The railroad company is the largest purchaser each year of steel rails.

The Pennsylvania Steel Company owns plants at Steelton, Pa., and Sparrows Point, Md., each with enormous capacities. In addition the company has a half interest in the Jungius (Cuba) Iron Company, Limited, owning mines in the Province of Santiago, Cuba. The purchase of the Pennsylvania Steel Company by the Pennsylvania Railroad is said to be preliminary to the consolidation of the Sparrows Point works as a great shipbuilding plant. This will enable the Pennsylvania Railroad to run its own line of ships across the Atlantic.

## STREET RAILWAY CONCENTRATION.

The Elkins-Widener street railway system is rapidly extending its field of operations. Its latest acquisition is the New Haven system, which is the largest deal in the history of Consolidated. The purchase of the New Haven system gives to the company the ownership of a complete line from Stamford to Branford, a distance of fifty-five miles. The electric lines of Stamford, South Norwalk, Bridgeport, Derby, Waterbury, and New Haven, representing a total population of 1,000,000 persons and six of the fifteen cities of the state, are included in the purchase.

## MORE COAL LAND CONSOLIDATION.

A big consolidation of coal mines in Indiana is in process of formation. The new organization is to be called the Consolidated Coal Company of Indiana, and will be capitalized at \$10,000,000. It will purchase outright 129 of the principal mines in the state, and will probably gradually absorb others. Nine companies are included in the new deal.

## NOTES OF COMBINATION.

The "war" between the Atchafalaya and the Western Steam Company has been settled and the two great concerns will henceforth act in harmony.

The Widener-Elkins syndicate, which controls the street railways of Cincinnati, as well as of many other cities, is planning to get control of the Cincinnati, Newport, and Covington Railway in Kentucky, to be operated in connection with the Cincinnati lines.

It is reported that the Toledo Traction Company has been sold for \$500,000 to the Electric Motor syndicate of Cleveland, which has also got control of the Miami and Erie Canal, extending from Toledo to Cincinnati. This syndicate now controls electric traffic from Pontiac, Mich., to Cincinnati, a distance of 350 miles.

The Chattanooga, Rome and Southern Railway has finally passed into the hands of the Central Railway of Georgia.

Negotiations for the combination of about a dozen of the largest independent coal and coke operators of Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia have resulted in the organization of the oper-

ators into the Tri-State Coal and Coke Company. The consolidation was effected at a meeting held in Pittsburgh, and the general offices will be in that city. The purpose of the combination is said to be to fight the large combine known as the Coal Trust. Like most "wars" of the sort, this contest will undoubtedly end in the absorption of the smaller combine.

The American Locomotive Company has acquired the Dickson Locomotive Works of Scranton, Pa.

Monongahela River Consolidated Coal and Coke Company is understood to have closed the deal taking over three important properties in Alabama, for about \$1,000,000.

Atchafalaya, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad may pass into the hands of the Union Pacific at a hundred-year lease.

Coal and coke companies along the Kanawha and Michigan Railroad, in West Virginia, are going to combine. J. P. Morgan is pushing the work.

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company has increased its capital stock from \$100,000,000 to \$150,000,000—result of the recent wet spell, we suppose.

Eastern capitalists are said to be behind the scheme for forming a combination of the railroad interests of the Pacific Coast with capital of between \$15,000,000 and \$20,000,000.

Dispatches from Omaha, Neb., state that plans for consolidating the street railways of that city and Council Bluffs, the electric power plants of the two cities, and the Platte River Canal are assuming definite shape.

The Chatham and Lebanon Valley Railroad, extending from Chatham, N. Y., to Bennington, Vt., has been purchased by the Rutland Railroad.

A big lumber combination that will include all the lumber firms in the eastern part of Long Island is being formed. The trust will be capitalized at \$1,250,000.

The election of Charles Steele of J. P. Morgan & Co. into the board of directors and the executive committee of the Atchafalaya, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad is taken as an indication that Mr. Morgan has obtained control of the line.

A report from Europe says J. Pierpont Morgan contemplates the formation of an American watch combine to kill off the importation of Swiss watches and materials. It is said that the combination will include the Philadelphia Watch Case Company of Philadelphia, N. J., and the Standard Watch Company of Lafayette, N. J., as well as other concerns. The Swiss manufacturers intend to fight the contemplated trust.

The Commonwealth Steel Company is a new corporation organized in Pennsylvania with a capital of \$50,000,000. It is understood that the company was organized principally for the purpose of enabling the absorption of the Pennsylvania Steel Company and other smaller concerns. It is expected the Steel Trust will gather in the new corporation after awhile.

## A CALL.

To the Workmen of the Twelfth Assembly District:

The Social Democratic Party has won official recognition in this state, and everywhere else turns he faces the plain fact that this movement is steadily growing and is here to stay.

We now hope that all the readers of this call residing within the boundary lines of the 12th A. D. will see the new light, all lovers of freedom, all who are opposed to the continuance of the competitive system, and all who desire the abolition of the law of the jungle, will fall into line as speedily as possible with the Social Democratic Party. There is no time to be lost. We have a mission to fill, a battle to win for those who toil. We need you to aid in spreading our ideas, to work for the success of our party, which means the emancipation of the workers, to help us to arouse the people's intelligence, to enlist them as recruits to work in their turn for the progress of Socialism.

The S. D. P. makes any other political party, depends for its success upon the intelligence of the workers. Only by educating them to class-consciousness can the Socialist commonwealth be made a fact. Propaganda of our thought is the work that is going to do it. There is already a general dissatisfaction with things as they are, and the two old parties have nothing to offer as a remedy. This makes it less difficult to-day to make people think than it was a few years ago. There is an unusual demand for light. We who know what Socialism is do for the workmen who are in duty bound to do our share in the necessary work of propaganda.

You are therefore invited, each and all, to attend a meeting on Friday, June 14, at 8 p. m., at 414 Grand street. The meeting is under the auspices of the 12th A. D. Social Democratic Party. Admission is free. The speakers of the evening are Courtney Lemon and Dr. Ingemann.

Yours for Socialism,  
HERMAN REICH.

A reformed burglar informs me that the decrease in burglaries is not evidence of decrease of crime, as some authorities have been claiming. He says the quality of goods now handled by merchants is so fraudulent and shoddy that even the most industrious burglar cannot make half a decent living for himself and family. There is just as much robbery now as ever, he claims, even worse, only it does not come to the attention of the police, being done at first hand, without the somewhat costly labor of the burglar specialist. Uncle Sam.

The Scientific Basis of Morals and Other Essays, by William Klingberg Clifford, is a very suggestive and thought-provoking book. For sale by the Socialist Literature Company. Price, 35 cents.

A strong company is quietly buying up property along the prospective route of the rapid transit tunnel in New York City, with a certainty of immense gains when the tunnel shall be completed.

## The Economic Struggle.

The O. R. C. convention in St. Paul debated at some length the question of the federation of the railway brotherhoods. E. E. Clark, who has been grand chief for ten years, was re-elected. The convention adopted the home proposition, and a relief fund scheme. The home proposition contemplates the construction and maintenance of a home for aged and incapacitated members; \$25,000 was appropriated for a building, and an annual levy of 25 cents per member for maintenance. To have an immediately available relief fund an assessment of \$1 per capita was ordered. This will provide a sum of over \$25,000.

The boycott against the New York "Sun" is being carried on vigorously by union men and their friends all over the country.

All the large breweries in Newark, N. J., have been unionized, the last to give in being P. Ballantine & Sons last week.

Eight miners were killed the other day in the Chapin mine, Iron Mountain, Mich., by the fumes from an explosion of dynamite. Report says nearly thirty children were rendered fatigued by the explosion. No capitalism does not break up the home.

Custom Shoemakers' Union of New York will probably start a co-operative shoe shop in order to help the strike against employers.

Comrade Quantz of Virginia writes us: "A tobacco stemming machine is now perfected that will dispense with 50 per cent. of the labor of the tobacco stemmers, which, in the state, immediately means the unemployment of at least 10,000 people, mostly colored." So it goes under capitalism. Under Socialism, that invention would mean easier work and more leisure for the workers, and more leisure for the workers, and more leisure for the workers.

Members of Passaic, N. J., are on strike for eight hours and an increase in wages of \$3 a week.

International Typographical Union issued fourteen charters during the month of May.

The one hundred and third yearly report of the British Typographical Association, comprising unions of the trade outside of London, for the six months ending December 31, 1900, shows the membership of the society on that date to be 16,170, and that its treasury contained 140,650 lbs. 6d.

The Typographical Union of June 1 includes a supplement containing the wage scales of the local unions within the jurisdiction of the International Union. The wage scales of local secretaries and a very good showing is made. The table of morning newspaper rates contains 303 reports and that of evening papers 365. The unions reporting a weekly newspaper scale numbered 315, while schedules for book and job work are provided by 379 subordinate bodies. The hours of labor in newspaper offices range from 30 to 54 per week, the average being 48 hours for machine operators and all composing room employees. The nine-hour day is in vogue in practically all book and job shops, the exceptions being towns where existing contracts prevent the enforcement of the law or where unions have not recently organized. These exceptions are rapidly lessening. There is no shorter working day coming. The prevailing scales in the various sections of the country vary in proportion to the local economies. Advances in wages vary from 5 to 20 per cent., the instances where the wages of hand compositors have been increased being 15; machine operators, 50. (There has been a downward tendency in the hours of labor. Full details are given and the report is altogether a very creditable one.)

The "Labor World" of Syracuse has been enlarged to eight pages and presents a much improved appearance.

The trade union lobbying committee before the Illinois legislature reports that but one little labor bill was killed by the politicians who were elected by workmen's votes.

The native employees on the only railroad in the Philippines indulged in a strike some weeks ago. Captain Cunningham of Newcastle, Pa., who is in charge of the road during the strike, writes that the natives were receiving \$25 per month and struck for higher wages. The strikers' places were filled by discharged American soldiers.

Members of trade unions in Richmond, Va., are reported to be leaving the militia, and the defenders of "law and order" are perturbed at this evidence of class-consciousness.

The fifth annual report of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers has been issued. During the year 1900 the membership increased from 84,657 to 87,762, while the income increased by \$5,000 to a total of \$232,555. The total expenditure was \$234,194, and the balance in hand at the end of December last was \$495,529, of which \$127,143 stood in the credit of the superannuation fund. The society has now quite recovered from the effects of the big lockout, and to-day stands as one of the best equipped trade unions in the world, both in funds and membership. Much is due to the able secretariatship of George Barnes, the well-known English Socialist.

Colin's reform experience is like that of our own cities—simply an exchange of losses. Saturday Evening Post.

A strong company is quietly buying up property along the prospective route of the rapid transit tunnel in New York City, with a certainty of immense gains when the tunnel shall be completed.

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## PARTY NOTES.

There is more work now being done for Socialism in St. Louis than ever before, and the only people who do not know it are the ones who are not doing their share—Missouri Socialists.

"Industrial Freedom," Equality, Waah, has a new editor in E. B. Ault.

Comrade James Roche and John Murray, Jr., have started on a wagon crusade through southern California.

State Organizer Scott Anderson established a new local at Watsonville, Cal.

Secretary John S. Halligan reports that Richmond section of the Social Democratic Party held its regular meeting on Sunday, June 2, the principal business of which being the semi-annual election of officers. The following were elected: John E. Quinn, president; John T. Chapple, treasurer; John S. Halligan, secretary. Edward C. Schreiner was reappointed agent for The Worker. The section is carrying on a steady propaganda and is getting fit shape for better work.

S. D. P. of Trenton, N. J., will hold an outing in Kasey's Woods, Sunday, June 30.

The Cleveland Socialists have nominated Richard Bandlow and Max Hayes for city seats. They are so honored, but it isn't every community that can produce two such clever newspapermen for honors. If they should be elected there would be two senators in the house able to say things never heard there before—Youngstown Laborite.

Three new Italian branches of the S. D. P. have been organized—at Trenton, Hackensack, and Summit, N. J. Another is coming at Lawrence, Mass. The new paper "Avanti" is working up a good subscription list. It should be used for propaganda wherever there are Italian workmen.

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## Over the Water.

A great change of feeling is going on in Spain. No country in Europe has, until very recently, been more completely under the control of the reactionary clergy. But the last few months have been marked by a great revolt against clericalism. An instance of this is shown by the following dispatch from Barcelona, June 6:

"The anti-clerical drama 'Electra,' which has been placed under ban by the church, was performed here last night with immense success. The audience continually cheered and interrupted the actors with shouts of 'Long live liberty,' 'Death to reaction,' 'Death to the clergy.' Subsequently, a republican demonstration was organized in the street, and those who took part in it paraded the main thoroughfare."

Tom Mann has resigned from the position of organizing secretary of the National Democratic League of England.

The motion in support of universal suffrage brought forward in the Dutch Parliament by Tregetra, the Socialist, was, after some discussion, rejected by 65 votes to 20, the minority consisting exclusively of Radicals and Socialists.

Perhaps it is not generally known that no Socialist literature is permitted to be sold at the railway bookstalls throughout Germany. This includes the "Vorwärts," of course; nevertheless, the profits on the printing and publishing the same during the first quarter of this year was £1,000, which was turned into the general fund.

The Socialist Party is making extraordinary progress in Italy. At Stradella recently the Socialist candidate gained the seat by 500 votes, showing an increase in the Socialist vote of 300. The movement is growing continually in the South. Since September, 1900, the number of Socialist groups has increased in Italy from 548 to 783, and the number of financial members of the party has risen from 19,194 to 28,497.

The party has a daily paper, "L'Avanti," two reviews, the "Critica Sociale" and "Germinal," and six bi-weekly publications.

Although the Socialist movement demanding an eight-hour day for miners was rejected in the Austrian Reichsrath, the nine-hour day from mine to mine was unanimously agreed upon. This new measure is actually the result of the miners' strike last year when the government promised to bring in a bill for shortening the hours if the men returned to work. The strike, which was largely supported by English miners, seemed at the time to have failed; but the passing of this bill is one of the fruits of the men's determined stand. The Socialist cried when the vote was announced, "The eight hours will come, and must come soon."

The result of the second ballot in Madrid has been to confirm the election of the candidates returned in the first ballot. The Socialists and Republicans have been for the most part very unfortunate this year; the Opposition numbers 163 members, only one of whom is a Socialist, while there are 228 Ministers. It was announced that in Barcelona the government placed only Monarchists at the head of the poll, while Republicans and Radicals were really elected. Great indignation was thus excited, and the leaders of the Republicans decided to protest by leaving their voting cards at the French Consulate. The Scrutiny Committee, however, which was appointed formerly, proclaimed that four Catholics, two Republicans, and one Monarchist were elected to the cabinet. The Ministers, it was announced, had been chosen by the government placed only Monarchists at the head of the poll, while Republicans and Radicals were really elected. Great indignation was thus excited, and the leaders of the Republicans decided to protest by leaving their voting cards at the French Consulate. The Scrutiny Committee, however, which was appointed formerly, proclaimed that four Catholics, two Republicans, and one Monarchist were elected to the cabinet.

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# The Worker.

NEW YORK, JUNE 23, 1901.

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VOL. XI—NO. 12.

## AGAINST MILITIA.

### Boston Central Labor Union Adopts Resolutions.

Drawing Class Lines Closer—Another Lesson in Politics—Democratic "Labor Politician" Closes Off the Mask and Votes for Monopolists' Bill.

The Boston Central Labor Union has adopted the following resolution, introduced by Comrade George G. Cutting, delegate from Typographical Union No. 13:

"Whereas, Experience has taught that it is the purpose of the ruling class (the capitalist exploiters) to use the military organizations to maintain the present enslavement of the laboring class, and to maintain the unjust decisions of the courts in infraction cases.

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the Boston Central Labor Union that no member of a labor organization should be a member of the military organizations known as the national guard or any other military organization offered by men commissioned by any state or government; and that any member of a labor organization who embraces the afore-mentioned clause in their constitution and by-laws.

"The resolution was adopted by a vote of 100 to 10, after a brief but clear and lively discussion on the floor.

The reporters have been very busy interviewing prominent military men, who criticize the union for thus "raising class distinctions" and fear that the effect of the rash action will be to set the capitalists against the laboring class, so that workmen may be cut off from the favors they are now receiving.

Comrade Cutting, being interviewed, said:

"When the laboring people become conscious that they form a separate and distinct class, and that their interests are not those of the capitalist class, they will unite, and being in a majority, will receive their own laws, and will not be subject to the whims of the whole product of their labor. It was my very object in introducing this resolution, to draw class distinctions."

### A SHAMEFUL BETRAYAL.

The trade unionists of Boston have had a lesson in politics in the conduct of Richard Garrity, trade unionist and Democratic member of the legislature. For a number of years Garrity has been prominent in labor circles. The Democratic party of Boston has endeavored to control the workers, and knowing that he could be used whenever the occasion arose, he has been voted for "labor bills" that were of little value to the workers or for those that were sure not to pass. He succeeded in getting the confidence of the trade unionists and was elected president of the C. L. U. The mask fell only when it came to a vote in the legislature on the "sunday law" bill.

This bill, which is now notorious, proposes, in effect, to give at least \$10,000,000 of profits to the railway companies, which, if the subway were to be built by the city, would come to the city for public use.

Patrick A. Collins, a prominent Democratic politician of Garrity's ward, and prospective Democratic candidate for mayor, was interested in this bill, because it wanted the International Trust Company, of which he was a director, to be able to make a loan in loaning the money for a great subway construction, as well as to get the "influence" of the railway company for his majority vote.

### AN INSTRUCTIVE TEST.

The Social Democrats in the legislature fought for the submission of the bill to a referendum vote, feeling sure that it would be defeated by the people. On this came the test of Garrity's loyalty. The feeling of the labor unionists against the bill and for the building of the subway by the city was well known to him and to others, and specific resolutions to this effect were passed by the C. L. U. Nevertheless, when the time came, he cast his trade unionist vote and voted, at the dictation of his political patrons, against the referendum provision.

The contrast between the straightforward conduct of the city and the MacCarthyism of Garrity, the "labor politician," elected on a capitalist ticket, has not been lost on the workmen of Boston.

### ANOTHER REFORM PARTY.

It is reported that the organization of a new party has been undertaken in Missouri. A conference of Populists and Silver Republicans was held at Kansas City, in which Leo McCrewe and other leaders of the Public Ownership Party of St. Louis also took part. The P. O. P. men first had a long secret conference with W. J. Bryan at Lincoln. It is understood that Bryan supports the movement, which will take the form of a state party in Missouri this year, with the idea of forcing the nucleus for a national party with Bryan as its candidate in 1904.

### PICNIC OF LOCAL NEW YORK.

The picnic of Local New York, to be held at Shaker's Westchester Park, on Sunday, June 30, is expected to be a great success. Every preparation will be made to assure a good time to every one who attends. Tickets may be had at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, at the office of The Worker, 181 William street, or at the W. E. A. club house, 206 E. Ninth street or 300 Third avenue; 25 cents a couple.

## RAILWAY ALLIANCE.

Morgan-Harriman Control of Western Roads Probably Arranged.

It is believed that the recent contest over control of Northern Pacific stock has resulted in an agreement upon the "community of interests" plan to control all the leading Western roads. The Chicago "Tribune" says:

"It is asserted that all the roads West, Northwest, and Southwest from Chicago to the Pacific coast will be controlled in future by the following interests:

"Lines west of Chicago to the Pacific coast by Harriman, Kuhn, Loeb & Co., and the Rockefeller.

"Lines northwest from Chicago, by Hill and Morgan.

"Lines southwest from Chicago, by Gould and the Rockefellers.

"Lines at the Atlantic, by the Atchafalaya, Topinka & Santa Fe, to which probably will be added before long the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific.

"J. Pierpont Morgan and E. H. Harriman, however, will be the real dictators and direct the policy to be pursued by these combinations, thus establishing the 'community of interest' which has been the dream of Mr. Morgan."

The roads included in this alliance, with their mileage on June 30, 1899, are as follows:

Atchafalaya, Topinka & Santa Fe, 6,346 Southern Pacific, 7,911 Union Pacific, 4,431 Northern Pacific, 4,431 Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, 6,191 Chicago & Northwestern, 5,077 Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, 7,180 Missouri Pacific, 5,324 Great Northern, 5,127 Chicago & Alton, 845 Wabash, 2,251

Total mileage, 55,562

## OPEN-AIR AGITATION.

Comrades Origo, Geiger, and Spargo Doing Good Work for the Cause.

The dates of the three open-air speakers under the direction of the N. E. C. are as follows for the next week: Comrade Origo, Saturday, June 22, Johnstown, N. Y.; June 23, Utica; June 24, Frankfort; June 25, Opelika; June 26, Syracuse; June 28, Rochester; June 29, Corfu; June 30, Buffalo.

Comrade Geiger, June 22, New Rochelle, N. Y.; June 24, Port Chester; "Comrade Spargo, Monday, June 24, Rockville, Conn.; June 25 and 26, Springfield, Mass.; June 27, Chicopee; June 28, Worcester; June 29, Clinton; July 1, Brockton.

Comrade Spargo spoke of Thursday of last week at Ansonia, Conn., right by Farrell's foundry, where they have "scale" guarded by the sheriff and his deputies. Several hundred persons listened to his speech among them many striking machinists. The audience was intense. Notwithstanding the fact that the strikers have little money to spare at present, many crowded up to buy Socialist pamphlets.

At Bridgeport a most successful meeting was held in Washington Park. Many of the strikers were present and listened with interest to Comrade Spargo's address on "Social and Industrial Conditions." Comrade John Cavetti, a well-known sculptor, occupied the chair. Bridgeport Social Democrats are well pleased with the meeting. Good meetings were held also at Waterbury and Danbury, and on Monday Comrade Spargo addressed the first Social Democratic meeting ever held at Westbury, N. Y., where a large number of people were present, and a quantity of literature was sold after the meeting.

Comrade Origo writes: "The open-air meetings of the local included in the circuit have all been well attended. I addressed on the average about 200 people every night.

"The proletarians no longer fear and scorn the Socialist speakers, but lend their ears and listen very attentively to the exposition of our principles. It is very gratifying to see men, young and old, stand for an hour and a half on the streets with reflection and thoughtfulness written on their faces and then return to their homes, apparently shocked, but undoubtedly wiser than before.

"The comrades are also doing good work, and the boys whom I had the pleasure of meeting personally are indeed a credit to the movement. Massachusetts, however, wants more of these boys—more and bigger locals. Every city, town, or village should move on to attack capitalism with the written or the spoken word and make Massachusetts what it ought to be—the pioneer state of the Socialist movement."

## PROSPERITY AT CHICOPEE.

The Chicopee Manufacturing Company has decided to stop nearly half of its looms on account of the slow sales of their cotton goods. The shut-down means the throwing out of between 500 to 600 operatives, but Agent Bailey says some plan will be worked whereby the operatives will work part one week and the other part the second week. Some of the employees do not take very kindly to this scheme, and claim they will seek employment elsewhere. If the company decides to shut the 1,500 looms down, the headquarters of the company is in Boston and nothing could be learned as to how long the shut-down would last, but it is thought it will continue during the summer and possibly longer. A reduction in wages is also expected.

—There is always room on top, but not on top of Socialism. Socialism's attitude is above the stars. It reaches to heaven. Social Democratic Herald.

## FOR SOCIALISM.

### Clear Resolutions of Western Labor Organizations.

Western Federation of Miners and Western Labor Union Declare Themselves Against Republican, Democratic and Populist Parties and for Class-Conscious Labor Policies.

The following are the resolutions adopted by the Western Federation of Miners and the Western Labor Union at their convention in Denver:

"Whereas, The capitalist class is in complete possession of the means of production and thereby controls the Republican, Democratic, and Populist parties, to further its political and industrial aims; and

"Whereas, The working class has nothing in common with the capitalist class, either politically or industrially, and therefore, the working classes cannot expect to derive any benefit from affiliating with and supporting parties that favor the capitalist class; as has been proven in the past; and

"Whereas, We, the working class, by reason of being the real producers of wealth, and by reason of numbers, should be the masters, both industrially and politically, and in our hands lies the destiny of the nation; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we take such steps, politically, as to separate us as a political body from all parties controlled by the capitalist class; and, be it further

"Resolved, That the incoming executive board put forth every effort to assist the working people of the different states in furthering and establishing the political movement as above outlined."

The capitalist papers in the West bitterly denounce this action—which will help to attract the workmen to the Socialist standard raised by these two "progressive" organizations. For while the resolutions do not specifically mention the Social Democratic Party, it is well understood that this movement is what the men had in mind. A great increase in the Social Democratic vote may be expected in all the mining states of the Far West.

## LABOR LAW IS INVALIDATED.

Official Record of Colorado Employers' Liability Law Stolen from State House.

Great excitement reigns in organized labor circles in Colorado over the discovery of the theft from the official files of the employers' liability law, passed in the last session of the legislature. Lieutenant-Governor Coates says:

"If it is true that the record of the passage of the Employers' Liability Law has been stolen from the official journal of the senate and cannot be recovered, the law is invalid. There are decisions in our courts that cover practically similar cases.

"If the bill or a portion of it has been stolen, it has been done deliberately and with the sole intent of invalidating the law. When the bill was pending it was literally fought. Every effort was made to defeat it. The duplicate copies will do us no good. The courts will accept only the original."

The dispatches add: "This theft comes as a stunning blow to the working people of Colorado. It was the one law that the working people wanted passed, and the one for which the friends of labor made their hardest fight."

It is "up to" the working people of Colorado to show whether they are to be fooled by the capitalist class which prates about "law and order" and then uses the basest criminal methods to invalidate laws that work for Labor's good.

## ORGANIZER'S NOTICES.

NATIONAL CONVENTION.

To the Subdivisions of Local New York, S. D. P.:

The subdivisions of Local New York are hereby called upon to nominate three candidates for delegates to represent Local New York at the National Convention and one to represent the state at large. Nominations for state delegate must be in the hands of the organizer by June 22, and those for delegates for the local by June 29.

Blank credentials for the delegates have been sent to all subdivisions. Every member is to sign one. Nothing but the names of the signers should be written on the credential. Each subdivision should elect a committee to visit those members who are not at the meeting and have them sign the credential. All credentials must be returned to the organizer by July 15.

## CITY CONVENTION.

A City Convention of the Social Democratic Party of the City of New York, to nominate candidates for city officers for the election of 1901 and to transact such other business as may come before the convention, will be held on Saturday, June 22, beginning at 2 p. m., at 64 E. Fourth street, borough of Manhattan.

## GENERAL COMMITTEE.

—We want to double, treble, quadruple our circulation in the city of New York before this campaign is over. Will you help?

## HAVE YOU \$6,000?

IF NOT, WHY NOT?

### A Question for American Workmen to Consider and Act Upon.

Average Accumulated Wealth of an American Family Is \$6,000—How Many Workmen Have One-Tenth of That Sum?—Why This Unequal Distribution?

We are a very prosperous people. Do you workmen doubt it? Then read this, from the last issue of "The World's Work." You are the people who do the world's work, so this ought to interest you:

"The wealth of the United States is computed every ten years from the census returns. The total wealth in 1890 was put at \$7,135,780,228, or \$308 per capita, and in 1870 at \$300,685,518,507, or \$780 per capita. This amount rose in 1880 to \$45,642,000,000, or \$870 per capita, and again in 1890 to \$5,507,001,107, or \$1,066 per capita. Expert statisticians estimate that the amount for 1900 will be at least \$80,000,000,000, or nearly \$1,300 per capita. When it is considered that the latter amount represents accumulated savings of \$6,000, or nearly four times the average of 1890, for every family of five persons, it is evident that the world is growing rich at an astonishing rate under the operation of machine production."

Now we ask every workman to whom this paper shall come to answer a few questions suggested by these statistics:

Are YOU four times as rich as your father or your grandfather was in 1890?

Have YOU succeeded in accumulating wealth to the amount of \$6,000?

How many WORKMEN in your circle of acquaintance, in your trade, or any other, have succeeded in accumulating that amount?

Of the few workmen who have accumulated such a sum, how many actually SAID IT OUT OF THEIR WAGES and how many got it by some other means than wage labor?

If you and at least nineteen out of every twenty workmen you know have failed to come anywhere near reaching that average, do you think it is BECAUSE YOU ARE LAZY? Do you think it is BECAUSE YOU ARE NOT EFFICIENT WORKMEN? Do you think it is BECAUSE YOU ARE EXTRA-VAGANT?

If you are even a fairly good workman, if you are not lazy, if you are not extravagant, WHY IS IT that you have much less than your proportionate wealth of the country?

We ask you to think about this problem. We have a theory which, we think, explains it. See if our theory is not correct.

### THE SOCIALIST EXPLANATION.

In these days of improved machinery it is impossible for a man to carry on his work as an INDEPENDENT INDIVIDUAL. He must act in conjunction with a great many other workmen, each performing some specialized process; and all of these processes being co-ordinated or "dovetailed" into one great industry.

Moreover, these workmen must have a use of COMPLICATED AND EXTENSIVE "MEANS OF PRODUCTION"—land, buildings, engines, etc. These means of production are held as PRIVATE PROPERTY by certain individuals or corporations.

The man who had only his labor power—his strength and skill and technical knowledge, is therefore helpless, by himself. He cannot use his labor power, unless he gets permission from some one who owns a factory, a railroad, or other means of production—that is, from some capitalist.

He cannot live without working and he cannot work until he FINDS A MASTER—called an employer—to whom he can sell his labor power.

—But the capitalist is running his business, or, more properly, hiring others to run his business—only FOR PROFIT. So he buys the workmen's labor power—employs the workmen—on this condition: All that the workmen produce shall belong to the capitalist; out of this, the capitalist pays back under the name of WAGES, ENOUGH FOR THE WORKMEN TO LIVE ON; and the WHOLE SURPLUS remains in the capitalist's coffers as PROFIT.

When trade conditions are such that he cannot make satisfactory profits, the capitalist shuts down his factory—FORBIDS THE WORKMEN TO WORK—as the cotton-mill owners are now doing in New England. The people may be hungry and cold; but they cannot be allowed to use their labor power to produce food and clothes and unless the capitalist can get a profit out of the process.

The constant improvement of machinery enables the workmen to produce ever more wealth with the same amount of labor. But the chief result is to throw ever more men out of work, to make them compete more fiercely for employment; and thus to keep wages down to the level of the cost of living.

Obviously, under this arrangement it is possible for the country to produce more wealth than it consumes and thus to accumulate that growing surplus—seven billions in 1890, thirty billions in 1870, forty-four billions in 1880, sixty-four billions in 1890, ninety billions at the present day.

But, just as certainly, all or practically all of this accumulated wealth is SAID OUT OF PROFITS—little or none of it saved out of wages. When wages are fixed in competition by the cost of living, the working class cannot

"save" much, even by the most rigid economy. Whenever the effect of every improvement in machinery is to reduce the pay-roll and increase the product, the capitalist cannot easily help "saving" something, even by the most lavish extravagance.

So we Socialists think that we can explain the fact that, while the average savings of the nation amount to \$6,000 per family, the average savings of the working class do not amount to even one-tenth of that sum—that while the aggregate wealth in the country is growing constantly and rapidly, the condition of the working class is, at the best, remaining stationary. We say IT IS BECAUSE THE IMPROVED MODERN MEANS OF PRODUCTION, WHICH CAN ONLY BE CREATED AND OPERATED BY SOCIAL OR COLLECTIVE LABOR, ARE HELD AS PRIVATE PROPERTY AND OPERATED FOR PRIVATE PROFIT.

Averages are very tricky things. It is easy to be able to say that you are the head of one out of fifteen million families which have an average wealth of \$6,000 per family. But if your family has not even \$600, which a few hundred families have \$600,000 each, or \$600,000, or \$1,000,000, or \$600,000,000, or even more—THERE IS NOT MUCH CONSOLATION IN THE AVERAGE, IS THERE?

If you are satisfied, after doing your full average share in producing "our national wealth," to have much less than your average share of the product, then you will not be interested in this paper or in the Social Democratic Party. But if you are not satisfied, then it will be worth your while to think over that Socialist explanation very carefully and see if it is not the true one. And if you are dissatisfied with your condition and think that the Socialist explanation of it is the true one, then it will be worth your while to study the Socialist proposition for improving that condition—and, having studied it, to agitate for it and vote for it.

### THE SOCIALIST PROPOSITION.

What is the Socialist proposition? Very briefly, it is this:

Since the modern improved means of production are THE PRODUCT OF THE SOCIAL OR COLLECTIVE LABOR OF THE WORKING CLASS.

Since these means of production are OPERATED BY THE COLLECTIVE LABOR OF THE WORKING CLASS;

Since these means of production are NECESSARY TO THE EXISTENCE OF SOCIETY;

Since the PRIVATE OWNERSHIP of the means of production INCREASES THE PROFITS OF THE OWNING CLASS BY THE INCREASED EXPLOITATION OF THE WORKING CLASS;

The Socialists contend for the SOCIAL OR COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP OF THESE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND THEIR OPERATION FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

The Socialist plan will change the improved machinery of modern industry from being a curse to the majority to a blessing for all. It will make workers of all and lighten the labor and increase the leisure and comfort of all.

BUT SINCE THE PRESENT SYSTEM IS ADAPTIVE TO THE CAPITALIST CLASS, THAT CLASS OPPOSES THE SOCIALIST PROPOSITION. It is necessary, therefore, for THE WORKING PEOPLE, as a class, in opposition to the capitalists, to carry out this program for their own emancipation. The best way of doing it is through INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION, and for that purpose the Social Democratic Party is organized.

Think it over and see if you do not belong in the Social Democratic Party.

### HOW THE COAL TRUST WORKS.

Coal prices are being shored up by the anthracite combination. An advance of 10 cents a ton in the wholesale price was made on May 1, and another on June 1; similar advances will be made on the first of July, of August, and of September. As a consequence, the retail price was raised 25 cents this week, and another 25 cents will be added on September 15.

Strange to say, wages of coal miners are not keeping pace with this "prosperous" movement of prices. If people see any inconsistency here, they should vote for Socialism. With the mines operated under the Socialist plan, the men would have steady work with a day of not over eight hours and pay much above what they now get, and yet the rest of the people could be supplied with coal even below the old competitive prices. Why? Because the unshared profits of mine owners, railroad owners, and retailers would be eliminated.

### LOCAL UNION COUNTY.

Local Union County, New Jersey, of the S. D. P., will hold a grand excursion on Sunday, June 23, going up the Hudson to Empire Grove. The boat leaves Chatterbox Dock at 9:30 a. m. A good time is assured to all. Come, attend and bring your friends.

## WHAT THE BOSSES SAY.

### The Metal Trades Association's Manifesto Commented Upon.

The Metal Trades Association thinks that strikes are "unbusinesslike." Now will the machinists be good?

The Metal Trades Association says the "Machinists' Union" has "broken faith." There is no common ground for the discussion of that question; it has to be settled by a fight. But it is pertinent to ask: When did any association of employers ever keep faith one day after it ceased to be profitable to do so?

The Metal Trades Association declares that it will stand for "recognition" of the right of any man to belong to any religious, political or economic sect, or to leave employment at his free will, and to sell his labor at the best price. Which, being translated, means: "Recognition of the privilege of every employer to forbid his 'hands' to belong to a trade union, to discharge them arbitrarily and black-list them, and thus to compel them to sell their labor-power at the lowest price." The issue is clearly drawn—workmen against capitalists, trade union against employers' association, and Social Democratic Party against all other parties. Fall in, workmen!

The Metal Trades Association insists on the right to employ any man at wages mutually satisfactory. The way to fix "mutually satisfactory" wages is to blacklist all agitators and occasionally lock the men out until they are hungry enough to be satisfied with anything.

The Metal Trades Association lays down the rule that "the management of the shop must be in the hands of the employer and not interfered with by the employee." The Russian Tsar lay down the rule that the management of the country must be in the hands of the Tsar and not interfered with by the subject. The question is: How long will American workmen, with the ballot in the hands, submit to tsarism?

The Mutual Trades Association declares for a "fair day's pay for a fair day's work." All right. But the Socialist says that the only "fair day's pay" is the whole product of the "fair day's work"—leaving no profit for the non-producing capitalist. What do you think about it?

The Metal Trades Association proposes a "shortening of the working hours or an increase of wages, by co-operation of employer and employee in advancing production." This is kind. If you will make bigger profits for the boss in nine hours than in ten he will "co-operate" with you to shorten the workday. But unless you will make it swell his dividends, you may work yourselves into the grave before he will consent to give you more leisure. No class struggle, eh?

The Metal Trades Association has raised a defense fund of \$500,000 to break the strike, and says it can and will double the sum if necessary. The fund is in the hands of a strike committee, which is paying strike benefits to employers who might otherwise be forced to concede to machinists an injunction to forbid this "interference with the right of free contract" and commits the members of the strike committee to jail under charges of conspiracy, the critics of Socialism will have a right to object to our preaching of the class-struggle. But no judge will do it. There are, as yet, no Social Democratic judges in this country.

### MACHINISTS WIN.

Strike Satisfactorily Settled at the Hoe Works.

One thousand four hundred machinists, helpers, and other workmen at the works of H. Hoe & Co. (the largest printing press manufacturers in the country) have returned to work as a result of a settlement reached on Tuesday.

The settlement is considered a victory for the union, although it does not include recognition. The company grants the nine-hour day at the old wages and takes back all the strikers without prejudice.

James O'Connell, president of the International Association of Machinists, says that 75 per cent. of the firms throughout the country have settled, and expressed strong hopes of victory in the rest.

### THE STRIKE AT ELIZABETH.

The machinists' strike at Elizabeth, N. J., is being fiercely fought. The situation remains unchanged at most of the shops. Few scraps can be obtained by the bosses. At the A. & F. Brown works two blacksmiths, after being out for over three weeks, deserted their comrades and went to work last Monday, thus forfeiting the respect of all their old friends.

Scabs are working at Brown's under heavy police guard. They quit at quarter to five every evening and march out, led by their boss, to board a trolley car in front of the works. The object of the early quitting is that they may escape the derisive accolade of the workers at Singer's, who quit at 5 o'clock. On Monday the strikers got ahead of them and crowded the car, so that the boss and his trembling slaves had to walk shamefacedly through a

## NOW FOR THE CITY CAMPAIGN.

Before this paper reaches many of its more distant readers, the delegates of the Social Democratic Party will have met in city convention, adopted a platform, nominated a ticket, and laid plans for the municipal campaign.

We shall not offer advice to the convention. The delegates and the members who have elected them have carefully considered the questions that are to be acted upon. It is to the rank and file that we wish to speak.

Remember that when the convention adjourns, the work will be barely begun. Remember that it is not enough to have good candidates, a good platform, good workers at the head of the organization. Remember that it is above all necessary to have a mass of intelligent, devoted, and energetic comrades to carry on the actual work of the campaign.

We have a splendid opportunity before us. The great working-class population of this city is full of discontent. It is losing faith in its old leaders and its old beliefs. It is ready for our propaganda. But it will not come to us unless we prove ourselves worthy of its support.

It is no small task to carry on a proper Socialist campaign in a city so large as this—especially in the face of all the powers of the two old parties, with their daily press subsidized by the capitalist class.

But, if the task is great, so is the reward. To have two, or three, or five Social Democratic votes wherever there was one last November, surely this is a thing worth working for—and it can be done. We are men and we are in earnest. Let every comrade take his place at once in the line of battle and let none shrink or seek rest until the last blow is struck on November 5.

### WHY NOT STOP THIS MURDEROUS NEGLIGENCE?

Last fall the people of New York were shocked by the Tarran fire. Seven lives were sacrificed—and but for sheer good luck it might have been many more—by the reckless, lawless, conscienceless greed of capitalists, who chose to risk killing their working girls rather than to reduce profits by the proper storing of their stock of explosives. More than seven months have passed, but the guilty capitalists have not been brought to trial. Will they ever be tried? We doubt it. Will they be punished? He would be a sanguine man who should expect it. And why? IT IS EASY TO CONVICT A STRIKER WHO IS ACCUSED OF ASSAULTING A SCAB. WHY SHOULD IT BE HARD TO CONVICT A CAPITALIST WHO MURDERS HIS EMPLOYEES FOR PROFIT? BECAUSE THE PUBLIC POWERS ARE IN THE HANDS OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS. BECAUSE WE HAVE CAPITALIST AGENTS AS JUDGES AND SHERIFFS AND DISTRICT ATTORNEYS. THEY ARE TO GUARD "VESTED RIGHTS," NOT TO PROTECT WORKING PEOPLE'S LIVES.

We have had a similar experience last week—two experiences, in fact, in one day. The sinking of the ferry boat Northfield and the accident in the Erie Basin dry-dock should teach us a lesson. Just how many lives were lost in the ferry accident we do not yet know. In the Ingalls accident one man was killed, one mortally wounded, and thirty more or less seriously injured—all workmen, of course.

IN BOTH CASES CAPITALIST GREED AND NEGLIGENCE WERE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE. IN BOTH CASES THE LOSS OF LIFE MAY BE TRACED STRAIGHT TO THE INSTITUTION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY AND PROFITS.

The Ingalls fell in the dock because she was insufficiently supported. To rush the work and "earn" more profits for the stockholders of the New York Dry-Dock and Repair Company, the men were compelled to work under and around the ship without taking time to provide proper support for it.

The Northfield was sunk because the Staten Island Rapid Transit Company was criminally negligent—first in maintaining its ships in such a position that the boats had to cross in coming in and going out, and, further, in keeping in

great crowd of men, women, and children, who greeted them with jeers and groans.

Comrade Neben of East Orange spoke to the Brown strikers at their headquarters in Elizabeth avenue, urging them and all workmen to stand together in the strike now and to stand together at the polls in November, supporting their class interests by voting the Social Democratic ticket. He was enthusiastically applauded.

He was invited to speak also at the hall held by the I. A. M. for the benefit of the non-







## Over the Water

The Belgian Socialist, whose latest watchword is universal suffrage on the basis of one man one vote, have issued a manifesto declaring that they will continue to agitate with increased activity until the government has been compelled to yield to their demand. It is now proposed to begin a series of street demonstrations, combined with an organized system of obstruction in the chamber of representatives, with the view of forcing the hands of those who oppose this reform. Under the present system of balloting for the chamber of representatives the minimum age for voting is fixed at twenty-five. A supplementary vote is granted to those who have attained the age of thirty-five, and are either married or who pay a certain sum in taxes; two supplementary votes are granted to those holding stated educational diplomas, or who possess real estate of a certain value. This system is an improvement on that which was in vogue before 1900. In that year the Socialists made a demand for universal suffrage, which was backed by a general strike. The result was a compromise, the plural voting gaining a considerable advantage to the present class as represented by the Liberal and Clerical parties.

Russian labor troubles continue. The reports are very scanty, but there is evidently no sign of subsidence on the part of the workers. A dispatch of June 17 says that the dockyard authorities at St. Petersburg have been forced to close the docks in account of the labor agitation. Troops have been called out against the strikers—just as in America.

Agricultural laborers in Italy are striking for the nine-hour day and are winning their demands. Strikes are also on in the cities.

The dispatch previously published announcing the election of a Socialist candidate for parliament in Madrid, Spain, proves to have been unfounded. Although it is claimed that Socialist candidates there and in other cities actually received votes entitling them to election, none have been elected. The Spanish government has reiterated its old trick of "fixing" the election figures so that only a few votes are counted, and that only a few votes are counted, and that only a few votes are counted.

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## The Economic Struggle

The weavers of the Modena Cotton Mills at Gastonia, N. C., are on a strike against an unjust reduction in their earnings. Recently the mill changed from plain cloth to dimity, making no allowance to the weavers for the finer goods. The weavers assert that they were able to earn only from 80 to 90 cents a day, as compared with the \$1.15 earned on the coarser fabrics.

The United Brotherhood of Railway Employees is a new organization, with headquarters in San Francisco. The organizers claim that there are 300,000 organized railway men on the continent. All classes of railway employees will be sought after and are eligible to join the new organization—something like the A. R. U.

The Scottish Trades Union Congress was recently in session in Paisley. By a vote of 66 to 8 it adopted this resolution: "That, in the opinion of the Congress the workers cannot obtain the full value of their labor and avoid strikes until the land, mines, railways, industrial capital, and all conditions essential to production and distribution are owned and controlled by the state for the people, and as the best means of obtaining these great objects the Congress urges using the power of their societies to secure direct and adequate representation of labor in parliament and all other public bodies."

Waitresses of Massillon, O., have organized. The United Mine Workers' organization of Illinois voted to send \$500 to the distressed families of the miners killed in the mine explosion on Vancouver Island, British Columbia.

The ranks of the Chicago machinery manufacturers, who had heretofore stood together in resisting the machinists' strike, were broken on June 14 by the surrender of six firms. As a result 135 men went back to work under the nine-hour rule and at the wage rate demanded by them.

The wage-scale of 10,000 glass workers was settled at the joint conference in Pittsburgh last week; the 2,200 blowers got an advance of 5 per cent, the 2,200 cutters an advance of 8 per cent; the others will have the same wage as last year.

It has been decided by the Chicago branch of the Women's International Labor League to start a movement for the organization of thousands of girls who work in the homes of Chicago. It is estimated that there are more than 10,000 girls and women in Chicago eligible for this new movement.

Chicago iron molders have agreed to arbitrate on their demand for advance of wages from \$2.25 to \$3.

The first machinist to desert the union in Bridgeport, Conn., and sneak back into the shop was a DeLeonist. The Social Democratic Movement is arranging a grand Fourth of July picnic for the benefit of the strikers. Ben Hanford will be the speaker.

Of the three delegates elected by Carpenters' Union No. 2 of Boston to the convention of the State Federation of Labor, two—Patrick Mahoney and David Goldstein—are active Social Democrats. Over 3,100 votes were cast in the election.

Over 3,000 trackmen of the Canadian Pacific have struck for an increase of from 10 to 20 cents a day. Present wages average \$1.15. The company pretended to grant an increase of 5 cents, but jugged with the work so as to make an actual net reduction of about 4 cents.

Comrade C. Martens of New Haven, Conn., sends five subscriptions, and asks us to remind the comrades of Ansonia, Conn., not to forget that he is librarian for the S. D. P.

While sending two yearly subscriptions, Comrade James Radin says: "I cannot refrain from complimenting you upon the great work you are doing for the cause. I hope that the policy of the paper and of the party in general will be continued on the same basis, as we shall surely gain the confidence of every Socialist in the country, even the DeLeonists. The effectiveness depends upon the activity of every Socialist."

"Votes for Marxian Socialism" is the way Rev. A. L. Wilson of West Town, N. Y., signs himself. He changed his position from Round Brook, N. J., recently, and consequently failed to receive The Worker, but has his address changed, as he "can't be without it any longer."

There are many drummers spreading the doctrine of Socialism in their towns throughout the country. They do splendid work, too. One of those sends in a fine order for books and writes an interesting letter. He says in part: "I think you have one of the best Socialist papers printed. I am working hard for Socialism, and I am sure I shall be a good one. I have started a foot and crank every day on the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railway, but that doesn't stop me. I was tickled to see the light you made against the unions accepting Carnegie's \$1,000, and I was more tickled when I saw they didn't accept. Therefore I want to help you for the Labor League, to help make up the \$1,000 they refused. I have been on the road for twenty years, and am working hard for the Co-operative Commonwealth, and I am sure I have started a host of Socialists. May be you will continue on the road for many years, until Socialism dispenses with drummers, at least in our sphere of work."

Local Dayton, O., took in ten new members last week and more are on the way. The active agitation carried on in connection with the booklets is bearing good fruit. Social Democrats are learning to be recognized by trade unionists as the only party upon whom they can depend.

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VOL. XI.—NO. 13.

NEW YORK, JUNE 30, 1901.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

## ONE MORE INJUNCTION.

### Federal Judge Launches One Against West Virginia Miners.

### Striking Coal Min. rs Are Forbidden to Meet Near Company's Property or to "Incite" Other Men to Quit Work—Court Sets an Example of Contempt for Law and Constitution.

One more injunction against the use of peaceful means of organization to improve the condition of labor. When will the workingmen resolve to adjust these judges from interfering with them by sending class-conscious, socialist bullies for members of their own class to sit on the bench and in the legislative halls?

### MUST NOT INCITE MEN TO QUIT WORK.

Judge John J. Jackson of the United States Circuit Court, issued a restraining order at Parkersburg enjoining Lodge No. 558, of the United Mine Workers of America and two other lodges from "interfering" with the miners of Flat Top coal region, at Thacker, W. Va.

The injunction prohibits all persons from interfering IN ANY WAY with the management of the six mines in the Matewan field, menacing, threatening, or intimidating the miners, entering upon the property of the companies or holding public assemblies there, ASSEMBLING IN THE ROADS OR APPROACHES TO THE PROPERTY OF THE COMPANIES, interfering in any way with persons going to their work in the mines, or IN ANY WAY INCITING THEM TO CEASE WORK. Many arrests are expected to follow.

"So says the dispatch. It is to be hoped that there will be occasion for many arrests to follow." It is to be hoped that the miners will defy and disobey the injunction. When law becomes, not in isolated cases only, but as a matter of course, and general use, an instrument of injustice and oppression, the respect for law ceases to be a virtue.

### AN EXAMPLE OF CONTEMPT FOR LAW.

The capitalists, the judges, themselves, have set us the example of contempt for law by their transgression upon the highest law of the land—the constitution of the United States, which they have sworn to enforce.

The constitution expressly guarantees the right of peaceful assembly. It is a judge, whose sworn duty it is to enforce that guarantee, arbitrarily nullifies it by forbidding the workingmen on pain of arrest and imprisonment by summary process, to hold their meetings in the vicinity of the mines that their own labor has created.

The constitution expressly guarantees the right of free speech. But a judge arbitrarily forbids workingmen to exercise that right by asking or persuading other men not to work for a capitalist who is seeking to reduce them to abject slavery.

With such examples of lawlessness on the bench, it is not surprising that treason to humanity to preach respect for law to the working class. Official justice has become an instrument of class tyranny. The new justice, the new law and order, that is to replace it, must be developed out of the solidarity and devotion of the working class in its struggle for liberty.

### USE POLITICAL POWER.

So long as society is divided into classes, one owning the means of production and the other working for wages and creating profits for the possessing class, so long is it impossible for the classes to live in harmony. Let the miners of West Virginia recognize this fact and resolve to use their political power, as well as the power of their trade unions, on the side of their own class and against the profit grinders.

Let them put Social Democrats in office, men of the working class, men whom they have tried and found true in the trade union battle, men who shall be pledged to the establishment of socialism and who can be trusted to keep their pledge. The mine owners have had no scruple about using the powers of government to protect their unearned profits. Let the miners have no scruple about using the powers of government and using them to restore the mines to the men who have made them.

### AGAINST THE UNIONS.

Circuit Judge "West" of Lansing, Mich., has handed down a permanent injunction restraining the city authorities of Lansing from complying with the terms of the label resolution adopted by the city council some weeks ago. The judge ruled that the clause in the city charter giving the council the right to award contracts for municipal work under such rules as "may be fit to prescribe," does not empower that body to let work to other than the lowest bidder, but simply allows the council to specify the details of a contract which cannot be well set out in the

## SITUATION AT DAYTON.

### False Report of National Cash Register Settlement.

### The Fight as Severe as Ever—Street Car Employees Are on Strike, Company Having Violated Agreement—Socialists Active, with Full Ticket in the Field.

DAYTON, O., June 23.—Although the report that the strike against the National Cash Register Company has been settled has been heralded over the entire country, the situation is more critical than ever.

The factory of the N. C. R. started operations on Wednesday, June 19, after a shutdown of six weeks, and four days. Only those returned to work who had no grievances to settle. The machinists, brass molders and pattern makers, and platers did not return, of course. The company, having started out those who had no trouble, is now attempting to have them work and receive material from the other departments, provided sent are put to work. They are advertising for police and butlers to take the place of the strikers. When they attempt to put these men to work there will probably be trouble and a general strike will probably ensue.

At nearly all the conferences that have been held, the representatives of the company have taken a dig at the Socialists, and seem determined to light them as well as the trade unions. This company, through its "press bureau," tries to make it appear to the outside world that it is friendly to labor organizations, while in reality, it is fighting us as hard as any firm in the country.

### STREET-CAR MEN STRIKE.

On Friday evening the men employed on the Wayne avenue and White Line—the lines owned by the People's Railway Company—went on strike. It was an entire surprise to everybody. As it was thought that they had settled on June 1.

The men say that they did not strike on June 1 because of the request of other organizations, and there being so many out at that time they feared serious trouble. However, since that time, the general manager, Geo. H. Kester, has repeatedly broken the existing agreement and on Friday, June 21, a committee waited on him and repeated all their former demands of June 5. They gave him one hour to answer. They were refused point blank and shortly afterward they called out the men. The main demand is recognition.

The cars are being run about as usual, but the strike has not been put into real operation as yet. These lines penetrate a portion of the city inhabited by workers entirely, and there will surely be trouble when this strike is generally known. The militia are doing business at the same old stand, preparing their cold lead in case the strikers should begin to have the best of the struggle. Every car is accompanied by policemen, and the manager says that, if necessary, he will invoke the assistance of Judge Kunkler, the injunction king.

### THE MACHINISTS' STRIKE.

The machinists are standing together firmly and are a determined lot of men. Some men have gone back to work, but in nearly every case they were the ones who had joined the union only a few days previous to going out. All are confident of victory, and have decided to fight to the finish. Success to the machinists in their fight for shorter hours!

### SOCIALISTS ACTIVE.

The Social Democrats are active in the various organizations, and are doing much to enlighten the wage workers upon economics. A full state, judicial, senatorial, and county ticket is in the field now, and petitions are rapidly being filled. The propaganda machine will be started shortly and will do a large business. There will be speakers here constantly during the campaign, and an increased vote is an assured fact. Comrade Silvio Origo will speak here at the court house on Monday evening, July 8, and we expect a large turnout to hear this noted speaker.

### WHERE'S THE DIFFERENCE?

The waterworks employees have been discharged. The cause that led to their dismissal was the demand that they be given 25 cents an hour, which was refused by Mayor Johnson declaring that "21 cents an hour is enough for men that do nothing but shovel dirt." Carnegie, Pullman, and other autocratic labor-crushers pursued the same tactics. They replied by discharging the employees, though usually only the "ring leaders." It appears, however, that some of the men "that do nothing but shovel dirt" don't earn 21 cents an hour, as only the "best" men are to be rehired, while those whose shovels don't move as swiftly as the fastest can tramp the streets and think about the beauties of capitalism. What difference is there between the "reform" (i.e., administration and the methods of the tribe of Carnegie-Cleveland-Chester?

### BOSTON NOTICE.

There will be a mass meeting of all the members of the Social Democratic Party of Boston for the purpose of sending delegates to the national convention, Sunday, July 7, at 7:30 p. m., at the headquarters of the S. D. P., 95 Washington street. All members of the S. D. P. of Boston are expected to attend.

### BOSTON CITY COMMITTEE, S. D. P.

### SOCIALIST LECTURE.

James Allan will speak Sunday evening, June 30, under the auspices of the 21st A. D. S. P., at Colonial Hall, corner One Hundred and First street and Columbus avenue. Subject: "The Communes of Capitalism." Admission free and discussion invited.

## WORKINGMEN'S PLATFORM Adopted by the Social Democratic Party of Greater New York.

### Declaration of Principles and Program of Measures Set Forth as the Basis of the Coming Municipal Campaign.

The Social Democratic Party of the City of New York, in entering upon the municipal campaign of 1901, declares its unwavering adherence to the principles of revolutionary Socialism as laid down in the National Platform of the party.

We call upon the workingmen of this city to recognize that their interests in this campaign are totally different from and opposed to those of the capitalist class.

Hitherto our city has been administered exclusively in the interests of the possessing classes and their political henchmen. Franchises of fabulous value have been given away for nominal considerations to a small number of capitalists, who now monopolize our means of transit, communication, light and power supply, and other public utilities, extort a profit of many millions a year for an inadequate and wretched service, exploit, overwork and maltreat their employees and form a fruitful source of political corruption.

And the immense wealth of the City of New York, a large portion of the population subsists in abject poverty. A great army of workmen and workingwomen daily beseech the shops and factories of our city in the vain search for work and bread; thousands of them, exasperated by their fruitless efforts, are driven to crime; vagabondage, and prostitution; they throng our streets and fill the prisons and the disorderly resorts of our city, while thousands of others, grown old and feeble after a life of hard and useful work, are mercilessly cast aside by the community and exposed to beggary and starvation.

While the residential district of the wealthy of the metropolis, with its beautiful avenues and palatial mansions, stands almost unvisited by the universe, the portions of the city inhabited by the workingmen are the worst that ever disgraced and distracted a large city. Congested more than any other place on the globe, with their filthy streets as the only playground of the unfortunate children of the workingmen, with their hideous tenement houses and their squalid little rooms as the only dwelling places of the toiling masses, those districts are the breeding places of disease, and the nurseries of their inhabitants is appalling. And while our city government expends vast sums of money on beautifying the residential portion of the rich, no serious attempt was ever made to relieve the unsanitary condition of the workingmen's district by the introduction of public parks, baths, playgrounds, etc.

The City of New York, with its enormous revenues, does not even provide properly for the education of the children of the poor, and while millions upon millions are squandered every year in high salaries for useless officials and professional politicians, about 100,000 children are allowed to grow up in our city without any schooling or education.

This disgraceful state of affairs cannot and will not be changed by the Democratic party, the Republican party or any so-called Citizens Reform Party.

The Democratic Party, now in power in this city, has time and again been involved in flagrant corruption and maladministration, and has repeatedly proved its hostility to labor by its brutal interference of its police with striking workmen seeking by peaceful means to improve their conditions, and by the monstrous injunctions of its judges against such workmen, by its constant encouragement of the violence of its lawless henchmen for the protection of the working class, and by its callous indifference to all demands of organized labor.

The Republican party, despite its apparent difference with the Democratic party, is at one with the latter in its servility to the interest of the capitalist class. The law reducing the force and crippling the efficiency of the department charged with the enforcement of the factory laws passed by the Republican state legislature, the calling out of state troops to shoot unarmed citizens in order to defeat the striking street-car employees at Albany, by the Republican governor, and the decision declaring unconstitutional the prevailing wage law, rendered by the Republican Court of Appeals, are sufficient to indicate what the working class would gain by voting that party into power in the city of New York.

Nor will the existing social and political evils in the city of New York be relieved by the so-called reformers. These gentlemen, who, as employees and exploiters of labor and owners of the most disgraceful tenement houses of the city, force workingmen into prostitution, and in their well-meaning anxiety to save themselves by handing the unfortunate victims of their own greed, who open the campaign with grandiloquent tirades against political boss rule and at the first opportunity make deals with the Republican machine, are the last to whom the workingmen of this city could look for succor.

The only class which has a real interest in changing the evils of our city administration, for the benefit of the working class, is the working class itself, and the only political party that can effect such change is the party of the workingmen, the Social Democratic Party.

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The Democratic Party, now in power in this city, has time and again been involved in flagrant corruption and maladministration, and has repeatedly proved its hostility to labor by its brutal interference of its police with striking workmen seeking by peaceful means to improve their conditions, and by the monstrous injunctions of its judges against such workmen, by its constant encouragement of the violence of its lawless henchmen for the protection of the working class, and by its callous indifference to all demands of organized labor.

The Republican party, despite its apparent difference with the Democratic party, is at one with the latter in its servility to the interest of the capitalist class. The law reducing the force and crippling the efficiency of the department charged with the enforcement of the factory laws passed by the Republican state legislature, the calling out of state troops to shoot unarmed citizens in order to defeat the striking street-car employees at Albany, by the Republican governor, and the decision declaring unconstitutional the prevailing wage law, rendered by the Republican Court of Appeals, are sufficient to indicate what the working class would gain by voting that party into power in the city of New York.

Nor will the existing social and political evils in the city of New York be relieved by the so-called reformers. These gentlemen, who, as employees and exploiters of labor and owners of the most disgraceful tenement houses of the city, force workingmen into prostitution, and in their well-meaning anxiety to save themselves by handing the unfortunate victims of their own greed, who open the campaign with grandiloquent tirades against political boss rule and at the first opportunity make deals with the Republican machine, are the last to whom the workingmen of this city could look for succor.

The only class which has a real interest in changing the evils of our city administration, for the benefit of the working class, is the working class itself, and the only political party that can effect such change is the party of the workingmen, the Social Democratic Party.

## WORKINGMEN'S TICKET.

### Benjamin Hanford Nominated for Mayor of New York City.

### Convention of Social Democratic Party Held Amid Great Enthusiasm—"Hanford, Brown, and Stahl" Is the Ticket—Promise of an Unparalleled Campaign.

For Mayor—BENJAMIN HANFORD, For Controller—MORRIS BROWN, For President of the Board of Aldermen—HENRY STAHL.

This is the municipal ticket of the Social Democratic Party, which was chosen, amid unbounded enthusiasm, in the evening session of Saturday's convention at the Labor Lyceum. This is the ticket for which every member and every sympathizer of the Social Democratic Party is expected to work with all his might, from now till November 5. This is the ticket that self-respecting and liberty-loving workingmen of New York should vote for, as against Tammany corruptionists, Republican corporation tools, and sanctimonious "reformers."

The convention was called to order by Organizer Gerber at 2:30 p. m. Issidor Phillips was chosen as temporary chairman, Philip Schmidt as vice-chairman, Leonard D. Abbott as secretary, and Henry Feldner as sergeant-at-arms. A credentials committee was then elected, consisting of Comrades Jennings, Neppel, Wm. Seubert, Hopkins, and Glidden.

When the committee reported and the roll-call was completed at 3:15, more than 140 delegates, representing fifty subdivisions, answered to the names. A number of other delegates made their appearance, soon after.

Permanent organization was then effected with Morris Hillquit as chairman, Warren Atkinson as vice-chairman, and L. D. Abbott as secretary. Committees were elected as follows: Platform and Resolution—Comrades Lee, Harriman, Mayes, Abbott, Hillquit; Ways and Means—Neppel, Schmidt, Sholodkin, Springer, Tuschak, Atkinson, and Wm. Krone.

### PLANS FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

After a short recess the convention heard the report of the Preliminary Campaign Committee, which was elected last November and charged with the work of drafting the municipal platform, preparing campaign literature, and taking other necessary steps for the coming campaign. The part of this report dealing with the platform as presented is given in another column.

The committee recommended that the plan of dividing the city into agitation districts, each composed of several adjacent assembly districts, be carried through systematically, that regular series of public meetings in attractive halls be established in each agitation district and be thoroughly and systematically advertised. It was recommended also that a permanent campaign committee be chosen, composed of representatives of all the boroughs, and various suggestions were made in regard to ratification meetings, campaign literature, and other matters.

After a lively discussion on the formation of the permanent campaign committee, it was decided that the members of the preliminary committee continue to serve and that there be added to their number one delegate from each agitation district in the boroughs of Manhattan, Bronx, and Brooklyn, two from Queens, and two from Richmond. The committee was made responsible directly to the State Committee.

The committee was instructed to act with the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association and to make all possible efforts to extend the publicity of the party press and make the best use of it as a means of Socialist agitation.

Comrade Sholodkin reported for the Committee on Ways and Means, making many recommendations on methods of raising funds and carrying on the work of the campaign. The committee recommended that the question of a separate charter for Brooklyn be postponed till after election, but this recommendation was voted down. Another committee of the party was organized to employ special organizers for the only boroughs during the campaign.

At this point a recess of an hour was taken for supper. When the convention reassembled at 7 o'clock, the Committee on Platform presented by the reported favorably upon the draft of a municipal platform presented by the Campaign Committee and the platform was read and discussed at length. Several minor amendments were offered, and discussed, and the platform as amended was then put to vote and unanimously adopted. It will be found elsewhere in this paper.

### NAMING THE TICKET.

Next in order was the nomination of candidates for mayor, controller and president of the board of aldermen. Intense interest and enthusiasm was shown, in spite of the fatigue produced by six hours of close attention to the work in the stifling atmosphere of the crowded hall. The delegates realized that they were about to make choice of a standard bearer in a struggle second in importance only to a presidential election. Although several candidates were presented, there was no evidence of any feeling except the eager desire to choose the man who could best fill the responsible position and represent the revolutionary policy of the party before the working class of the city.

## WORKINGMEN'S PLATFORM Adopted by the Social Democratic Party of Greater New York.

### Declaration of Principles and Program of Measures Set Forth as the Basis of the Coming Municipal Campaign.

The Social Democratic Party of the City of New York, in entering upon the municipal campaign of 1901, declares its unwavering adherence to the principles of revolutionary Socialism as laid down in the National Platform of the party.

We call upon the workingmen of this city to recognize that their interests in this campaign are totally different from and opposed to those of the capitalist class.

Hitherto our city has been administered exclusively in the interests of the possessing classes and their political henchmen. Franchises of fabulous value have been given away for nominal considerations to a small number of capitalists, who now monopolize our means of transit, communication, light and power supply, and other public utilities, extort a profit of many millions a year for an inadequate and wretched service, exploit, overwork and maltreat their employees and form a fruitful source of political corruption.

And the immense wealth of the City of New York, a large portion of the population subsists in abject poverty. A great army of workmen and workingwomen daily beseech the shops and factories of our city in the vain search for work and bread; thousands of them, exasperated by their fruitless efforts, are driven to crime; vagabondage, and prostitution; they throng our streets and fill the prisons and the disorderly resorts of our city, while thousands of others, grown old and feeble after a life of hard and useful work, are mercilessly cast aside by the community and exposed to beggary and starvation.

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# The Worker.

Organ of the Social Democratic Party.  
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S. D. P. 96,918  
S. L. P. 33,450

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.  
In 1888 (Presidential) 2,008  
In 1890 13,331  
In 1892 (Presidential) 21,157  
In 1894 33,139  
In 1896 (Presidential) 30,564  
In 1898 82,804  
In 1900 (Presidential) 9,543

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was interested mostly in the pres-  
dency.

A South Carolina jury has decided  
that the contract labor system used by  
Democratic planters in that state is  
legal. So was chattel slavery once  
upon a time.

Pressure of other matter has pre-  
vented us from giving this week, as  
intended, an account of recent labor  
agitation in Italy. The matter will ap-  
pear next week.

Did President McKinley hear the ap-  
proaching march of the class-conscious  
Socialist workers who had his ear to  
the ground trying to get a line on  
his third term boom?

When universities and colleges are  
dependent upon the continued exploi-  
tation of labor, it is foolish to expect  
students to be taught impartial inves-  
tigation into social problems.

Since the nomination of Benjamin  
Hanford there is no longer any neces-  
sity for worry among trade unionists  
as to which candidate for mayor it  
will be best for Labor to support.

We suppose the scandal in the pos-  
session department is one of the glories  
of the "patriotic and brilliant adminis-  
tration" that the Ohio Republican plat-  
form eulogies so highly this week.

Bryan says he wants to see the Re-  
publican party nominate Hanna for  
president in 1904. Good! Then let the  
Democrats nominate Bryan again and  
the Social Democratic Party will have  
a beautiful opportunity.

"The Republican party has honored  
me beyond my merits," says Mark  
Hanna. Not a bit of it, Senator. You  
have richly deserved all the honors  
you have received. And you may en-  
joy them now to the full, for in the  
light of history such honor will be ac-  
counted disgrace.

Has not Governor Odell the power  
to call out the militia to compel the  
Staten Island Rapid Transit Company  
to discontinue the use of those two re-  
maining antiquated ferry boats?  
Are the courts unable to grant injunc-  
tions to stop such effect? Idle questions  
suggested. Injunctions are issued and  
militia called out only to protect divi-  
dends, never to protect life.

A SHAMEFUL VERDICT.  
One of the saddest features of our  
competitive system is that the worship  
of money and the contempt for the lives  
of workmen does not prevail among  
the great capitalists alone, but that it  
infects the whole middle class and  
even, to a deplorable extent, the work-  
ing class itself. This reflection is sug-  
gested by the astounding verdict  
brought in by the jury in the Allen  
case.

If the news of more recent crimes  
against workmen have not driven  
that murder out of mind, our readers  
will remember that, about four months  
ago, Charles Gale, a workman hunt-  
ing for a job, found himself starving  
and penniless, went into a Bowery  
restaurant, got a cup of coffee and  
a bun, valued at six cents, and then  
explained that he could not pay for  
them; he was assaulted by the four  
men composing the staff of the place  
and died almost instantly as a result  
of the attack.

These facts were clearly proven. Yet  
the jury brought in a verdict of acquit-  
tal in the third degree. Even the judge  
and judges are not given to painful  
righteousness in such matters—seems  
to have been shocked by the verdict.

There is only one conceivable expla-  
nation of the jury's decision. The vic-  
tim was a workman out of employ-  
ment. In the language of the street,  
he was a "hobo"—one of those wretch-  
ed outcasts whom capitalist society cre-  
ates and then deems to daily trouble.  
The press and all the organs of re-  
spectable society—even the pulpit has  
too often joined in the damnable work-  
—have, by denunciation, by ridicule, by  
every possible method, sought to cre-  
ate a universal hatred of the workless  
man. To a great extent they have suc-  
ceeded.

If those human brutes had so done  
to death a stray dog or a broken-  
down horse, respectable society in the  
form of Mr. Gerry's S. P. C. A. would  
have intervened and they would have  
been more severely punished. But Gale  
was a "hobo." What was his life  
worth? The murder was worth two-  
fifths of a space in the daily papers and  
the shameful verdict gets no more at-  
tention.

Now the jury that tried Allen and  
Frankson was not composed of million-  
aires. Probably half the jurors  
stand a fair chance of finding them-  
selves some time, through the work-  
ings of the trusts, in Gale's and  
Frankson's shoes. Yet this is the verdict they re-  
nder!

In face of such demoralization, the  
direct result of a social system based  
upon money relations, with its resultant  
class divisions and contempt of the  
poor, how can anyone wonder—nay,  
how can anyone fail to applaud—if we  
punch hatred of that system, hatred  
of all its lying traditions and its cruel

institutions, a hatred that can only be  
satisfied by the destruction of capital-  
ism, root and branch?

So Mr. Cole, notwithstanding his de-  
sire to get back among "the honest men  
of Wall Street," might be persuaded to  
run for mayor—for the city's good, of  
course; no other consideration could in-  
fluence him. We can understand why  
for Cole, but there will be only one can-  
didate deserving of the workmen's  
votes. His name is Benjamin Hanford.

"WORK FOR ALL."  
Confirmation of Socialist contentions  
that the present prosperity means mis-  
ery for a multitude come from strange  
places at times, but they do come nev-  
ertheless. For instance, the movement  
started by a New York alderman to  
"send at least 5,000 of the unemployed  
men and women of New York City to  
the fields of Kansas and other Western  
states to help harvest the crops." This  
announcement contains the acknowl-  
edgement of two facts: first, that there  
are 5,000 men and women out of work  
in this city, and second, that this num-  
ber is only a part of the unemployed.  
In that acknowledgement are all the  
pretensions of the press and politicians  
dispelled. But what an appalling con-  
dition of affairs does not this reveal?  
Try to imagine what it means to be  
without the means of livelihood in a  
place like New York City this time of  
year. Think of the sweating, mur-  
derous heat, the stifling atmosphere,  
the hot pavements that fry the feet,  
the torturing thirst that cannot be quenched,  
the restless sleep upon park benches.  
Think over this, feel it if you are  
not dead to all feeling and then cease  
to wonder why suicides are increasing  
every day.

And what do the high priests of pros-  
perity offer as an antidote for this?  
Nothing but arduous labor on sun-  
washed Kansas harvest fields, with  
long hours and shamefully poor wages.  
But it is anything to get the troublous  
ones away from New York, although  
the movement itself disproves the oft  
repeated charge of capitalism's cohorts  
that the unemployed will not work if  
they get a chance. Would the philan-  
thropic promoters of this scheme ex-  
pect it to succeed if the out-of-work-  
ers try to earn a living?

At this time, while the watering  
places and mountain resorts are crowd-  
ed with those whose vacations, with  
all that they imply, are spent at the  
expense of the overworked laborers and  
the wretched waifs left behind in the  
cities, every Socialist should resolve to  
work harder than ever for the cause  
that will make such conditions impos-  
sible. And that resolution should mean  
much of menace to a system that has  
little of anything but suffering and  
shame for millions of human beings to  
command it.

It is a very fitting that the men who  
murdered poor Charles Gale, because  
he could not pay for his six-cent lunch,  
should have been defended by that de-  
spicable renegade, Hugh O. Pentecost.  
He argued that Gale was not killed by  
the brutal assault, but that he died of  
heart disease which, by a curious coin-  
cidence, seized him at the very moment  
when he had been knocked down, beat-  
en, kicked, and thrown out on the side-  
walk by these "mission" employees.  
No danger of Pentecost dying of heart  
disease—or the Bowery missionaries,  
either.

A CONSISTENT LEGISLATURE.  
A bill was introduced in the last  
legislature which would have com-  
pelled the Staten Island Rapid Transit  
Company to retire the Northfield, the  
Westfield and the Middlesex—all wood-  
en boats which have been in use for  
over forty years—and to replace them  
with vessels of modern construction.  
The passage of that bill would have  
saved the lives that were lost in the  
recent collision. But it was not passed.  
The excuse is made that the bill was  
not fair; it applied only to Staten Is-  
land boats, while, as a matter of fact,  
other companies, notably the Erie, are  
said to be using boats that are just as  
dangerous. This only makes the guilt  
of the Republican and Democratic  
legislators deeper. Why did they not  
take the bill up and amend it so that  
it would apply to all boats touching  
New York shores? They find it easy  
enough to amend an employers' liability  
bill so as to reverse its original mean-  
ing. Why could they not amend this  
ferry-boat bill so as to extend its ap-  
plication?

Their action, however, while appar-  
ently inconsistent, was really perfect-  
ly consistent. Both bills, if passed and  
enforced, would have tended to save  
human life at the expense of a small  
reduction in capitalists' profits. They  
killed one bill by amending it. They  
killed the other by leaving it in com-  
plicity. That is what we must always  
expect from Republican and Demo-  
cratic legislators. Life will not be put  
above profits until the working people  
show their disapproval of this murder-  
ous system by voting the Social Demo-  
cratic ticket.

New York's municipal campaign is  
beginning. The Worker will, during the  
next four months, actively advocate  
the election of the Social Democratic

city ticket. It will give, every week,  
facts and figures and arguments sup-  
porting this contention. If the com-  
rades wish to see a big vote for the tick-  
et headed by Benjamin Hanford, they  
should spend no effort to have The  
Worker reach the largest possible num-  
ber of workmen from now till elec-  
tion time. A word to the wise is suf-  
ficient, says the proverb. Let us see if  
the New York comrades are wise.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND PUBLIC  
OWNERSHIP.  
The Denver "Times" says: "A giant  
scheme is under way to transfer the  
railroads of the United States to the  
government. A Western financier de-  
clared that within a few years Rocke-  
feller, Harriman, Vanderbilt, Gould,  
and Morgan interests would turn over  
to the government every line of railroad  
in the country, the government to pay  
the total value of \$10,000,000,000, a  
string of bonds to be controlled by the  
same interests and to finance the deal."

While this is far from being an au-  
thoritative statement of fact, it is per-  
haps a shrewd enough guess at the  
probabilities of the near future. It is  
hardly to be supposed that there is any  
such definite plan formed, as yet, by  
Messrs. Rockefeller, Morgan, and the  
rest. But when, through the growing  
aggressiveness of the labor movement,  
the difficulties of profitable railroad  
management have been increased and  
when, through the growth of Socialist  
thought, the magnates begin to be  
afraid of losing their unearned prop-  
erties, we need not be surprised to have  
just such a proposition made—and that,  
in all likelihood, not through the Demo-  
crats or "reformers," but through the  
orthodox capitalist organization, the  
Republican party.

When that time comes, the voice of  
the Socialists will be heard, pointing  
out very clearly, and to the great an-  
noyance of the capitalists, the radical  
difference between Socialism and state  
capitalism, between public ownership  
for the public service and public own-  
ership for class profit, between the Co-  
operative Commonwealth as advocated  
by the Social Democratic Party and  
"Government & Co., Limited," as it  
will then be advocated by the political  
agents of the exploiting class.

There is an old Latin maxim, "Si duo  
idem faciant, non est idem"—which,  
being interpreted, means: "If two per-  
sons do the same thing, it is not neces-  
sarily the same thing." This is very  
true when applied to politics. The same  
proposition may be made by two par-  
ties representing different classes and  
therefore inspired by different princi-  
ples and ideals. Their purposes in  
making this proposition will be differ-  
ent—perhaps opposed. It will therefore  
be of the utmost importance that their  
purposes, their principles, their ideals,  
as well as their practical propositions,  
be fully understood by the people, in  
order that an intelligent choice may be  
made.

In the matter of public ownership,  
for instance: The Social Democratic  
Party, representing the exploited wage-  
working class and holding the ideal of  
human solidarity, advocates public  
ownership as a means of putting an  
end to exploitation and class rule. But  
it is quite conceivable that, under cir-  
cumstances which may arise within  
the next ten years, the Republican  
party, representing the capitalist class  
and holding the ideal of plutocracy,  
might also advocate public ownership  
of certain gigantic industries, at least,  
—but with the exactly opposite purpose  
of perpetuating exploitation and class  
rule. Let the government buy the rail-  
roads for say \$10,000,000,000, giving  
bonds for that amount, and then run-  
ning the railroads for profit to pay the  
interest on the bonds. That would be  
a very satisfactory arrangement for  
the railroad magnates. They would be  
relieved of all responsibility and their  
profits would be assured. But the rail-  
road workers would not profit by the  
change. Public ownership established  
by the Social Democratic Party would  
be quite a different affair. The dispo-  
sessed owners might be paid some-  
thing (provided they submitted grace-  
fully to the inevitable)—not as com-  
pensation justly to be claimed, but as a  
means of avoiding unnecessary friction.  
—Just as the Southern slaveholders  
would have been paid had they consented  
to emancipation instead of fighting  
it. But, however that might be, no  
permanent income would be assured to  
the former owners of the railroads and  
the industry would be carried on, not  
on the basis of profit-making, but with  
the purpose of giving the best service  
to the public for the least expenditure  
of human labor; and the very first con-  
sideration would be to improve the con-  
dition of the railroad workers by re-  
ducing their hours of labor, making  
their work safer and easier and pleas-  
anter in all possible ways, and increas-  
ing their opportunities of enjoying life.

Thus public ownership, put into ef-  
fect by one party, would lead to per-  
petuate class rule; put into effect by the  
other, it would lead to abolish class  
rule. It is the business of Social Demo-  
crats now, before the practical issue  
is presented to us, to make the differ-  
ence clear in the public mind.

Every member of The Worker  
Conference should be on hand at the  
picnic Sunday, prepared to do what-  
ever he can for the party's paper.

## SOCIALIST ECONOMICS.

Being an Attempt to Present  
the Main Principles of Scien-  
tific Socialism in Popular  
Language.

The writers of the Socialist move-  
ment are often reproached with being  
"too scientific." Sometimes this criti-  
cism is made dishonestly, by people  
who wish to injure the organized So-  
cialist movement by intimating that it  
is an exclusive circle of literary aris-  
tocrats. But often it is made sincerely  
and, perhaps, with some justice. Of  
course the trouble is not that we are  
"too scientific." That would be impos-  
sible. The trouble is that we are not  
always as careful as we should be to  
use simple language and explain tech-  
nical words, so that our statement of  
our doctrine is not always readily in-  
telligible. The present series of arti-  
cles is an attempt toward an exposition  
of the main principles of economics as  
held by Socialists, which shall, with-  
out confusing the truth, couched in  
just as popular and intelligible lan-  
guage as the writer is able to com-  
mand.

I. WHAT IS SCIENCE?  
The first thing that is necessary, in  
order to understand and appreciate the  
theory and there is no reason why work-  
men should not wish to understand  
these things as well as their masters,  
is to recognize that things do not hap-  
pen by accident, that everything has its  
reason—that, as we often put it, the  
world is ruled, not by blind chance or  
by arbitrary providence, but by nat-  
ural law. And this is true, not only of  
the motions of the planets and the run-  
ning of rivers and the growth of plants  
and animals, but also of the actions of  
men, either as individuals or as united  
in society.

When we say that we understand the  
law of any thing in nature (whether a  
rainbow or a cyclone or an industrial  
panic) we mean that by studying the  
facts connected with that thing in a  
great many cases, looking at them in  
different lights, comparing and classi-  
fying them, we have found out the con-  
nection between that thing and other  
things in nature—have found out "un-  
der what set of circumstances that  
thing comes into existence."

Let us illustrate: Men observed long  
ago that stones and similar objects had  
a tendency to fall toward the earth.  
Later they observed that when a stone  
fell from a high place its velocity grew  
greater and greater as it kept on fall-  
ing. But they did not know how fast  
it fell nor at what rate its velocity in-  
creased. This loose and vague sort of  
knowledge satisfied them for thou-  
sands of years. But about three or  
four hundred years ago some men of  
an inquiring turn of mind one of them  
was Galileo began to observe the mat-  
ter more closely. They made experi-  
ments, letting weights fall and noting  
the time they took in falling from var-  
ious heights, etc. These experiments  
and others of the same sort were en-  
terprised by many thoughtful men (not  
ably by Sir Isaac Newton) until at last  
it was possible to state the fact in a  
general law. That all bodies, large or  
small, light or heavy, fall at the same  
rate, if not interfered with (even by  
the resistance of the air, and that  
during the first second a body will fall  
a certain distance (about sixteen feet),  
during the next second three times  
as far, during the third second five  
times as far, and so on. Now our  
knowledge of the law of falling bodies  
is scientific simply because it is exact  
and because it is general. The law  
may be expressed in more or less  
words. This loose and vague sort of  
knowledge is not scientific. It is sci-  
entific in this simple but rather com-  
plex statement as in the brief and  
more convenient technical formula  
used by the writers on physics.

Through the discovery of this and  
many other laws it is possible for us  
to predict just how moving bodies will  
get under certain circumstances. If we  
want to make a pendulum that shall  
vibrate ten times in a second, for in-  
stance, we do not have to "cut and try,"  
till we find the right length, as our  
forefathers would have had to do by  
force of these laws of motion were dis-  
covered. The physicists have worked out  
the law by which pendulums swing  
and we have only to make a certain  
calculation in applying that law. We  
are as sure that all pendulums will  
swing in accordance with that law as  
we are that the sun will rise on sched-  
ule-time to-morrow morning.

By applying these various laws of  
motion the engineer who plans a rail-  
road can tell just how much he should  
raise the outer rail on a curve and just  
how fast a train can safely run over  
that curve. The designer of a machine  
tells just how heavy he must make the  
weights on an engine-governor to regu-  
late its speed; the gunner can tell just  
how much powder he must use and at  
what angle he must train his gun in  
order to drop a shell at a desired point.  
No one who is not very ignorant or  
hopelessly stubborn will attempt at  
this moment to deny these scientific  
laws of motion. Nor will he denounce  
a physicist as "narrow, intolerant, ex-  
clusive, and un-American," for in  
saying that these laws, so far as they  
go, are absolutely correct. So far as  
mathematics and physics are concerned,  
we have got beyond that.

But scientists did not stop with  
showing how inaccurate bodies move.  
They went on to investigate the living  
things, both plants and animals. It is  
not possible, on account of lack of  
space, nor is it necessary for our pur-  
pose, to illustrate this so fully as we  
have done in the first case.

A single illustration will suffice. The  
law of evolution in the organic world.  
It was discovered that while, among  
plants and animals, the offspring gen-  
erally very closely resemble the par-  
ents, yet the species now living are  
very different from those which in-  
habited the world at a very ancient time.  
How does it come that these plants and  
animals differ so from their ancestors?  
This was one of the questions that sev-  
eral men as Darwin and Wallace  
asked. One result of their very  
careful and systematic observation  
was the discovery of a law governing  
the change of living things, which may

be stated, very roughly, as follows:  
While the individual generally resem-  
bles the parent very closely, the resem-  
blance is never exact; no two individ-  
uals are exactly alike; under any given  
set of conditions, individuals having  
certain characteristics will have an ad-  
vantage over others of the same spe-  
cies; they will be more likely to survive  
in the struggle for life and to produce  
offspring, and those offspring will tend  
to have the same characteristics,  
while the individuals not so well fitted  
to their special surroundings are al-  
ways being weeded out, so to speak,  
and prevented from producing off-  
spring; and as a result the species as a  
whole is always becoming better  
fitted to the conditions under which it  
lives. Thus the possession of broad  
leaves is, up to a certain limit, an ad-  
vantage to certain aquatic plants and  
the possession of long legs to certain  
aquatic birds; those individual plants  
having the broadest leaves and those  
individual birds having the longest  
legs will, other things being equal,  
have a greater chance of living and  
will produce more offspring than the  
plants with smaller leaves or the birds  
with shorter legs; and thus, in the  
course of time, the species, as a whole,  
will be greatly changed in the direc-  
tion of broadening the leaves or  
lengthening of the legs, as the case  
may be.

This law is not at all formidable  
when stated in familiar words. But it  
is truly a scientific law, and the dis-  
covery of it quite revolutionized our  
way of looking at the world. We have  
learned to think that plants and ani-  
mals have come to be what they are,  
not by mere chance and not by the will  
of God (Spinoza said that phrase, "the  
will of God" was the last refuge of  
ignorance"), but by a natural process,  
just as certain in accordance with  
ascertainable law as the falling of a  
stone or the swinging of a pendulum.

But the scientists have not stopped  
even here. Within the last century it  
has come to be recognized—by the best  
thinkers at least—that the facts of  
human society can be studied in just  
the same scientific way, their laws dis-  
covered, their causes pointed out. The  
only reason why social science is not  
so exact as biology—the science of  
living things—while biology is not so  
exact as physics, are: First, that we  
have not yet had time to find out the  
facts so thoroughly; and, second, that  
the subject is much more complicated,  
and therefore requires much closer  
study.

There is one branch of social science,  
however, which has been brought to  
great perfection, so that it is almost  
as exact a science as physics or chem-  
istry. This branch is economics, the  
scientific study of the systems by  
which wealth is produced and distrib-  
uted.

The next article of this series will be  
an answer to the question: "Why  
should workmen study economics?"

THE REAL FACT OF WAR.  
What, speaking in unofficial lan-  
guage, is the net purport and upshot of  
war? To my own knowledge, for ex-  
ample, there dwell and toll in the Brit-  
ish village of Dunmidge, nearly  
some five hundred souls. From these,  
by certain "natural enemies" of the  
French, there are successfully selected,  
during the French war, say thirty able-  
bodied men. Dunmidge at her own  
expense has suckled and nursed them;  
she has, not without difficulty and sor-  
row, fed them up to manhood, and  
even trained them to graze, so that they  
can weave, another build, another  
hammer, and the weakest can stand  
under thirty stone, avoirdupois. Nev-  
ertheless amid much weeping and swear-  
ing they are selected; all dressed in  
red; and shipped away at the public  
charge, some two thousand miles, or  
say only to the South of Spain; and fed  
there till wanted.

And now to that same spot in the  
south of Spain are thirty similar  
French artisans, from a French Dun-  
midge, in like manner weaned, till ap-  
proaching adult age, and then the two  
parties come into actual juxtaposition  
and thirty stand fronting thirty, each  
with a gun in his hand.

Straightway the word "Fire" is  
given, and they blow the souls out of  
one another, and in place of sixty  
useful craftsmen, the world has sixty  
dead carcasses, which it must bury,  
and anon shed tears for. Had these  
men any quarrel? Buy as the devil  
is, not the smallest? They lived far  
enough apart; were the uttermost stran-  
gers; may in so wide a universe there  
was even, unconsciously, by commerce,  
some mutual helpfulness between  
them. How then? Simpleton. Their  
governors had fallen out, and instead  
of shooting one another, had the can-  
ning to make these poor blockheads  
shoot.—Thomas Carlyle.

A SUGGESTION.  
The National Executive Committee  
has fairly inaugurated the system of  
open air meetings in the states of Con-  
necticut, Massachusetts, New Hamp-  
shire, Vermont, New York, Ohio, Penn-  
sylvania, New Jersey, and has  
three able agitators at work. This sys-  
tem should be extended. It is of espe-  
cial benefit to the smaller towns, en-  
abling them to have the assistance of  
some of the best speakers in the party  
with very little cost. Every local in-  
terest should be included in the circuit, so that the  
N. E. C. can put still more speakers on  
the road.

There is one feature of this work to  
which we wish to call the attention of  
the comrades concerned. Nothing is  
more important to the movement than  
that the circulation of the party paper  
should be extended, and these meet-  
ings offer an excellent opportunity.  
The local should always order a good  
number of copies of The Worker or  
some other paper in time for distribu-  
tion at the meetings, the chairman  
should be careful to call the attention  
of the audience to the papers, and then  
the comrades should proceed to "dis-  
tribute" for subscriptions. Try it. Heed-  
ing a speech may start a man think-  
ing. Reading the paper every week  
will elicit the matter in his mind and  
answer the many questions and doubts  
that arise.

The Worker Conference will have  
a booth at the picnic Sunday. Visit it.

## Current Literature.

All books and pamphlets mentioned  
in this column may be obtained  
through the Socialist Literature Com-  
pany, 184 William Street, New York.

BEFORE AN AUDIENCE. By Nathan  
Shapere. New York. 1898. 30 pages. Price, 10  
cents.

ORATORY, ITS REQUIREMENTS AND  
REWARDS. By John P. Altgeld.  
Chicago. Charles H. Kerr & Co. 1901.  
Cloth, 60 pages. Price, 30 cents.

Footnote are born, not made. To a  
certain extent this is true also of orators.  
But, then, of what vocation, of  
what art, what profession, what trade  
is it not true to some degree? Not  
every man can, "by taking thought,"  
make himself a good orator. Neither  
is every man naturally capable, by  
study and application, of making him-  
self a good architect, a good physician,  
or a good bricklayer. Each of these is  
a vocation whose successful practice  
requires more or less special natu-  
ral ability as well as special training.

On the other hand, poems—good poems—are  
made such as well as born with the  
capacity to become such. The poet  
who depends wholly on "inspiration" is  
likely to write very bad verse. And  
so of all other forms of human activity,  
including oratory. Some native ability  
is required, but that ability must be  
developed by careful training.

The average man, being asked to de-  
fine oratory, would probably say that  
it is the art of "making a speech." That  
is not exactly true. It is rather the art  
of "saying what you have to say,"  
especially to a number of persons as-  
sembled and for the purpose of per-  
suading them to action of some sort.  
A great deal that passes for oratory  
would be more properly described as  
eloquence or as "wind-jamming" (ac-  
cording as it is good or bad in method)  
—because many speakers have nothing  
to say and say it at great length.

A good old teacher of ours once laid  
down three prime rules for public  
speaking: 1. Have something to say;  
2. Say it; 3. Stop. The last point, by  
the way, often presents the greatest  
difficulty; but this is a detail in a vitally  
important one to be learned by prac-  
tice. The first is an essential. You  
must have something to say. You  
must desire to say it. You must desire  
to say it on this special occasion, to  
those people before you, and to make  
them understand you. The speaker  
whose purpose is merely to "show  
off," to excite wonder and win ap-  
plause, is not an orator; and the man  
who "speaks his piece" (no matter  
with what studied and polished cor-  
rectness without regard to his audience,  
as if he were rehearsing to empty  
chairs, is not a good orator. The true  
orator is conscious of his hearers and  
speaks every word directly to them,  
with the desire of making them think  
and act as he desires.

For this reason it is that we often find that entirely  
untrained speakers, if they are in real  
earnest, far surpass the most carefully  
trained and instructed speakers, whose  
heart is not in their words, to whom  
their own speeches are merely rhetori-  
cal and vocal gymnastics. The differ-  
ence







its operation and show that they would not come and why they would not. Try again, comrades! It is not a matter of life and death, but it is a matter of principle. The comrades are perfectly able to appreciate good points. Small caps always like the surrounding type and make my headline.

G. H. STROBEL,  
Newark, N. J., June 10.

#### Doesn't Like New Jersey Plan.

Editor of The Worker, — The words were said by reading Comrade Mally's splendid review of the "New Jersey Plan" proposed by Comrade Strobel. Reading the review, I was struck by the fact that it was not a matter of life and death, but it is a matter of principle. The comrades are perfectly able to appreciate good points. Small caps always like the surrounding type and make my headline.

Now, within the past few months an organization has been formed in New Jersey. It is called the "New Jersey Plan." It is a matter of principle. The comrades are perfectly able to appreciate good points. Small caps always like the surrounding type and make my headline.

CHAS. E. MARTIN,  
Tulsa, Ok., June 22.

#### The Public Ownership Problem.

That the unpopularity of middle-class public ownership is a result of the fact that the middle-class writer has no doubt that this movement is a matter of principle. The comrades are perfectly able to appreciate good points. Small caps always like the surrounding type and make my headline.

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Comrades and soberly going into a referendum their last referendum pulled 60 votes among the masses. It is a matter of principle. The comrades are perfectly able to appreciate good points. Small caps always like the surrounding type and make my headline.

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## BEFORE TAKING AND AFTER TAKING.

### The Disastrous Effects of the Prescription of Capitalist Civilization.

BY W. A. COREY.

The prescription of capitalist civilization has almost invariably proved a failure. It is a matter of principle. The comrades are perfectly able to appreciate good points. Small caps always like the surrounding type and make my headline.

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It will do more than this. Out of knowledge it will force wisdom. Knowledge should not be considered an end in itself. It should be a means to an end. If a newly discovered law or fact does not result in a benefit to every member of society it might as well have remained hidden.

Los Angeles, Cal.

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## PICNIC OF LOCAL NEW YORK SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE CAMPAIGN FUND

On Sunday, June 30, at Sulzer's Westchester Park.

Prize Bowling for Ladies and Gentlemen.

Games and Amusements for Young and Old.

TICKETS, ADMITTING GENTLEMAN AND LADY, 25 CENTS.

EXTRA LADIES' TICKETS, TO BE HAD AT THE DATE, 15 CENTS.

DIRECTIONS TO THE PARK:

Take Second or Third Avenue 'L' to 177th Street (Tremont) and then with Tremont Avenue car to Park or West Farms car at 120th Street (Tremont) to Park; also 120th Street car and transfer to West Farms car which goes direct to the Park.

GRAND FESTIVAL

OF THE

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

BOROUGH OF BROOKLYN.

THURSDAY, JULY 4, 1901.

TO BE HELD AT

Crauer's Ridgewood Cossuem.

PRIZE BOWLING. PRIZE SHOOTING.

TICKETS, TEN CENTS. TO COMMENCE AT 1 O'CLOCK.

WORKMEN'S EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

216 East 84th Street.

SATURDAY, JUNE 23, AT 8 O'CLOCK P. M.

Comrade ALGERNON LEE will lecture on "Labor Politics and Socialism in General are cordially invited."

J. B. SALISBURY

Counselor at Law.

30 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

Investments.

THE LIFE OF KARL MARX.

No one man is the founder of Socialism.

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## Trades and Societies' Calendar

Standing advertisements of Trade Unions and other Societies will be inserted under this heading at the rate of \$1 per line per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity for advertising their places of meetings.

BRANCH 2, S. D. P., 34th and 35th A. D.

(formerly Socialist Science Club), meets every Wednesday evening of each month at 2200 Third Avenue.

BRANCH 2 (English), 200 A. D. (Brooklyn), N. Y. P. Meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening at 7:30 p. m. at 157th Street, over 7th Avenue.

All Societies of the district are invited to join. K. Bloom, 653 Evergreen Avenue, will receive subscriptions for The Worker.

CARL SATIM CLUB (MUSICIANS' UNION). Meetings every Tuesday at 10 A. M., at 64 East 4th Street, New York City. Lyeum. Business Secretary: Fred.

CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL UNION, No. 10, Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th Street, District 1 (Belgium), 331 East 71st Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m. District 11, 46th Street at 19th Street, meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. District 11, meets at the Clubhouse, 206 East 86th Street, every Saturday at 7:30 p. m. District 11, meets at 52 West 42d Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m. District 11, meets at 414 East 5th Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m. District 11,



# The Worker

NEW YORK, JULY 7, 1901.

VOL. XI.—NO. 14.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

## CONFUSING ADVICE TO WORKINGMEN.

### A Preacher at Yonkers Sets a "Horrible Example" for Others to Avoid.

Lecturing on "How Social Conditions May Be Bettered," He Involves Himself in Extraordinary Contradictions—Why Do Not "Moulders of Public Opinion" Study Facts?

Some little time ago we had a preacher, Rev. Dr. James T. Bixby, speaking at the "Hollywood Inn" here in Yonkers, to tell the workingmen and others "How Social Conditions May Be Bettered." It is rather late, perhaps, to criticize his lecture, but since no one else has done it, I may undertake the task—especially as it has now been printed.

The reverend gentleman is, no doubt, a sincere and thinks that he has fully contributed something to settling the social question. As a worker, however, knowing the facts in the case better than he does, notwithstanding his better education, I am sure that he has not done anything of the sort.

Mr. Bixby admits that there is a great question to be settled. He sees that while wealth is growing at an unparalleled rate, poverty and discontent are also growing, and that the existing institutions are threatened by the antagonism of "higher and lower classes" and "labor and capital." He thinks the condition "truly alarming."

#### A STARTLING ADMISION.

Before criticizing his proposed remedy, it is only fair to give him full credit: what was good in his address. He said:

"No rich man among us is any more the maker of his own fortune than the poorest, luckless slave of the market, who is a gutter-snipe. The maker of the rain that floods us, the maker of the sun that warms us, the maker of the wind that blows us, has not been created by his own individual exertions, but by the providential bounty of God, by the joint will and work of all men, large and small, and of all ages, past and present, and of all peoples, and of all nations."

As with this, there is no more responsibility for it than for the increase of the well-to-do have an insuperable difficulty in improving the condition of the less favored brethren and sisters, they do not do it voluntarily, they are hindered by the constraint of the law of human solidarity, the poor rate and the prison taxes, the almshouses, the epidemic, the burglar, the thief, the swarms of beggars that dog their steps in the street, will bring them their deserved retribution."

Now the first part of this passage is a very good statement of the very foundation principle of Socialism. We say that, given the natural resources for us, Mr. Bixby puts it "the providential bounty of God," and the inheritance of civilization created by the toil, the science, and inventiveness of past generations. ALL WEALTH IS CREATED BY SOCIAL LABOR, or, as Mr. Bixby's words, "by the joint will and work of society at large."

This is the most important admission. We make a plain reference from it: Since wealth is the product of the joint labor of society, it rightfully belongs to society, to be used for the public good. Of right, we are all joint heirs in the bounty of nature and the civilization created by past generations and joint partners in the work and the product of the society in which we live. To bring this ideal into practice is the purpose of the Socialist movement.

#### DODGING THE INFERENCE.

But Mr. Bixby, after admitting the Socialist contention, dodges the plain inference, and concludes simply that the rich, who are in possession of wealth, that they have not created, must benevolently use a part of it for the benefit of those who have created it. Charity, not justice, is his remedy. I can tell him that the workingmen do not want charity.

Mr. Bixby does not approve of the imperialist plan of keeping down the discontented working people by the strong arm of the law and the threat of force. He says: "From above may descend the sword, but it cannot cure the social malady." But he has no more sympathy with the labor movement of the trade unions or of the Social Democratic Party.

A WORKINGMAN.  
Yonkers, N. Y.

#### THE JUSTIFICATION OF PERSONAL ATTACK.

The following words of Wendell Phillips, the great Abolitionist, may be recommended to those who object to what they the violent language used by Socialists:

"Men blame us for the bitterness of our language and the personality of our attacks. It results from our position. The great mass of the people can never be made to stay and argue a long question. They must be made to feel it through the hide of their idols. When you have launched your spear into the conscience, hide of a Webster or a Benton, even White, Democrat feel it. It is on this principle that every great reform must take its root from the mistakes of great men. God gives us great seconds for texts to anti-slavery sermons."

"If you are to succeed in life it will be because you master yourselves," said Rockefeller. John says, "men would join hands and work for a better one it could soon be brought about—Workers' Call."

—Dowle is denounced for taking 10 per cent. of the income of his followers, but capitalists take 50 per cent, and more, and no one calls them hard names—Workers' Call.

—Even when successful, continues Mr. Bixby, "strikes are apt to kill the goose that lays the golden egg." The capitalist, irritated, soon cuts the wages down again or moves his factory to another section. Or, perhaps, an enforced change of the mill hands from their chance in the business community.

Mr. Bixby never seems to guess what

## IN THE GEORGIA MILLS.

### Factory Owners, by Proposed "Voluntary Reforms," Admit the Atrocity of Child Labor.

The textile manufacturers of Georgia have at last awakened to the iniquities of overwork and child labor in their mills, and in order to save any further trouble on the part of labor agitators to mitigate the evil, said manufacturers have started out to remedy the matter themselves. As a result the Georgia Industrial Association recently adopted resolutions pledging the members not to work their employees over SIXTY-SEVEN HOURS A WEEK. Further they also promise: That no child less than twelve years old shall work at night in any cotton or woolen mill under any circumstances, and that no child less than twelve years old shall be allowed to work therein at all unless under ten years of age will be made dependent for support upon the labor of such child, or unless the child can read or write, or unless the child attends school for four months of each calendar year; and provided further that no child under ten years of age shall be permitted to work in any such mill or factory under any circumstances.

The adoption of these resolutions is what the New York "Times" calls "a step in the right direction." It is certainly very encouraging to know that children twelve years old will only be "permitted" to work in the day time, when they might be playing in the sunshine, but hold! are the children of the poor expected to play? Then it is a genuine relief to know that no child under ten years of age will be "permitted" to work in the mills. Of course, if the children under ten or twelve break into the factory and mist on working either during the night or day without "permission," the manufacturers will not be to blame.

The Georgia manufacturers are following this course to forestall "hostile legislation." Not that they are particularly afraid of hostile legislation, because they know that so-called labor laws are rarely enforced, but it is inconvenient to have a factory inspector nosing around and sometimes it is expensive also. Factory inspectors with the "welfare of capital and labor at heart" must receive suitable reward and recognition for their arduous labors. It is also much easier for the manufacturers to adopt resolutions which they can readily forget when necessity demands than to inculcate disrespect for authority among the people by breaking a law.

The action of the Georgia manufacturers does one thing, however: It substitutes every charge made against them as ruthless murderers of little children, upon whose flesh and blood their profits have been made at the cost of blighted childhood, that their prosperity has been wrought from the horrors of a massacre of the innocents. This foul acknowledgment is one of the proofs that there is a class struggle, that the interests of the capitalist class and the working class are not identical.

It is valuable also as a reminder to the working class that child labor, overwork, and starvation wages are the logical outgrowths of the capitalist system, and that only the inauguration of Socialism—the collective ownership of all industry—will see these evils banished from the workers' lives.

It is either Socialism or slavery!

#### PLUTOCRATIC IMPERIALISM.

"If only we could have a free hand; if only the manufacturer could carry on his business free from local boards and by-laws, free from sanitary inspectors, free from school board inspectors, free from home office inspectors, what enormous economies could be effected." Thus spoke Mr. Arthur Chamberlain to a meeting of the Yonkers, Limited, last week, and there breathed the true spirit of the modern imperialism. What economies we could effect, if only we could do as we liked with our "hands." If we had had none of this grandmotherly legislation which seems to have assumed that human beings were actually of more account than hardware, and that life is more precious than cheap explosives or quick-firing guns; what do the working classes want with education, or sanitation, or fire-works? It is their business to work; that is what they were sent by a beneficent Providence into the world for. No education, no sanitation, no leisure, no recreation, for the masses of the people; only the dull round of factory life, from dawn to dark, from the cradle to the grave. That is the ideal of the plutocratic imperialism of to-day. No wonder the Birmingham slums are said to be some of the worst in the Kingdom; so had indeed, that even a Tory newspaper has been forced for very shame to condemn them. No wonder, either, that the Chamberlain family should have such a liking for Cecil Rhodes and his methods, how they must wish that they could establish the Kimberley compounds in Birmingham! Clearly that is what Mr. Arthur Chamberlain would like to do, and we owe him our thanks for so frankly avowing it. It is seldom, one of his class displays so much candor.—London Justice.

#### FOR ELIZABETH MACHINISTS.

The Socialist Singing Society of Elizabeth, N. J., held an entertainment last Monday for the benefit of the striking machinists of that city. In spite of the extremely hot weather, it was quite successful. Comrade Geiger spoke and was extensively listened to by about 250 persons.

## COAL TRUST COMES NEXT.

### The Billion-Dollar Steel Trust to Be Paralleled in Another Field.

Bituminous Coal Production to Be Centralized Upon a Similar Plan—Preparations Have Been Under Way for Three Years.

The centralization of practically the whole iron and steel industry in the hands of the United States Steel Corporation having been completed, and the organization of the railways (with the production of anthracite coal as a subsidiary industry) being well under way, the next step to be made by the group of capitalist lords who are carrying out the trustification of the country is the formation of a bituminous coal combine.

It is thought that the form of organization, which is said to be completed within two or three months, will be similar to that of the Steel Trust and that its capitalization will be nearly as large. It will also be controlled by the same men—the Morgan syndicate carrying out the consolidation and Standard Oil interests owning probably a majority of the stock.

Preparations have been under way for three years or more and have been very carefully made. The method was to concentrate the ownership of the various important fields separately, after which it will be comparatively easy to smite the great combines so formed.

The process began about three years ago with the consolidation of the mines in the Hocking and Shawnee valleys, and other points in Ohio and West Virginia. Next the Pittsburg district was attacked, two companies being formed last year—the Pittsburg Coal Company, to control all coal shipped from that field to the lakes, and the Monongahela Coal Company, to control the coal shipped down the river.

Within the last few weeks several other combinations have come to light. A syndicate has bought up most of the Indiana mines. The Fairmont company has got almost absolute control of the West Virginia fields, and is, in turn, owned by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. What coal mines remain outside the Fairmont Company are owned by other roads which belong to the same interests that own the B. & O. A syndicate in which Mark Hanna is interested has absorbed the mines of the Massillon district in Ohio. And now the Illinois Coal Company has been formed at Chicago and owns two-thirds of the coal lands in Illinois and Western Indiana.

What remains is to unite the Illinois, Pittsburg, Monongahela, Fairmont, Hocking and Massillon Coal companies into one body, thus the Carnegie Company, the American Steel and Wire, Federal Steel, and half a dozen other organizations in that industry were united to form the United States Steel Corporation.

Along with this organization will go also the coal docks and fast loading plants that are now owned by the various coal companies, which shall hereafter make a part of the big organization.

The aim of all of this is to effect a complete monopoly of the bituminous production in the territory east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac. This great combine, once formed, it will be easy to crush any competition from the small companies that may remain outside, and the new corporation will undoubtedly soon reach out for the coal mines of the South and the West.

#### BUSINESS BOOMING.

"For some time past the daily 'hash' dished up by the Associated Press, has been running about like this: 'Rebels are Active'—'Frauds at Manila'—'Rebels Broke Out Again'—'Mrs. McKinley Convalescent'—'Another Great Combine'—'Negro Lynched'—'The Sick Man Refuses to Pay'—'Murder and Suicide'—'The Strikes Still Out'—'Train Held Up by Masked Men'—'Anarchist Arrested'—'Held on Suspicion'—'Bank Safe Robbed Open and Robbed'—'Railroad Collision, Many Lives Lost'—'A Mine Caves In, Number of Dead Not Ascertained'—'Mining Company Busted'—'Express Company Robbed'—'Minister Gone Wrong'—'A Drop in Stocks'—'Another Mill Shut Down'—'A Riot Rarely Averted'—'More Strikes Pending'—'Mrs. Van Flap Gets a Divorce'—'South Knocks Gallagher Out in the Seventh Round'—'Hanged for Horse Stealing'—'Another Death Caused by Dew'—'Zoo, etc., etc.' The foregoing is a fair representation of the daily reports by telegraph of the progress, and prosperity of this country and the world in general under the competitive system. Ain't it a beauty? 'Business was never better.'—San Diego Chief.

—It is the representatives of the new South who comprise, according to the correspondents, the better classes, who are enjoying summer and children in unsatisfactory factories for long hours at a few cents a day. The better classes recognize the fact that there are classes in this country.—The Workers' Call.

—Socialists are a crazy lot, aren't they? Just think of their absurd proposition to make it possible for all to get a decent living just for the asking of it. Why, under such a condition, what would become of society? There would be no rich and no poor, all working and living decently. Why, what would become of our charity organizations, our hospitals, our asylums, our prisons, our almshouses, our orphanages, our insane asylums, our poor houses, our workhouses, our jails, our courts, our police, our army, our navy, our government, our churches, our schools, our universities, our colleges, our academies, our seminaries, our convents, our monasteries, our nunneries, our hospitals, our asylums, our poor houses, our workhouses, our jails, our courts, our police, our army, our navy, our government, our churches, our schools, our universities, our colleges, our academies, our seminaries, our convents, our monasteries, our nunneries, our hospitals, our asylums, our poor houses, our workhouses, our jails, our courts, our police, our army, our navy, our government, our churches, our schools, our universities, our colleges, our academies, our seminaries, our convents, our monasteries, our nunneries, our hospitals, our asylums, our poor houses, our workhouses, our jails, our 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# The Worker.

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## SOCIALIST AGITATION.

### Good Work Being Done All Over the Country.

Vail Enthusiastically Greeted in the Northwest—Wilshire to Be in New York Next Week—Spargo Holds Good Meetings in New Hampshire.

Comrade McLean of Anaconda, Montana, writes that Comrade Vail's visit there made a strong impression. His lecture was a general subject of conversation for a week after he left, and the next Social Democratic speaker will be warmly greeted. The pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Rev. E. G. Cattermole, found it necessary on the following Sunday to reply to him. Mr. Cattermole said how much the church was doing for charity, building hospitals and asylums, etc., but completely missed the point that what the working people want is not charity, but economic justice.

The Anaconda "Standard" was also stirred to write an editorial against Socialism. Alluding to the old-age pension plan now being agitated in France, it declares that this is "more Socialism," and that it would "put a premium upon the pauperism of the class with the man who, by patient saving and intelligent thrift, has provided for his old age by his own efforts."

Wonder if the "Standard" rates Corbett and Clark—and the late Marcus Daly among the patient and thrifty men who have "provided for their old age by their own efforts." Also, how many miners, smelters, laborers, and other wage workers in Montana hope by "patient saving and thrift" to be able to buy seats in the United States Senate.

Comrade Fougere of Fargo, N. D., also writes enthusiastically of Vail's visit to that city where, in spite of bad weather, a large crowd gathered in the park to hear his address in the afternoon. In the evening he spoke in the Plymouth Church and the building was packed with an audience eager to hear an exponent of Socialism. Again on the following evening he spoke in the G. A. R. hall and more people came than could possibly gain admission. Enthusiastic applause interrupted the speaker at every point he made, showing that the hearers were ready for his words and understood them.

Mrs. Vail also did good work, addressing a meeting of women and showing them how much they had to gain and how much they could do for the cause. "Socialism is popular here," he adds. "We have no division among ourselves and all we have to do is to teach and explain our principles. Comrade Vail's meetings were a great help to us. I have been busy ever since answering questions and talking to people who approach me on the subject. Socialism in North Dakota has a future before it."

Comrade Spargo has been speaking to very successful meetings in New Hampshire the last week. At Portsmouth and Dover especially large and enthusiastic crowds listened to him, and the daily press had to give considerable notice to his work. The New Hampshire comrades are much pleased with the result of his visit.

Comrade Wilshire, who came East to attend the Detroit Conference and the Indianapolis Convention, is putting in his time to good purpose in agitation. He reports having had splendid street meetings at Battle Creek and Ann Arbor, Mich. At St. Thomas, Canada, he spoke last Sunday on "The Religion of Socialism." The hall was crowded and the audience responsive. Comrade Wilshire will be in Massachusetts for the next few days, speaking at Brockton, Springfield, Worcester, and Clinton. From July 17 to July 21 he will be in this city. He will then go to Ohio, speaking at Cleveland, Toledo, Springfield, Dayton, and Cincinnati, and at Kyrle, Ind., before the opening of the convention.

### WHY DO THEY OBJECT?

If it were the business to conceal some foul murder, railway corporations could not be more diligent in their opposition to the adoption and enforcement of the recent amendment to the safety appliance bill. In the May "Magazine" the "Fuller Report" exposes the extreme measures adopted by railway attorneys in the senate to defeat the bill, and their strenuous efforts at this time to persuade the Interstate Commerce Commission that the law does not require the reports to be sufficiently definite to be of value, indicate that it will result in great injury to railway corporations if the truth concerning accidents to employees is made public. Of course these attorneys protest that the corporations have no objection to making reports to the commission, except that they will be "useless," yet the expense of fighting the new law and the enforcement must have cost the corporations more than a million dollars. If we are to include the salaries of attorneys who as senators exposed the bill—Railway Firemen's Magazine.

### THE STEAMSHIP TRUST.

The New York Worker asks the question, "What have the single taxers to say to a steamship trust?" Oh, they talk vaguely of taxing "unearned increment" out of landing places, which will enable any old dull scoundrel to compete with the modern trust ships, of course. And, of course, the fish trust will also go to pieces; ditto the trust, and other combines, when the tax quackery is applied. (Reb for John Johnson—Cleveland Citizen.)

## GROUND BROKEN

### For the New Brooklyn Labor Lyceum.

Work on the erection of the New Home for Brooklyn's Organized Proletariat Formally Begun on the Fourth of July.

On the afternoon of the Fourth of July ground was formally broken for the new Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. The exercises were witnessed by a large and enthusiastic crowd, comprising delegates and members of the Social Democratic Party, the Brooklyn Central Labor Union, the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Association, the German Trade Schools, various singing societies, turn-of-mind, and many other organizations of the working class. The place was gay with the red flags of the various bodies interested in the events. A better day could not have been desired and after the oppressive heat which had gone before, the workingmen and their families enjoyed the respite to the full.

Shortly after six o'clock Gottfried Webley, the president of the Labor Lyceum Association, called the assembly to order and briefly announced its purpose—to celebrate the breaking of ground for the new home of the organization, where the workingmen and their families could meet for their class-conscious political action, for the defense of their common interests in the daily trade-union struggle, for their social pleasures and recreation, for the education of their children into loyal and useful members of the working class.

He then introduced Algeron Lee, who spoke in English as follows: "All over the land today patriotic celebrations are being held. Politicians are making flowery speeches, telling the people that this is a great and glorious Republic, that the Americans are the greatest people on the face of the earth, that as the sanctimonious McKinley has said—'We know no classes in this fair land of ours.' They are reading that Declaration of Independence which was adopted a century and a quarter ago and which tells us that 'all men are born free and equal.' And every one who makes such speeches or listens to them knows, in the bottom of his heart, that they are not true."

### NOT FREE AND NOT EQUAL.

"If all men were free, we should not have 50,000 machine men on strike for the nine-hour day, 50,000 steel workers on strike against the tyranny of the benevolent Carnegie and the philanthropic Rockefeller, thousands upon thousands of workmen, all over the country, in all sorts of trades, enduring the hardships and dangers of a strike in order to defend some small part of their inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

"If this were really a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, we should not have judges declaring that it is lawful for capitalists to blacklist working girls, but unlawful for working people to boycott capitalists. We should not have judges issuing injunctions against trade unions and sending orderly workmen to jail for contempt of court."

"If all men were equal, we should not have hundreds of thousands of working people living in the foul atmosphere of the tenement houses, and dying by hundreds in this hot weather, while the men who own the tenement houses go off to the mountains of the seaside and amuse themselves."

"We know that there are classes in this fair land—I do not say this fair land of OURS; for it is not ours. It is not the workingmen's land. We know that there are classes—a ruling capitalist class and an oppressed working class. Everyone knows it. But not everyone dares to say it."

"We who meet here to-day—Socialists and militant workmen—dare to speak the truth as it is. We dare to see the facts as they are. We know that there is a class struggle and we say so. That is what we are organized for. In the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions, and the other labor organizations—to fight the battles of our class against the capitalist class. And we are resolved to continue that battle until victory shall reward our efforts—until, in the just society of the future, there shall be no class-divisions, neither master nor servant, neither capitalist nor wage-slave, neither millionaire nor pauper, but a harmonious Co-operative Commonwealth of free brother-workers, owning the means of production in common and enjoying the full product of their labor."

"Until that day comes there can be no peace. In spite of all the talk of political patriots and professional preachers of meekness and submission, it is the duty, as it is the interest, of every workman to fight for his class on every occasion—in the shop and the union hall and at the ballot box, too."

### LABOR'S REVOLUTIONARY IDEAL.

"This Labor Lyceum which we dedicate to-day stands as a monument of the devotion and class-consciousness of the workingmen of Brooklyn. The capitalists may look to the city hall, the court house, the prison, and the church as the buildings which embody their ideals. But here on this lot consecrated to Labor's use by the noble generosity of Dr. Frank Gorman, this building to be erected by the free contributions of thousands of working people—here will our ideals be embodied. Here is OUR city hall and court house, where workmen meet as brothers to discuss and settle affairs touching their common interests. Here

is our church, wherein will be preached the Religion of Labor, the Gospel of Socialism, the manly and womanly faith that is to redeem the world from oppression and misrule.

"Long may it stand and long may its walls resound with the laughter of the workingmen and women and children who come here for their social pleasures, with the notes of Labor's battle-songs raised by Labor's united voice, with the words of knowledge and inspiration from the lips of Labor's chosen teachers and leaders—until at last those walls shall echo back the song and shout of Labor's victory, the triumph of the Social Revolution."

A chorus of German singing societies, led by Director Lach, next sang "A better, aff!" in a most inspiring manner, after which William Seabert spoke in the German language. He said in part:

"A COMMON HOME FOR LABOR. 'The object of this celebration is the breaking of the ground for our new Labor Lyceum, to demonstrate the determination of the working class of Brooklyn and the vicinity that Labor shall again have a common home, to be raised by Labor's own efforts, where the working people may meet to plan and carry out their struggle for a better life, to organize themselves as a class, to work in all ways for the advancement of their class interests and for the betterment of their condition and for the complete intellectual and economic emancipation which is the final aim of all their efforts.'"

"This new home of our class will be a place of education for young and old. Here the wonderful progress of the world in science and art will be brought to the service of the working class. This institution will be especially dedicated to the education of our children, to training them in free aptitudinal thought and action, so that in the future they shall know their rights and know how to maintain them."

"Here also will I find a place of recreation after our daily labor, a place for free social intercourse, a place for song and music and for all that makes life pleasant."

### INDEPENDENCE IS COMING.

"And, above all, this will be the center of our agitation for the emancipation of the working class. In capitalist society to-day they are celebrating independence. One hundred and twenty-five years have passed by since the Declaration of Independence—but for the working class independence is still a dream. The capitalist system does not give us the benefit of its boasted freedom. The greater part of the people live in a state of subjection that can only be described as wage-slavery. But real independence is coming. In the Socialist movement we have the assurance of independence, of freedom, in the fullest sense of the word. And the building of this Labor Lyceum is a part of our work to that end, a means to be used for the Social emancipation of all mankind."

"Today we begin the work of erecting the home of Labor; and from this day forth let each do his part in furthering the welfare of the working class, which means the welfare of the whole human race. In union there is strength. We say to all: 'Workingmen of all countries, unite!' On, through trial and triumph, to victory for the Socialist ideal, which shall bring a higher civilization to all mankind!"

Amid loud cheers, Hermann Göttsch, one of the founders of the official Labor Lyceum, then came forward and stuck the spade vigorously into the earth, formally beginning the work of erecting Brooklyn's new Temple of Labor.

"With the singing of the 'Socialist March' the meeting broke up and the crowd then formed in parade, and, with drums beating and red flags waving above, proceeded to the Riverside Coliseum, to join the party picnic of the Social Democrats of Brooklyn. Here a pleasant afternoon and evening was spent, with dancing, games, and music. Everything was well arranged and the picnic was a great success."

### GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The quarterly general meeting of the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum Association will be held in the Turn Hall of the Labor Lyceum, Friday, July 12, at 8 p. m. Membership cards must be presented for admission.

### ARE YOU A CAPITALIST?

With a workman like Benjamin Hanford for mayor, instead of an Ice Trust stockholder, like Van Wyck, with a workman like Morris Brown for controller, instead of a Wall Street broker like Coker, with a workman like Henry Stahl for president of the council, instead of a corporation lawyer like Guggenheimer—can you imagine what the government of New York City would be like? There wouldn't be a little stirring up of things, wouldn't there? Mayor Hanford would use the police to enforce labor laws instead of arresting strikers. The contractors might not like Controller Brown, but the men who pave the streets would fare better. Stahl wouldn't introduce an ordinance to fine street-car conductors for letting people stand up in the cars; but he might improve the street-car service at the expense of the corporations' dividends. Capitalists have no reason to vote for these candidates of the Social Democratic Party. Are you a capitalist? If not, how are you going to vote?

"If you want to know what to do, workmen, find out what the capitalist class want to do—and then go the other way.—Seattle Socialist."

"It is not the men who produce everything who are taking their families to the seaside for the hot weather. The Workers' Call."

## CAPITALIST PROSPERITY.

### Now Supposed to Be Hovering Over Kansas Wheat Fields.

Misleading Stories of Unlimited Chances of Employment—Prosperity Always Somewhere Else—The Double Purpose of the Rumors.

Just at this time the newspapers are giving widespread publication to the report that men can get work in the Kansas wheat fields for \$3 a day.

This occurs periodically when the Kansas wheat crop turns out well and the farmers find themselves "short-handed." While the politicians deserve as much credit for a successful wheat crop as they do for a successful wheat harvest, yet the Socialism which is upon us as one reflecting the general existence of prosperity.

They evidently do not stop to consider that it is a poor prosperity that can present but one place in all the country where laborers are in demand and wages \$3 a day—that is, if such be the case in Kansas, and there is room for doubt upon the matter. Considering that the reports be true, it only establishes Kansas as the exception that proves the rule of unemployment in other states.

The press writers are also telling us that there is no excuse for idle workmen remaining in the cities, while such inducements for employment exist in the Western states. Only an in-born inclination to loaf can account for men turning their backs upon a gold-o'-opportunity to labor at such wages; their doing so but substantiates the theory that they are victims of their own shiftlessness and a lamentable lack of energy. Thus runs the argument of the dealers in current sophistical misrepresentation.

These assertions can be answered in a few words. Suppose that all the unemployed workers in the cities, or even a small portion of them, should migrate to Kansas. What would be the result? Nothing else than an overcrowding of the Kansas wheat fields, and the inevitable fall of wages to the lowest level desired by the farmers, who, like other employers, want to buy labor as cheap as possible. The poor expectant devils who would hurry from all quarters to Kansas, would not only have to work for far less than they had hoped for, but they would probably be lucky if they got work at all price. They might offer to sell their labor for. And it is this very condition that the originators and vendors of the deluding reports in question seek to bring about in the interest of the troubled authorities in the cities and of the employing class in the country. It is a scheme as old as it is awful in its results to the betrayed and disappointed seekers for a chance to work.

Again, it is no inducement to men or women who have worked and lived in surroundings completely opposite to those of farm life, to go to Kansas or any other farming state and perform the labor required of helpers and harvesters. To people accustomed to work indoors at certain tasks, lifelong application to which has rendered them practically unfit for anything else, it is terrible torture to be thrust into a harvest field and with bent back follow a reaper under a burning sun, from dawn till dark. Harder and more dispiriting labor than this can scarcely be found, especially to the uninitiated. There is little romance and much stern reality about it, and those who doubt it should try it. There would be less gliding at the despairing unemployed.

This Kansas agitation provides fresh proof that capitalist prosperity is a false and delusive thing, used by the capitalist retainers to pit the workers against each other, and to create new havoc among the suffering victims of social injustice. It furnishes fresh argument for Socialists to know the inconsistencies of the valuing social system, and the baseness of the beneficiaries of class rule and exploitation. The picture it unfolds to all who detect the glaring inequalities of the present and who dare essay the destruction of the system that produces these wrongs, should inspire us to greater deeds and more incessant labor for Socialism, the only cause which is the harbinger of hope for the workers of the world.

### BOSTON NOTICE.

There will be a joint meeting of Boston and suburban locals on Sunday evening, July 21, at 7:30 o'clock, at 905 Washington street, Boston, to consider matters of advice and instruction to the national delegate attending the national convention. Every member is expected to be present.

By order of the Arrangement Committee.  
S. E. PUTNEY.

"Socialism is coming to the front as a topic of public discussion. The capitalist press is forced to mention it. It is finding its way into the pulpits and into the schools, the magazines are being opened to articles on the subject and every day we see evidences of the far-reaching it is making. The commencement exercises of the St. Louis University held last week were devoted to a discussion in sociology and Socialism was the theme of several of the graduates, some declaring against it and one boldly championing it. The victory is half won when we force the enemy into a discussion and that part of the battle is almost finished. The argument has begun, and it can only end in one way.—Missouri Socialist."

## COURTS TO THE RESCUE.

### One More Blow Dealt Organized Labor by Arbiters of Class "Justice."

Federal Judge in Cincinnati, Ohio, Issues a Sweeping Injunction Against Striking Machinists—Is It Not Time to Boycott the Capitalist Parties.

One more injunction against organized labor has been added to the list. The striking machinists of Cincinnati, O., are the victims this time. A dispatch of July 3 says:

"Judge A. C. Thompson of the United States Court today allowed a temporary injunction against the striking machinists. The action had been anticipated, and as Judge Thompson is to sail for Europe next Saturday it was expected that Judge Clark would hear the case. When there was a prospect for an agreement between the parties, Judge Clark left the city on Tuesday for his home in Chattanooga. Judge Thompson was, therefore, called on to issue a temporary injunction. He said that upon the application and the affidavits accompanying it, a temporary order would issue, and the hearing on its merits could be had before Judge Clark next week."

### A SWEEPING ORDER.

The order was very broad. It enjoined the defendants from picketing or patrolling around the factories of the plaintiffs, and from guarding the doors of the streets in front of the factories and from interfering in any way with employees now in the factories, either there or at their homes; from intimidating their relatives or members of their families. It also forbade the use of violence, threats, or intimidation to induce any person to leave the employment of the plaintiffs or to prevent any one from entering into their employment."

It was very considerate of His Honor to work overtime, as we suppose he had to do, in order to get this injunction out for the benefit of the Metal Trades Association before starting on his trip to Europe. When workmen are about to start on pleasure trips around the world they should remember to follow his example, so that their masters should suffer no inconvenience.

### "ON ITS MERITS."

It is comforting to think, too, that the case to be heard on its merits a week after the injunction has been issued—unless Judge Clark happens to take a trip to Europe, too, or finds the weather too hot and decides to postpone the matter. If any of the strikers have any money to invest, we suggest that they bet three to one or sixteen to one, for that matter—that this second learned justice, when he gets around to it, will decide the case, "on its merits." In exactly the same way that the first learned justice decided it off-hand, without knowing anything about its merits. Such is the infallibility of the law. The bet would be a "sure thing"—only it would be hard to find takers.

### WHY NOT BOYCOTT THESE JUDGES?

Long it is not about time, considering the long list of injunctions and court decisions, all against Labor and in favor of capitalist interests, for the machinists, the printers, the cigar-makers, the miners, the workmen of all trades to unite in a new boycott—a boycott on the two old parties who put these judges on the bench to knock out labor laws and subjugate strikers? November 5 is the day for this big boycott. Fifty thousand organized machinists, 30,000 organized printers, 30,000 organized cigar-makers, 200,000 organized coal miners—think what a "class-conscious strike and boycott at the ballot box" would mean.

## CLEVELAND MOLDERS ARE ALSO ENJOINED.

"Persuasion, If Long Continued," Declared to Be a Nuisance When Practiced by Strikers.

The striking molders of Cleveland are also met with a sweeping injunction. Judge Wing of the United States Circuit court issued an injunction on July 8, at the application of the Otis Steel Company, forbidding Iron Molders' Union No. 218 and its officers and members from picketing the Otis Company's premises or "interfering in any manner whatsoever" with the business of the company.

It was shown that the strikers had conducted themselves entirely in peaceful methods; that neither violence nor threats had been used; that the strikers had merely persuaded men not to take their jobs in the Otis works or to leave the place if they had already gone in. In response to this the judge declared that "PERSUASION OF ITSELF, IF LONG CONTINUED, MAY BECOME A NUISANCE AND AN OBSTACLE."

This is perhaps the choicest declaration ever made by a court of the difference with which the principles of law are applied to capitalists and to workmen. No judge has ever thought of enjoining merchants from persistently and annoyingly soliciting people to buy their goods or employers from persistently and annoyingly soliciting men to enter or continue in their

employ at whatever terms the employer might suggest. But here a judge declares that if one set of workmen persistently seek to persuade other workmen not to work under certain conditions their action is unlawful and is to be enjoined, not on behalf of the scabs alleged to have been annoyed, but on behalf of their bosses who are making profits by their labor.

Certainly other judges have acted upon this principle, but to Judge Wing belongs the credit of having frankly stated it. The workmen should show their appreciation of Judge Wing's frankness by voting against his party and his class.

### SITUATION IN DAYTON.

Trade Unions Unable to Resist Manufacturers' Combination—Socialism Remains as the Only Remedy.

The situation at Dayton is anything but pleasing from a trade-union standpoint. The men made a long and hard fight against the united attack of the manufacturers, but the latter had every advantage on their side. The machinists are voting to go back to work at the employers' terms. The Davis Sewing Machine Co. agreed to take back all its old men at the old terms with the exception of two "agitators," and the union decided to submit. The two victims are officers of the union and active Socialists. The National Cash Register Company has made a "settlement" with the machinists, by which the latter gain little or nothing. The polishers and molders are still out, these departments being operated by scab labor, though without much success. Many of the strikers are leaving town to get work elsewhere.

The street-car strike is still on. Cars are run with a policeman by the side of each scab, although there has been absolutely no violence. The president of the street-car workers' union, Gus Linn, has been put under arrest to keep him from being of use to the strikers. Having no other pretext, the authorities charged him with calling a man a "scab." The only purpose is to keep him out of the way.

The Dayton Manufacturers' Company has sued the Metal Polishes' Union for \$25,000 damages resulting from "interference with the business." General Manager Kirby boldly announces that he will make the case a test case and will establish the individual liability of members for damages resulting from acts of the union. Of course, comparatively few workmen, in the unions or out of them, have property to be levied on; but if the company carries its point this will put another legal weapon in the hands of the capitalists for the persecution of workmen who dare to resist oppression.

Such methods as this, together with the use of the police to help the bosses and the free issuance of injunctions against the strikers, will go far to convince the rank and file that both the old parties are capitalist tools and that Socialism is what they want. A number of the officers of the Metal Polishers' Union are Democratic politicians, but this summer's experience will loosen their hold on the minds of the workmen.

The Social Democrats are keeping up their work here. In the Central Trades' Council a debate was held between the Socialists and the "direct legislation" people who oppose Socialism. By almost unanimous vote of the house, the Socialists whipped the "reformers"; only three or four taking the other side. President Mahone, of the street-car workers' union, spoke for Socialism. Comrade Wilshire will speak in Dayton on July 23 on "The Solution of the Trust Problem," and a good audience is assured.

### AROUND THE WORLD

Reaches the Transportation System Now Owned by Morgan & Co.

J. P. Morgan & Co. have purchased the Northern Pacific Steamship Company and the Washington and Alaska Steamship Company; and thus assumed control of a complete transportation system around the world, with headquarters in New York.

The first named company owns and operates steamships between Tacoma and Yokohama, Shanghai, and Hongkong. It also controls freight steamers, plying between Tacoma and London by way of the Suez Canal. The second company operates steamships between Tacoma and ports of Southeastern Alaska.

The Morgan transportation system now comprises the Leyland Line from New York to London, the Glen Line and Northern Pacific Steamship Line from London to Tacoma, and the Northern Pacific, Burlington Route, and Erie Railroad from Tacoma to New York. It is said that contracts will be let for building several large fast passenger and freight steamships for the Tacoma-Hongkong Line.

This adds one more to the arsenal of facts at the disposal of the Socialist, who declares that competition is a thing of the past and that the only choice is between the International Trust and International Socialism.

"I tremble to think of the failures that may come to some of you who are possessed of the brightest accomplishments," said John D. Rockefeller to the graduates of Chicago University. It is that kind of fear that not to try to compete with the Standard Oil Company, or is it only an admission that this old capitalist system is "dreadful and unrighteous?"—The Missouri Socialist.

More subscriptions for The Worker in New York City will mean more votes for Ben Hanford next fall. Do you realize that?

## "NEITHER SLAVERY NOR INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE."

A curious and instructive incident took place out in Kansas the other day, an incident that workmen may well think about.

It seems that the Kansas farmers have a large crop to harvest and cannot get men enough to handle it—or, at least, cannot get enough men who are willing to endure the excessive work and hard treatment that harvest hands generally get, for the sake of a few weeks' work at such wages as the farmers are willing to pay. This is what happened, as told in the press dispatches:

A train-load of immigrants on its way further west reached the town of Peterson, in Oage County. The farmers saw their chance. They organized a party—not a mob, you know—armed with shotguns and revolvers and held up the train a mile out of town. The trainmen were unarmed, so they had to obey orders. The enterprising farmers then cut off the two rear cars, containing the immigrants, ordered the engineer to proceed with the rest of the train, and proceeded to go through the cars and pick out their laborers.

The immigrants, having learned an absurd theory that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude" existed under the Stars and Stripes, naturally made such resistance as they could with sticks and other improvised weapons. After a severe fight, in which several persons were more or less seriously injured, victory perched on the banners of the eager employers and the immigrants were induced to make a free if somewhat informal contract to work through the harvest. When the crops are in they will be turned adrift and the same farmers who used shotguns and revolvers to compel them to go to work instead of proceeding to their destination, will be ready to use shotguns and revolvers in driving the "hoboes" and "foreign paupers" out of the neighborhood.

Are there no classes? Is there no class struggle? What are workmen going to do about it?

## FOR THE STREET CAR EMPLOYEES.

We hear a great deal these days about the bad service given by the street railway companies. People complain that the cars do not stop for them to get on or off. They complain that the cars run too slow for their convenience; at the same time they complain because so many accidents occur from the cars running too fast. They complain because open cars are run in cold weather and closed cars in hot weather. They complain because there are not enough cars to accommodate those who want to ride. They complain that conductors are sometimes insolent—and almost every one is well founded.

But there is one thing we do not hear much about complaint about and which is really the most serious of all the evils—and that is, the condition of the street-car employees. Passengers growl and write letters of protest when they have to stand during a half hour's ride, but they never give a thought to the men who have to stand from early in the morning till long after midnight, who hardly have time to make the acquaintance of their families and yet hardly get wages sufficient to keep their families alive, who have to work in all kinds of weather for fear of losing their jobs and yet have no certainty of not being arbitrarily turned off to "hustle" for another place to-morrow.

There is probably no large class of wage workers who endure greater hardships in the way of overwork, low wages, uncertainty of employment, and general bad treatment than the street-car employees. They are absolutely necessary to the life of the city. An hour's tie-up on any of the great lines disturbs the whole movement of the city.

## GREENBAUM TO TOUR STATE OF INDIANA.

Our active St. Louis comrade, Leon Greenbaum, is now speaking in Illinois and will spend the rest of the month in that state. After the convention he will make a tour of Indiana, giving the whole month of August to the work. He has already made engagements for thirteen towns, speaking under the auspices of trade unions, and he has fifteen dates open for unions or Social Democratic organizations. Labor Day is already taken. Any local in Indiana which desires his services should write him at once. His address is 4014 A. Grand avenue, St. Louis. The whole cost to each town will be \$4.75. Comrade Greenbaum is well versed in Socialism and familiar with the labor movement in general, and is an excellent speaker. It behooves every local in Indiana to try to arrange a meeting for him.

Does the constitution follow the flag, or does the flag follow the constitution, or does the flag follow the constitution, or does the constitution follow the flag, or where are we, anyway?—The Minneapolis Tribune (Rep.).

The incident is instructive enough in itself, especially if one compares it with the news of men fighting for a chance to work in other parts of the country. But especially interesting is the way in which the newspapers have treated it.

We have not found one capitalist paper which condemned the riotous and lawless conduct of these Kansas employers. The New York "Times" has been kept very busy of late denouncing as anarchistic and un-American the trade unions which refuse to allow their members to join the militia and approving the extraordinary injunctions issued against trade unions and the calling out of the militia to break strikes, and has ransacked the dictionaries for epithets to apply to workmen who, as it says, uphold the "freedom of riot." But here is a riot of employers—not a mere outbreak of angry passion, but a deliberately planned violation of the constitutional rights of workmen, enforced, not only with threats, but with the actual use of firearms; and the "Times" has not a word to say against it—nay, it rejoices in this evidence of our national proslavery!

No plainer lesson could be given to the working class than this. It is wrong for workmen to use methods of peaceable organized persuasion to prevent other workmen from taking their places when they are on strike. But it is right and praiseworthy for employers to use armed force to compel men to go to work in their fields.

Law and order is a good and precious thing for the capitalist class when it is practised by the working class. But its sacredness is thrown to the winds when it is a question of employers violating law and order in order to protect their profits!

Are there no classes? Is there no class struggle? What are workmen going to do about it?

## VICTORY IN HOLLAND

Social Democrats Show Greatly Increased Strength in Parliamentary Elections.

The Berlin "Vorwärts" brings the news, which has been carefully suppressed in the cable dispatches, of a great increase in the Social Democratic vote in the parliamentary elections held in Holland in the last week of June.

The new chamber consists of fifty-seven Clericals and forty-three anti-clericals. The Social Democrats have seven members; formerly there were only three Social Democrats, together with the "Independent Socialist," Van der Zwaag.

So the respectables want a "moral purification of the elements," do they? If the respectables who own the tenements did not get a quarter of the workmen's wages, in the form of rent, we could afford to tell them to look out for their own morals (which need mending) and let us look out for ours.



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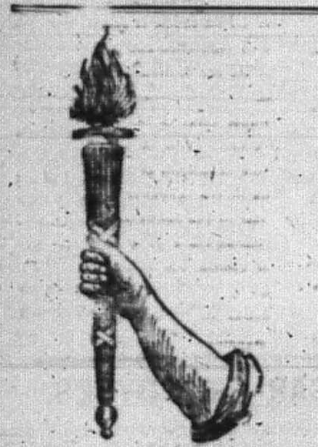
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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	2,069
In 1890 .....	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,127
In 1894 .....	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,564
In 1898 .....	82,804
In 1900 .....	9,545
S. D. P. ....	96,918
S. L. P. ....	33,450

NEW YORK CITY TICKET.

For Mayor—BENJAMIN HANFORD.  
For Controller—MORRIS BROWN.  
For President of the Council—HEN-  
RY STAHL.



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

The New York "Sun" will not sup-  
port Hanford for mayor. What will the  
printers do?

The time has come for the work-  
men of America to choose between the  
Trustified Empire and the socialist  
Commonwealth.

So Prince Hohenzollern, former chan-  
cellor of Germany is dead. Another  
enemy of Socialism gone, but Social-  
ism goes marching on.

There would have been fewer deaths  
last week if necessity had not driven  
many people to continue work when  
they should have been resting.

Maybe it is due to the fact that they  
are thieves on a large and impressive  
scale that the Seventh National Bank  
robbers have not yet been arrested.

The Ohio Republican convention was  
hosted by Hanna, the Democratic con-  
vention by McLean. The workmen  
who vote the old tickets have the  
choice which boss they will serve.

The cigar manufacturers who looked  
on thousands of men and women last  
year with not vote for Morris Brown  
and Henry Stahl. It is up to the cigar-  
makers who got locked out to express  
themselves now.

The increase of wages granted by  
Mark Hanna to his Cleveland street  
railway employees amounts to one cent  
an hour; and it is upon the influence of  
that paltry bribe that Mark expects to  
placate the workers' votes of Ohio.

Senator McLaughlin says: "God's pur-  
pose is in expansion." It was Napoleon  
who said that "God was on the side of  
the heaviest artillery." Just now the  
Republican party has the heaviest ar-  
tillery in the shape of the biggest bar-  
rel.

We do not agree with the position  
taken by several of the party papers  
on the question of "immediate resur-  
rection" in the party platform—as, for in-  
stance, in the extract from the "Social  
Economist" reprinted in another col-  
umn. But we agree that the program  
now appended to our national platform  
is very faulty and that a full discus-  
sion is timely.

A young woman of Providence, R. I.,  
committed suicide because the poverty  
of her family prevented them from en-  
joying a vacation. A single case of this  
kind shows the capitalist system not  
only as a failure, but as one that the  
billionaire class, the president and great-  
est of human passions with bitterness  
and disappointment, every woman, as

well as every man, should work to end  
the system that demands the assassina-  
tion of love for life's sake.

Ohio is to be congratulated on the  
fact that the old conservative gang has  
again got control of the Democratic  
party in that state. Instead of the  
Johnson crowd which has been "play-  
ing radical" and confusing the work-  
ingmen, the voters will now know  
where they stand, and the Social Demo-  
cratic Party will profit by a clear  
drawing of the lines.

"The great thing to be learned," says  
a charitable lady of Brooklyn, "is the  
use of 'left-overs.' If all workmen  
would consent to live every day on  
what was left over from yesterday's  
dinner, the social question would be  
solved. But then the charitable ladies  
would be out of their job. Horrible to  
think of!" The poor we must have al-  
ways with us," say these charity-  
mongers in their hearts; "else how  
should we find any amusement in our  
idle and useless lives?"

## A PARASITE, PURE AND SIMPLE.

Pierre Lorillard, who died the other  
day, was a capitalist pure and simple.  
Inasmuch as he had absolutely nothing  
to do with the operation of the tobacco  
industry, from which he drew an im-  
mense income. The development of  
that industry, and its consequent con-  
centration, enabled him to collect pro-  
fits without any exertion on his part,  
and left him free to devote himself en-  
tirely to sport and pleasure. As a fac-  
tor in the conduct or operation of the  
great tobacco plant of which he was  
part possessor, he was a complete non-  
entity; nevertheless, his wealth piled up  
year by year, while the existence of the  
employees whose labor made that  
wealth possible, grew more precarious  
and laborious. Lorillard was one of a  
type which grows more numerous as  
the evolution of industry proceeds—the  
capitalist parasite pure and simple,  
without even the pretense of a useful  
function. The tobacco industry will  
run along just as well now that he is  
dead as it did while he was alive. He  
serves as an object lesson to those who  
still believe that the capitalist is neces-  
sary to the life and well-being of so-  
ciety.

There is going to be a big legal battle  
over the will of Jacob S. Rogers, who  
got rich by having locomotives built  
for him by diligent wage slaves. Mr.  
Rogers has disappointed his relatives  
by leaving them a comparatively few  
thousands, while the Metropolitan  
Museum of Art gets \$800,000. Now  
the relatives are mad, hence the law  
suit. There seems to be no logical rea-  
son why these relatives should inherit  
what is called Rogers' wealth, which  
they do more helped to create than he  
did, and yet they expected to rake in  
the whole pile. Their position will be  
endorsed by thousands, and the wise  
and solemn judges may decide their  
claim to be legitimate. But when the  
Socialists demand that the wealth of  
the world should be enjoyed by those  
who create it, we are called harsh  
names and accused of wanting to "di-  
vide up." The relatives of the dead  
Rogers are not Socialists, but they be-  
lieve in "dividing up." Socialism will  
put an end to such shameful scram-  
bles over a dead man to divide up the  
expropriated wealth of the working  
class.

"THE BLESSINGS OF POVERTY."  
Of all the cant phrases that the apolo-  
gists of capitalism date upon, none is  
more insinuating than the hypocritical  
characteristic of class society than that  
which heads this article; none is more  
repelling to the mind of every honest  
thinking man, rich or poor.

How often have we all heard alike  
and comfortable clericalism, the espe-  
cial virtue of those calling out,  
one would think, to be truthfulness,  
painted glowing pictures of the happiness  
enjoyed by those who toil and sweat  
at manual labor. How often have we  
read editorials from the facile pens of  
well paid journalists, dilating upon the  
burden of anxiety borne by the million-  
aire. How often have we heard "self-  
made" capitalists, with political boss-  
es in their bonnets, tell of the joyous days  
of their youth, when they had to give  
every moment to the struggle with  
grim warts.

But do we find these clergymen  
seeking to change places with the show-  
ers of poverty-stricken flocks? Do  
we find these editors going back to the  
composing-room or the reporter's desk?  
Do we find these "self-made men" shak-  
ing up the wealth they might so easily  
divest themselves of, and going back to  
the life of poverty that they enjoy?  
Never. May we be clearly supposed that  
the only motive that restrains them  
from so doing is the consideration that  
they should thus rob others of the joys  
of toil and poverty and thrust upon an  
unwilling audience the burden of  
wealth?

Perhaps—let us make the estimate  
liberal—one out of ten who talk of the  
"blessings of poverty" is sincere. These  
are the men who have never been poor  
and who therefore know no better.  
They are much to blame for talking on  
subjects that they do not understand.  
The other nine can be properly dis-  
carded only by a name that it is not  
timely to use.

Let us say nothing of those who  
speak who suffer from actual hunger,

from winter cold and summer heat in  
their wretched tenements. Let us say  
nothing of those who see their wives  
and children sick and die for want  
of the medicines and the delicate and  
nourishing food that money would  
buy. Let us say nothing of those who  
are maimed and disabled through a factory  
owner's heartless economy, and who  
must live on as burdens upon those  
they love. Let us speak only of the  
minor evils of poverty—of the rain and  
voiceless raging of the workingman  
who sees his little ones, bright and  
eager to learn, forced from the school  
room to the factory; of the gnawing  
hunger in the soul of the poor man,  
cursed, as it seems, with a love of  
books or art or music, who sees his  
masters and their families thronging  
the lecture hall, the theater, the opera,  
whence his poverty excludes him; of  
the impotent shame of the wage  
worker who sees his young wife, ten-  
derly loved as any rich man's, grow-  
ing old before her time, crushed and  
worn by needless drudgery, and trying  
—oh, so hard—to hide her wretched-  
ness from him.

Let us speak only of these things,  
the lesser evils of poverty which enter  
into the lives of all the working class,  
and where the man with a heart in-  
stead of a stone in his bosom, whose  
blood does not boil in indignation at  
the iniquitous system that makes such  
things possible?

Shame upon those who willingly en-  
dorse such injustice! And shame—ten  
thousand times shame—upon the cant-  
ing hypocrites who defend it!

Unable to find work and aggravated  
by the heat, a workman in Brook-  
lyn ended his life the other day by  
jumping from the third story window  
of his home. He left a wife and sev-  
eral children. At a time when to work  
meant intense exhaustion and possi-  
ble death, this poor wage slave killed him-  
self because he could not get employ-  
ment. Whether idle or employed, the  
lot of the workers is one of misery and  
suffering. The battered corpse of this  
victim of capitalism is an answer to  
the assertions of prosperity coming  
from capitalism's supporters which all  
their bluster and buncombe cannot  
sweep away. A vote for Socialism is  
a vote against such suicides.

Let's see! Seems to us we heard a  
great outcry, some weeks ago, about  
the "Socialist" platform adopted by  
the Citizens' Union. Funny we hear no  
more about it. All the Citizens' Union  
is thinking about now is how to make  
a deal with Platt's machine in order  
to agree on candidates. Even those who  
objected at first are saying nothing  
against the platform now. They knew  
it was never meant seriously. The good  
citizens seem to be at one with the  
Tammany men in this—only they are  
not so frank about it. They believe,  
as Bill Xye once said, that "political  
platform is like the platform of a rail-  
way car—to get in by, not to ride on."

## MR. DOOLEY'S MEMORABLE JOKE.

Out of the mouths of the humorists  
comes much wisdom. Mr. Dooley has  
been studying the decision of the Su-  
preme Court in the Puerto Rican case  
and the only conclusion he can come to  
is this: "No matter whether the consti-  
tution follows the flag or not, the Su-  
preme Court follows the election re-  
turns." That is more than a good joke.  
It is a profoundly true saying. There  
is more political philosophy in it than  
in a whole library of the books which  
have been written in praise of the con-  
stitution and of the Supreme Court in  
particular.

We in America are taught in our  
school days to regard the courts, and  
especially the Supreme Court, with a  
superstitious veneration only paralleled  
by the regard which some religious  
sects pay to their high priests. Al-  
though we are not told in so many  
words that the Supreme Court is in-  
fallible, we are given to understand  
that it is the wisest and most impar-  
tial and incorruptible body on the face  
of the earth, that its decisions are the  
supreme and unquestionable law, and  
that it is entirely above all considera-  
tions of class interest or party policy.

The Supreme Court was especially  
designed by the conservative framers  
of the constitution as a check upon the  
will of the people and in this respect  
it certainly has no superior in any gov-  
ernment alleged to be democratic in  
form. But it is a great mistake to sup-  
pose that the ruling force which directs  
its action is essentially different from  
that of any other part of the govern-  
ment. In theory, the judges are sup-  
posed, not to make law, but only to  
explain and apply the existing law to  
such cases as come before them. They  
are supposed to enforce certain estab-  
lished principles, for which they pro-  
fess great reverence, and to be beyond  
the reach of those motives which may  
rightly influence the legislative depart-  
ment.

This is the accepted theory, but it  
does not tally with the facts. As Mr.  
Dooley says, "The Supreme Court fol-  
lows the election returns." Up to 1880,  
the infallible decisions of the Supreme  
Court, interpreting and applying the  
law and the constitution, supported  
every claim of the slaveholding class.  
After the election of Lincoln the deci-  
sions of the same infallible body were  
turned these established claims, and

since that time the Supreme Court in  
interpreting the law just as the legis-  
lative branch in making law, and the  
executive in enforcing it, has repre-  
sented the interests of the capital-own-  
ing class. In a word, the courts, from  
justice of the peace up to the Supreme  
Court of the United States, form a part  
of the political power—not something  
apart from and above it—and in ap-  
plying the supposedly unchangeable "prin-  
ciples of justice," always serve the in-  
terests of the dominant class.

This is worth thinking about in con-  
nection with the talk which we always  
hear in campaign time about the neces-  
sity of having an "independent, non-  
partisan judiciary." Especially is it  
important since this sort of talk plays  
a large part in the "labor politics" (as  
distinguished from Socialist politics)  
which just now so curses and misleads  
the working class.

Workers have good reason to be  
interested in the judiciary. The sever-  
est blows which the labor movement  
receives come, not from executive offi-  
cers or legislative bodies, but from the  
judges, who issue injunctions against  
unions, send men to jail for picketing  
strike shops or boycotting "unfair" em-  
ployers, and otherwise interfere with  
the workings of the labor organiza-  
tions. With exceptions so few that they  
may safely be ignored, the judges of  
all degrees and of both parties have  
proved themselves the bitterest ene-  
mies of the labor movement.

And yet, whenever an election ap-  
proaches, we hear labor politicians ad-  
vising the endorsement of this judicial  
candidate dominated by the Republi-  
can party and that one nominated by  
the Democratic party, in order that we  
may have a "non-partisan judiciary" that  
will dispense even-handed justice to all.

It is time that we should have learned  
by experience the folly of such a  
policy. It is time we learned that if  
we want judges to decide cases favor-  
ably to the working class instead of the  
capitalist class, we must use the politi-  
cal power of our numbers in a class-  
conscious manner. We must vote for  
representatives of our own class, upon a  
definitely partisan labor platform,  
for judges as well as for legislators  
and executive officers. When the  
workingmen follow such a course, even  
before they shall have succeeded in  
electing their candidates, they will in-  
spire the courts with a wholesome re-  
spect and fear of the power of Labor,  
which will constrain them from carry-  
ing out their inclination to serve La-  
bor's enemies.

If, for instance, the 85,000 organized  
workmen in New York City had all  
cast their votes for the ticket of the  
Social Democratic Party, they would  
not have elected their candidates; Book-  
staver and Freedman would still have  
been on the bench; but in the face  
of such a vote Bookstaver would never  
have issued his injunction against  
the printers or Freedman his in-  
junction against the cigarmakers. But  
so long as those workmen allow their  
votes to be divided between the two  
parties dominated by their em-  
ployers, so long the courts will con-  
tinue to be the tools of the capitalist  
class.

On the face of it, an "impartial judi-  
ciary" is as far as the labor question  
is concerned, an impossibility. The  
two classes of society are at war. The  
success of either means the failure of  
the other. It is necessary to the sta-  
bility of capitalist society and the pros-  
perity of capitalist business that  
strikes and boycotts be put down. It  
is necessary to the success of the labor  
movement that they be upheld. The  
judge, just as well as every other offi-  
cial of government, is compelled to  
take his stand on one side or the other.  
Impartiality is out of the question, and  
even though the judge be personally  
the most honorable of men, he will al-  
most inevitably take sides with the  
class in which he has been trained and  
with which he has associated, the class  
which controls and supports the party  
that has put him in office.

Whether the constitution follows the  
flag or not, the Supreme Court fol-  
lows the election returns. This is a  
fact. The value to me of the  
statement will have to be supplied a  
little. But for the present let it stand  
as it is, and let us press its truth.  
In order to prove or disprove any the-  
oretical statement, the best way is to  
get at the application of it to the sci-  
entific possible case. This is the sci-  
entific way of making experiments in  
every department of knowledge. It is  
as good in economics as in physics.

Let us, then, suppose such a case.  
We live, let us say, in a rude state of  
society in which industry is carried on  
by such simple means that each man  
can, on occasion, do any sort of neces-  
sary work. Nevertheless, there are the  
beginnings of special trades. One of  
us, for instance, whom we may call A,  
can hunt and fish and make canoes  
and spears and bows and arrows for  
himself; but he prefers to devote his  
time to making nets, at which art he  
is rather more skillful than others. The  
rest of us, therefore, get our nets of  
him and pay him in fish or game or  
other products of the labor. This is a  
rudimentary illustration of the economic  
fact, for our purposes, a good one. We  
need not ask, just now, whether such a  
society ever existed.

Having supposed our case, let us put  
the question: how much will A be able  
to charge for his nets? If he charges  
too little, he would find it more profit-  
able to go fishing and hunting for him-  
self. If he asks too much, the rest of  
us will make our own nets. A little  
thought will convince us that he will  
charge just what the market will bear.  
We need not ask, just now, whether such a  
society ever existed.

## SOCIALIST ECONOMICS.

Being an Attempt to Present  
the Main Principles of Sci-  
entific Socialism in Popular  
Language.

III.—WHAT IS VALUE?  
So much nonsense is talked, nowa-  
days, about "intrinsic" value, "supply  
and demand" and the like, that I  
must begin our study of economics at  
the very beginning, by finding out  
what "value" is, what gives things  
their value, what determines the  
amount of value a thing has.

I think it was Samuel Butler in  
"Hudibras," who said that  
"The value of a thing  
Is just as much as it will bring."  
That definition is true and has the  
merit of being short and simple. It is  
not full enough; it needs to be added to.  
But it is worth remembering. Value,  
we commonly say, is purchas-  
ing power. It is the power one thing  
has of commanding other things in  
exchange. It is a sort of ideal quality  
of things that appears only in states  
of society where goods are commonly  
exchanged, where commerce has come  
into existence, at least in a rude form.  
Among people who are not in the habit  
of buying and selling or of bartering  
things, however useful, have no value  
at all, in the economic sense of the  
word.

Value is purchasing power. But what  
gives a thing its purchasing power? First,  
of course, it must be a useful thing.  
First, of course, it must be a useful thing  
that satisfies some felt human want. My  
shirt is valuable. The smoke and ashes  
into which it is all too rapidly resolv-  
ing itself are useless. They cannot  
satisfy man's wants, hence they have  
no value. (Here I must guard against a  
misunderstanding of the word "use-  
ful.") Some of my friends tell me that  
clothes and beer are useless—more than  
useless, harmful. I shall not argue that  
question. I only point out that, when  
an economist says a thing is useful, he  
means that it satisfies some felt want  
of people. The value of the shirt is food-  
leth. Maybe it would be better not to  
satisfy it. But so long as people feel  
the want and wish it satisfied, the  
thing that satisfies it is, economically  
speaking, "useful."

But some useful things have no  
value. Air is useful, absolutely  
necessary. But it has no value, no pur-  
chasing power. Why? Because every-  
one can get it without labor. But catch  
Mr. Rockefeller and shut him up in a  
steel cage and he will pay you  
\$10 a cubic foot for it. Useful things  
have value when they cannot be got  
without labor. It is the necessity of  
working for them that gives things  
their value. If we each had an Alad-  
in's lamp or a Fortunatus' wishin-  
g-cap, the word "value" would drop out  
of our dictionaries.

The next question is: Why does one  
thing have more value than another?  
What determines the amount of value?  
Why is a loaf of bread worth five cents  
and a glass of beer worth five cents?  
The answer to these questions is: The  
three times as useful as the former.  
No one can say that the bread-pit sat-  
isfies three times as much human  
want, or gives three times as much  
pleasure, as the former. To a child,  
who has just had dinner the bread-pit  
may give a hundred times as much  
pleasure as the bread. To myself, at  
present, the bread-pit is quite useless.  
Yet if I had a gross of bread for one loaf  
of bread, I should value it more than  
\$10 a cubic foot for it. Useful things  
have value when they cannot be got  
without labor. It is the necessity of  
working for them that gives things  
their value. If we each had an Alad-  
in's lamp or a Fortunatus' wishin-  
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of our dictionaries.

Let us, then, suppose such a case.  
We live, let us say, in a rude state of  
society in which industry is carried on  
by such simple means that each man  
can, on occasion, do any sort of neces-  
sary work. Nevertheless, there are the  
beginnings of special trades. One of  
us, for instance, whom we may call A,  
can hunt and fish and make canoes  
and spears and bows and arrows for  
himself; but he prefers to devote his  
time to making nets, at which art he  
is rather more skillful than others. The  
rest of us, therefore, get our nets of  
him and pay him in fish or game or  
other products of the labor. This is a  
rudimentary illustration of the economic  
fact, for our purposes, a good one. We  
need not ask, just now, whether such a  
society ever existed.

Having supposed our case, let us put  
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society ever existed.

way to make nets twice as fast. For a  
little while, he can charge full price  
and live twice as well as other people.  
But then others will study the matter  
till they find out the secret and T and  
Z, going into the business, will com-  
pete with A and G and each other and  
bring the price of nets down 50 per  
cent.

So we must restate our law: The  
value of a thing is determined by the  
average amount of labor necessary to  
produce it by the methods commonly  
used.

I ought to say here, and I shall say  
it more fully in a later article, that I  
do not believe there ever was a primi-  
tive society in which competition work-  
ed quite as we have here supposed it—  
simply because in primitive society  
there is not much regular buying and  
selling. But of this more in another  
place. The case is good as an illustra-  
tion.

And this brings us to a possible ob-  
jection. Someone may say: Your the-  
ory is all right for a rude society, in  
which things are produced by direct la-  
bor, without capital; but in civilized  
society, where such vast and compli-  
cated machinery is used, it will not  
hold.

We answer: It is just in civilized so-  
ciety that this theory will hold best,  
because there competition of buyers  
and sellers works most freely. It is not  
so easy to see its workings, simply be-  
cause civilized society is so complex.  
It is not so easy to understand the  
workings of a watch as those of a  
windmill. But no one denies that the  
laws of mechanics apply to the com-  
plex as well as to the simple machine.

In order to show the truth of the law  
in civilized society, let us analyze the  
value of any product of modern indus-  
try—say a white shirt. What elements  
are there in the value of the shirt as  
offered for sale? The first answer is:  
Two—the value of the labor of the  
girls who cut and sewed it and the  
value of the material (muslin thread,  
buttons). But what are the elements  
of the value of the material? Taking  
the muslin alone, two—the value of the  
labor of the weavers, bleachers and  
the like and that of the material.  
Again, analyze the value of this ma-  
terial again. There is the value of  
the labor of the spinners and that  
of the raw cotton. Go a step farther  
back. The value of the raw cotton is  
the value of the labor done in raising  
that cotton—preparing the soil, putting  
in the seed, cultivating the crop, pick-  
ing and baling it, and transporting it  
to the mills. We might have traced  
back the value of the thread, buttons,  
bleaching chemicals and other ma-  
terials in the same way. Every particle  
of value in the finished shirt, if traced  
far enough back, is found to be origi-  
nally the value some human labor  
necessary to the making of that shirt.  
The shirt, as a valuable object, a com-  
modity, is simply so much crystallized hu-  
man labor.

But someone will object that I have  
left out of consideration the land on  
which the cotton was raised and the  
capital (machinery and the like) used  
in manufacture. No, I have not. The  
land did not supply one iota of that  
value. The land itself has no value  
except that given to it by human use.  
The rent, which some Southern land-  
lords get for it, and which helped to  
make up the price of raw cotton, was  
produced by the labor of workmen  
and women. It was paid with the  
product of their labor. As for the  
capital, it is true that some of the  
value of the machinery used went into  
the value of the shirt. And how much?  
Just as much as that machinery was  
worth out in spinning the cotton and  
weaving the muslin, for that shirt.  
When the mill is utterly worn out, the  
whole value, will have disappeared in  
the value of the myriad shirts it helped  
to make. And where did the value of  
the mill come from? Trace it back and  
you will find the value of the labor of  
millwrights, carpenters, and masons,  
coal and iron miners—the value of hu-  
man labor necessary to the making of  
the mill and ultimately to the making  
of the shirt.

Next week our subject will be: "The  
Value of Labor-Power."

## SONG OF THE WAGE SLAVE.

(These magnificent verses were written by  
Ernest Jones, one of the leaders in the  
English Chartist movement, and are, I think,  
as appropriate to the clearer and more  
vigorous Socialist movement of the present  
time as the old ones were to the  
movement of the last century.)  
The land is the landlord's.  
The tools are the toolmaker's.  
The ore is the miner's.  
The steel is the steelmaker's.  
The steam is the steammaker's.  
The cotton is the cottonmaker's.  
The wool is the woolmaker's.  
The iron is the ironmaker's.  
The coal is the coalmaker's.  
The sugar is the sugarmaker's.  
The flour is the flourmaker's.  
The bread is the baker's.  
The wine is the vintner's.  
The beer is the brewer's.  
The oil is the oilmaker's.  
The vinegar is the vinegar-maker's.  
The salt is the saltmaker's.  
The soap is the soapmaker's.  
The paper is the papermaker's.  
The ink is the inkmaker's.  
The paint is the painter's.  
The glue is the glue-maker's.  
The wax is the waxmaker's.  
The tallow is the tallowmaker's.  
The butter is the butter-maker's.  
The cheese is the cheesemaker's.  
The milk is the milkmaid's.  
The eggs are the egg-layers'.  
The chickens are the chicken-keepers'.  
The pigs are the pig-keepers'.  
The cows are the cow-keepers'.  
The horses are the horse-keepers'.  
The sheep are the sheep-keepers'.  
The goats are the goat-keepers'.  
The geese are the goose-keepers'.  
The ducks are the duck-keepers'.  
The turkeys are the turkey-keepers'.  
The fowls are the fowl-keepers'.  
The bees are the bee-keepers'.  
The ants are the ant-keepers'.  
The worms are the worm-keepers'.  
The flies are the fly-keepers'.  
The beetles are the beetle-keepers'.  
The caterpillars are the caterpillar-keepers'.  
The moths are the moth-keepers'.  
The butterflies are the butterfly-keepers'.  
The crickets are the cricket-keepers'.  
The grasshoppers are the grasshopper-keepers'.  
The locusts are the locust-keepers'.  
The cicadas are the cicada-keepers'.  
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The cr



## Over the Water

A Brussels dispatch of July 3 says: "The General Council of the Labor Party has issued a manifesto, to the public, maintaining that the government has forgotten the lessons of the past, and appears to be unaware of the power of Socialism, and adding that if the government refuses to listen to the people, the latter, conscious of the legitimacy of their rights and the justice of their cause, will fight for universal suffrage and secure it."

"The light has arrived for battle," says the manifesto, and it appeals to all Socialists, to organize demonstrations coincident with the reassembly of parliament. It concludes by saying that if the government fails to listen to the people, the latter will not shrink from a revolution."

Things are getting interesting in the East. The "Labor World," the Socialist trade union paper published by Comrade Katsanyi, offended the ruling class by publishing the manifesto and platform of the Social Democratic Party, and he is prohibited from further publishing any similar article.

Nevertheless, just as soon as the manifesto is published, the ruling class will have a new ally in the person of the "Labor World," which will be made a daily. They can't stop Socialism from coming.

The national convention of the Social Democratic Party of Germany will be held this year at Erfurt during the third week of September.

A general railroad strike for increased wages has begun in Western Australia, and there is a complete tie-up in consequence. The government, evading the railroads in Australia, but the capitalists also own the government.

A correspondent in Durban, British South Africa, writes: "Our organization in reading circle of the Social Democratic Federation is steadily increasing, and so is our library, which includes most works on sociology and science by authors well known to the Socialist movement. This enables members to acquire a thorough knowledge of the subject at a minimum cost. At present we are unable to do much more, owing to the rigor of martial law, which practically means Russian law. But when the Boer war is brought to the satisfactory conclusion anticipated by the international capitalist class we shall be able to teach Socialism in public to those whom our library fails to reach and gather into our fold the revolutionaries already manufactured by the aggressive and rapacious actions of the Chamberlain gang." Thus, wherever capitalism goes, it sows and unwittingly fosters the seeds of the revolutionary movement which is to destroy it. All success to our friends in South Africa.

The nine-hour day in Austria was carried after a great deal of discussion. The conservatives brought in a great many amendments, for instance, they tried to make five hours not counting the time occupied in going down the mine and in coming back to the bank, but they failed. A Socialist deputy reckons that the average working day in mines will be less than eight hours, and as in many cases miners now work ten, eleven, and even twelve hours a day, this is a great improvement. It will be remembered that in December, 1899, there was a great strike, more than 70,000 men coming out in favor of the nine-hour day. It failed, but this measure would never have become law but for that strike.

London Justice.

The International Socialist Bureau asks Socialist papers to reproduce the following communications from various comrades on the continent: Paul Vaneb, the secretary of the Czech Socialist Party, writes: "The delegates of our party to the International Socialist Bureau are Anton Nemes and Franz Somp, both of whom live in Prague, and the correspondent to the bureau is the general secretary of the party. According to the most recent information received, the party consists of 440 local organizations, with 17,427 members; 31 political groups, with 3,675 adherents; 231 educational societies, numbering 15,214 members; and 151 trade unions, with 17,647 associates. The Socialist Party has 11 political papers, two of which are daily, 17 are the organs of trade unions, one is a satirical journal, and there are scientific in character, making a total of 72, of which last year 8,246,000 copies were circulated. From January 1, 1898, to June 3, 1900, the party organized 223 meetings, 3,120 public conferences, 258 electoral gatherings, 4,546 branch meetings, and 5,003 committee meetings. The seat of the executive committee of the party is at Prague. The Socialist Party is a union of German, Polish, Italian, and Slavonic sections. The organ of the party as a whole is the "Pravda Lidu," which is published at Prague, and which has a circulation of 12,000. The other daily paper, "Delnicka List," is published at Vienna, 11 Kaxerhaus-Gasse. On the 21st of April our comrades held at Prague a meeting to protest against Caesarism, which was attended by a large number of workmen and students, and which was followed by a great open-air demonstration."

There are now fourteen Socialists in the local following or Parliament in the Farne Isles, two more having been successful at the recent elections.

The recent census in France shows a large increase in the population of a little over a quarter of a million since 1896, and this increase is mainly due to foreign immigration.

The recent general elections in Holland show an increase in the Socialist vote of 25,344 votes. In four years the Socialist Party has quadrupled its forces, but, unfortunately, Trotskism has been defeated.

W. Labner Sargent, a well-known Socialist of England, is dead. He was an

architect and the designer of the William Morris Labor Church at Leek, which is considered one of the most beautiful memorials to the great Socialist poet and artist in all England.

## PARTY NOTES.

Success has attended Comrade J. Spargo's trip through Massachusetts. Good crowds have turned out and local comrades express themselves as much pleased with the results.

"Advance" reports that a pretty good sized revival of interest in Socialism seems to be going on in San Francisco. The J. Stitt Wilson meetings and the open-air agitation meetings have been very successful. Arrangements are being made to have two more meetings, addressed by Wilson in the Metropolitan Temple, and also to have Vall address a couple of meetings in the same place.

"Mother" Jones spoke at Nuremberg, Pa., on July 4. She is reported in better health and spirits than for years.

Comrade Roche of Los Angeles, writes us from Escondido: "Johnny Murray, myself, a pair of mules, and a covered wagon made an assault upon this quiet burg last evening. As our result I send you seven subscriptions for the Worker. As another, we organized a local of the S. D. P. of fourteen members, right on the street corner where we held forth, and a better body of men it would be hard to find. They will do good work in this place, which has never known a Socialist organization before." The comrades are making a tour of the Southern part of the state and report good success all along.

The New York Socialist Literary Society has also begun holding open-air meetings.

Workingmen's Educational League of 312 E. Fifty-second street has begun its work of holding outdoor agitation meetings. The first meeting was held Friday evening, July 5, at the corner of Fifty-fifth street and Second avenue. Comrade Ed. Loewenthal presided, and with a neat speech introduced Comrade Phillips, who spoke for about half an hour, until the rain brought the meeting to a close. Several pamphlets and copies of the Worker were sold, and other literature distributed. The crowd showed much interest and the comrades hope that the elements will be more favorable next time. The league intends to hold an open-air meeting every Friday evening at the corner of Fifty-fifth street and First avenue, and would like to have the help of comrades living in the vicinity.

The Speakers' Club of the Workingmen's Educational League meets every Monday evening at the club rooms, 312 E. Fifty-second street. All who are interested are invited to join.

The following is taken from "Fatties," notes in London "Justice," the organ of the S. D. P.: "I am pleased to see by The Worker, the ably-conducted organ of the Social Democrats of New York, that our comrades, Spargo and Barry, have lost those who were their friends on the other side will gain, for Spargo has been addressing a series of large meetings during this month in various towns and cities in Connecticut and Massachusetts. I am sure that all comrades who knew him well will join me in wishing him success in his campaign."

Houston, Tex., has a new S. D. P. local.

Branch 2 of the 34th and 35th A. D. New York, has changed its place of meeting to the first and third Thursday evenings of the month. Meetings are held at the W. E. A. clubhouse, 3309 Third avenue.

The Young People's Social Democratic Club of Yorkville, which meets at the W. E. A. clubhouse, 296 East Eighty-third street on the second and fourth Thursday evening of each month, is doing good work. At the last meeting seven new members were taken in. A committee, consisting of Miss Ober, Fried, Spettie, and another, was elected to visit the Young People's Club of the Bronx to confer on methods of joint work. All young people of the Yorkville districts who wish to work for Socialism and enjoy themselves at the same time are invited to join the club.

The Worker Conference had a committee at work at the picnic of the Socialist Liedertafel at Union Hill, as well as at the party picnic of the New York and Brooklyn comrades, and their work was attended with good results.

## HANFORD AT BRIDGEPORT.

Benjamin Hanford, of New York, was the speaker at a picnic held by the Socialist Singing Society of Bridgeport, Conn., on the Fourth of July, for the benefit of the striking machinists of that city. He found attentive listeners, as the labor troubles have set the working people of the place to thinking.

The women of the working class of Bridgeport are also being brought into the labor movement. There are large concert manufactures, employing hundreds of girls and women. A recent attempt of the superintendant to establish new regulations, by which he hoped either to cut down wages or to force the employees to do more work, led to the organization of a large part of the force, with the result that the offensive regulations were withdrawn.

Comrade Hanford touched upon this matter by proving the value of organization and urged the working people of all sorts to act together, without distinction of race or sex. "Right and fight together," he told the ladies, and the last but not least, he spoke of the need for well as with the trade union, still you have organization wage slavery."

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## THE DETROIT CONFERENCE.

Served Chiefly to Show the Weakness of Reformers and Growing Strength of Socialism.

There are a few chronic reformers who may in future be driven by stress of their helplessness into some species of Socialism. The aim of the gathering, however, will be to show the weakness of any such sounding title as "The Annual Social and Economic Reform Conference."

Three hundred assembled in Detroit in the recent conference which adjourned July 3. Among this number were six Social Democrats. The evidence that this small group was the only active, sincere, and at the same time definite force in the field was not long wanting.

Gladly the much heralded "New Third Party" group met. A most interesting and instructive meeting of about an hour's duration was held. Mayor Jones, laying his hand on his heart, announced his independence of parties of all kinds. George Fred Williams endeavored to map out the ground on which the new edifice was to be built. Comrades Simons and Wilshire, the only Socialists present, were allowed a few minutes.

The meeting also unanimously adopted straight Socialist resolutions, and recomended to the conference that they be likewise and send a delegate to Indianapolis.

The desire for harmony on the part of those having the conference in charge was acquiesced in by the Socialists present. A platform was adopted with the sole purpose of discovering on what matters the entire convention without dissent could agree. This platform may be considered interesting; it was intended for nothing else. Next the resolutions adopted by the Socialist group were introduced. They ran thus:

"Resolved, First, that the producer should have his product.

"Second, that the only guarantee of this result is the ownership by the producer himself of the land and machinery necessary to production.

"Third, that inasmuch as it is an economic law that industry operated on the largest scale is the most economical and therefore the most desirable, the people should own and operate all industry upon such a scale. Fourth, that in the building trades the people already have at hand, in their various city, state, and national governmental organizations, the necessary framework for the construction of an organization for the operation of industry, the people, through these various governments, take over all the land and machinery for their own joint ownership and democratic management in order that they may be able to distribute to themselves what they produce.

"Fifth, that to attain this result we deem necessary the success of the political party representing the class which desires these ends."

The resolutions were voted, upon seriatim, and with some immaterial modifications they were all passed by comfortable majorities. Later it was moved that the resolutions as a whole be laid upon the table. The vote was passed, as many had personally promised the management that they would vote for nothing of a political nature while present in the conference.

The conference displayed unexpected strength. The harmony which was so much boasted existed solely on the tolerance of the Socialists present, controlling as they did, a majority. It was due to a recognition of the absolute futility of any action on the part of the conference. As the field was very ripe for the plucking, much good propaganda work was carried on.

W. G. W.

## AT WORK IN LOS ANGELES.

Comrade Olga Wirtschart of Los Angeles writes under date of July 1:

"Local Los Angeles is working harder than ever to make 'Socialism' and the 'people's friends.' Our meetings are kept up with the utmost regularity, our debates wax hotter at every succeeding meeting, speakers are coming and going in short, we are doing 'everything' that a small band of energetic workers can do. Our state organizer, Scott Anderson, has just left us, after a hard week's talking. Mr. J. Stitt Wilson, the 'Social Evangelist' of Chicago, is in this city just now, holding a series of lectures. He is evidently very popular in California, for he draws large audiences wherever he speaks. However, the best event is still to come, namely, the arrival of Comrade Val, who is due here some time this month."

"We held a dance a few weeks ago; had a large crowd, and consequently, had something to add to the 'Delegate Fund.'"

"The most interesting question debated during the last month was, 'Resolved, That Socialist propaganda could be made more effective without the use of party organs.' Comrade Spring taking the affirmative, and Comrade Holmes the negative. By their vote, the audience showed clearly that 'party organs' are all right, although some of them might be improved."

"In our local—and I suppose it is the same in all others—everybody is discussing 'unity,' 'delegates,' and last, but not least, 'funds.' We are doing well in regard to the funds, the organizer alone having collected over \$50. I hope every local has done at least as well as we have. This convention is certainly one of the most important events in the history of the movement. Unity of all the Socialist forces! Just think what it means! It means that we will now use all our energy to fight the capitalist, to bring the workmen to their senses, instead of quarreling and fighting among ourselves. Work for unity."

The comrades of the 34th and 35th A. D. English branch, have undertaken to hold an open-air meeting every Saturday evening at the corner of One Hundred and Forty-eighth street and Willis avenue. The branch has chosen a campaign committee, consisting of Comrades Van Dull, Sign, Finger, Lewis, Noble, and Fryson, and intend to leave the large vote which these districts cast last fall.

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## The Economic Struggle.

The Amalgamated Leather Workers' Association of America is the name of a new international union formed at Philadelphia on July 5. It starts out with twenty-six local unions and a reported membership of 8,000. Marcellus White of Philadelphia is president, and Dennis Healy of Lowell, Mass., secretary. The new organization affiliates with the A. F. of L.

American Federation of Labor issued charters to 120 locals, 12 central bodies and one state branch during the month of May.

International Typographical Union had \$33,841.61 in its treasury June 25.

The Cleveland "Citizen" says: "The new United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, patterned after the old A. R. U., is reported as 'growing rapidly to the front' on the Pacific coast. The old brotherhood organs are making sharp attacks on the new organization. In the West it is beginning to dawn on the unionists that a great fight is coming with the railway trusts in that country, which the Eastern workers will be forced into conflict with the iron and steel octopus. The Westerners assume to believe that J. J. Hill, not J. P. Morgan, is the coming railway king of America, and that he is the genius who is now directing the continental consolidation. He is described as a man of remarkable ability, and as cold and heartless as the rails of his iron highways. He hates organized labor with the ferocity of an annoyed tiger, especially since he was defeated by the A. R. U. several years ago, and if a single screw will strike with all the power at his command. Whether the notification to the employees of the Southern Pacific that after sixty days present wages will not be paid is the beginning of Hill's plan to break the power of union labor, time alone will determine."

The quarterly bulletin of the New York department of labor indicates that the ratio of unemployment in this state is rather higher than it was last year. The figures are those collected from labor organizations and show, for the first three months of the year, an average of 11.3 per cent of the workmen unemployed, while for the same period last year the average was 10.1 per cent. In the building trades, the condition is considerably better than it was last year, but in all other trades it is much worse.

That there is a class war is made plainly apparent by the reports published daily in the press. Strikes and other manifestations of discontent on the part of the workers are general throughout the country. Naturally the capitalist judges have been kept busy turning out injunctions, which are growing more sweeping every day. The strike of the workers in the mills of the American Sheet Steel Company and the American Steel Hoop Company in Ohio and Pennsylvania has attracted most attention, as both companies form part of the great steel trust, and this is the first real contest between the trust and the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. The trouble arises from the action of the companies in closing out several of their mills from the new wage scale of the association. It is believed by the steel workers' officials that this is the first step toward inaugurating a "war of extinction" on the trade unions. Several thousand men are out. A joint conference of steel trust and association officials was called for Thursday, with a view to effecting a settlement of the strike. The National Metal Trades Association has refused to back the company's position, and the difference which caused the machinists' strike, which is progressing favorably in the various cities. Broad injunctions against striking machinists, marble workers, and molders were granted at Cincinnati and Cleveland.

The strike of workers employed at the Reading Railroad shops at Reading, Pa., shows signs of continuing for an indefinite period. The strikers have rejected all the propositions coming from the railroad management, holding out for definite terms as to wages and the recognition of the union. The Reading Iron Company strike, involving 2,000, is still on. At Ashtabula, Conn., two striking machinists were badly slashed by a razor in the hands of a "scal" whom they were peacefully escorting from the city. Scab was hailed out by machine company. At Vancouver, B. C., a strike of salmon fishermen nearly culminated in a riot on Tuesday. Three thousand Japanese took the place of the local Canadian fishermen.

Both sides were armed, but the Japanese are reported to have had superior numbers and ammunition, and they were successful. Strike of building trades at Easton, Pa., remains unsettled, with ranks of strikers growing. Brewery employees of the big breweries at Washington, D. C., are on strike for an increase of wages, and a beer and ice famine is on. A press dispatch states that striking miners attacked scabs and boarding houses in Colorado, and that miners at Telluride, Col., on Wednesday of last week, and after killing two men and injuring the superintendent, succeeded in closing the mine. Pueblo "Courier" states that non-union men fired Sheriff Governor has appointed commission to try and settle the difficulty. At Paterson, N. J., on Tuesday, strikers at the Frank & Dupan mill on trial for contempt of court in disregarding injunction, were sent to the county jail. Vice Chairman Pitney rose in answer to protest of strikers' attorneys, that it made no difference whether witnesses for the prosecution told the truth or not. A general strike of 15,000 coal tailers in New York, Brooklyn, Brownsville, and Newark may be declared in a few days, in order to get higher wages and abolish contractors. The movement among trade unionists to prohibit members from belonging to Vice Chairman Pitney rose in answer to protest of strikers' attorneys, that it made no difference whether witnesses for the prosecution told the truth or not. A general strike of 15,000 coal tailers in New York, Brooklyn, Brownsville, and Newark may be declared in a few days, in order to get higher wages and abolish contractors. The movement among trade unionists to prohibit members from belonging to

Complaint was made by the Rock Drifters' Union that the contractors on the rapid transit tunnel, in violation of the eight-hour law and of their agreement with the union, are still working men overtime. The C. E. U. is getting abundant evidence, in complaints of this sort, of the evils of the profit system, and in particular, of the evils of the profit system.

Comrade Isaac Cowen of the Amalgamated Association of Engineers, spoke on the situation in the machinists' strike. He pointed out that, while a large number of employers in different states had granted the demands of the men, the union had still a desperate fight on, as shown by injunctions issued against them in Milwaukee, Cleveland, Dayton, and Cincinnati. He dwelt on the effect of machine making upon the working class for a human existence, and did not fail to point out how capitalist officials were serving in the interests of the exploiters.

Delegate Pallas of the Pattern Makers reported that his organization had voted \$100 for the machinists and the same sum for the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum.

The financial secretaries of the subdivisions are requested to send in at once their reports on the financial condition of their units. In order to submit our reports to the national and state committees.

Regular meeting of the General Committee on Saturday, July 13, at 8 p. m., at the 24 A. D. P. M., at the Manhattan Hotel, 69-68 E. Fourth street, Manhattan. All members should attend. Membership cards should be taken along to insure admission.

On Thursday evening, July 12, a public meeting will be held under the auspices of the 24 A. D. P. M., at the Manhattan Hotel, top floor. Good speakers will address the meeting. All are invited.

The American Cereal Company will absorb the Great Western Cereal Company, which was organized to fight the first-named company.

Consolidation of the Carroll Street Car Company, the Edison Electric Company, and the Merchants' Electric Light Company of New Orleans with a combined capital of \$7,500,000.

What is reported to be a rival to the Standard Oil Company is the Houston Oil Company, the charter for which has been filed in Houston, Tex., with a capitalization of \$80,000,000. Its articles embrace provisions for owning lands, prospecting for and marketing oil, operating pipe lines, and steam ships.

The city and suburban railways and the gas and electric lighting and heating plants of Baltimore will soon be united into one consolidation. The Standard Oil Company, it is said, is behind the deal. It is proposed, in connection with the scheme, that the water power of the Susquehanna River will be used to run the great dynamos.

A combination of cardboard manufacturers is being organized. It will include the principal concerns of the country and have a capital of \$20,000,000.

Fifteen independent telephone companies of Northern Indiana are said to be preparing to consolidate under one financial management, though each is to retain its local individuality with its local board of directors.

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## IN THE CENTRAL FEDERATED UNION.

Barring of Militiamen from Trade Unions Is Endorsed by the Central Body.

The most interesting feature of last Sunday's session of the New York Central Federated Union was the discussion raised by Delegate Barr of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Association, who asked the C. F. U. to pass a resolution endorsing a by-law adopted by the Metal Workers forbidding any member to belong to the regular army or navy or the state militia except in case of foreign war.

The resolution of endorsement was passed and referred to the affiliated unions after a lively and sometimes bitter discussion, in which Delegates Barr, Harris, and others defended it and Delegates Kelly of the Theatrical Employees spoke almost in opposition.

It was evident that with the exception of Kelly, who talked in good Fourth of July style about "the best and greatest country under God's firmament," the delegates were all agreed in recognizing that the military power of state and nation is regularly used for the oppression of the working class. It was pointed out that many other unions had adopted similar regulations and on the strength of this fact some delegates seemed to prefer dodging the issue in the Central Federated Union.

A letter was read from Corporation Counsel Wilson in regard to the responsibility of the department of lighting and supplies for inspection of electric wiring in private buildings. Whalen says that this department alone is responsible for such inspection, while it is claimed in the C. F. U. that the department has no men competent to perform the duty. This is only one more of the many instances in which the city government fails to perform its duty and throws responsibility from one department to another in order to confuse those whom it should serve and protect. The matter was left in the hands of the Committee on Law and Legislation.

Complaint was made by the Rock Drifters' Union that the contractors on the rapid transit tunnel, in violation of the eight-hour law and of their agreement with the union, are still working men overtime. The C. E. U. is getting abundant evidence, in complaints of this sort, of the evils of the profit system, and in particular, of the evils of the profit system.

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## OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary, Wm. H. Rutter, Room 20, Theatre District, Court Square, Springfield, Mass.

THE SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO.—134 William street, New York City. (The Party's Literary Agency.)

CALIFORNIA STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, John M. Reynolds, 422 Sutter Street, San Francisco. Meets on first and third Fridays in the month.

CONNECTICUT STATE COMMITTEE—W. E. White, 229 Exchange street, New Haven. Secretary. Meets second and fourth Sunday of the month at Aurora Hall, 135 Union street, New Haven.

ILLINOIS STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, R. M. Morris, 314 E. Indiana street, Chicago. Meets second and fourth Fridays in the month, at 65 North Clark street.

KENTUCKY STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, Albert C. Johnson, 2314 West Main street, Louisville, Ky.

MARSHUSETTS STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, Albert C. Johnson, 2314 West Main street, Louisville, Ky.

MICHIGAN STATE COMMITTEE—Secretary, Charles Ne



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**THE LIFE OF KARL MARX.**

No one man is the founder of Socialism, but to one man belongs the honor of first stating the fundamental principle.

work to enlist the attention of the world's workers. That man is Karl Marx. We in America know too little of his life, so that the new translation of the biographical memoir by Wilhelm Liebknecht will be useful and welcome. It is a charming story full of human interest, and the style of the original has been well preserved by the translator, Prof. E. Internerna, the assistant editor of the *Internationale*. 8-cents. Review. It is a book of 181 pages, handsomely bound in cloth, and the price, including postage, to any address, is but New ready.

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## SHAMEFUL BETRAYAL.

An Example of "Organized Scabbery" as Practised by the S. T. & L. A.

Double Treason of DeLeonite Organization in Strike at the Sprague Electrical Works at East Orange, N. J.

The electrical workers who struck in sympathy with the S. T. & L. A. at the Sprague Electrical Works in East Orange, N. J., are very bitter against that organization now. While they do not dare to talk much, on account of an order from the firm forbidding any discussion of the strike, they feel that they have been sold out or betrayed.

There were 34 Alliance men in the shop when the strike began, and about 150 electrical workers, belonging to the Electrical Workers' Union. The former body comprised the strike workers and it was they who struck. Their demands were: Reduction of time from 55 to 54 hours a week, with 60 hours pay. The electrical workers, who are paid by the piece, had nothing to gain by the strike, but on being asked to come out in sympathy, they promptly complied. They did not even wait to ask the consent of their national body, feeling that in order to make the strike effective they must act promptly. As a result of their striking without the consent of the national union, they received no strike benefit—that being a provision of their constitution.

Some of the men got temporary employment elsewhere, but most of them were forced to remain idle and it was not long till serious hardships began to be felt. And here comes in the first grievance against the S. T. & L. A.

Public sympathy was with the strikers and considerable amounts of money and provisions were given for their assistance. These funds and stores were handled by the S. T. & L. A. committee in charge of the strike, and the men in charge that absolutely no share in the money was to be taken by the men who had gone out in sympathy, but all was divided among the Alliance men. One electrical worker, who applied to the committee was laughed at, and told that he had no claim for benefits, but that he might have "all the charity he wanted."

This, however, is not the worst of the story. The climax came in the fifth week of the strike, or about, three weeks ago. A rumor then spread that deputies were to be brought to break the strike, and the question was submitted to both organizations whether it would be to continue the strike under such circumstances.

The electrical workers, after some discussion, voted unanimously to stand out to the end. How the Alliance actually voted only its own members know, for all its sessions were secret, not even the delegates of the union that was striking in sympathy being allowed admission.

## TO INSTRUCT THE DELEGATES.

General Meeting of Members of Local New York for That Purpose.

A general meeting of all members of Local New York, S. D. P., will be held in the large hall of the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, Sunday, July 21, beginning at 2 p. m. The purpose of the meeting is to give instructions to the delegates to the Indianapolis Convention. Members should come promptly at the appointed hour. Membership cards must be shown at the door.

## "LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS."

N. Gaylord Wilshire Speaks in Hamilton Fish Park Friday Evening.

On Friday evening, July 19, N. Gaylord Wilshire, of Los Angeles, Cal., and Benjamin Hanford, Social Democratic candidate for mayor, will speak at an open-air meeting to be held in Hamilton Fish Park between Stanton and Houston and Pitt and Willet streets.

This is the only meeting Comrade Wilshire will address during this visit to New York. He expects to return next month. Readers of The Worker should attend this meeting and make it a success.

## POISONED FOR PROFIT.

Analysis of milk purchased for the patients in the county hospital at Chicago showed that it contained formalin in proportions sufficient to cause or hasten the death of sick persons and to be injurious to those in good health.

Formalin is one of the various substances used to preserve milk. Undoubtedly a large part of the milk sold in the large cities contains such preservatives, some of which are highly injurious to health.

It is the desire of profits, of course, which prompts the use of poisonous preservatives in milk, as well as other food adulterations. So long as the supply of food for the people is a private industry run for profit, there will be the temptation to such criminal practices. Even severe penal laws can only somewhat reduce the extent of the abuse; they cannot stop it altogether. Socialism would remedy the evil by removing the motive. In the interest of public health—especially the health of the poor, who are obliged to live on "cheap and nasty" food—there is growing urgency for the Socialist proposition to take the industry out of the realm of profit-making and conduct it at cost for the public service.

## THEY WOULD REJECT CARNEGIE'S GIFT.

The San Francisco Labor Council has passed, by a nearly unanimous vote, a resolution advocating in strong terms the rejection of Andrew Carnegie's offer to give the city \$750,000 for a public library.

We are not informed whether the action was directly due to the work of Socialists in the Labor Council; but, however that be, it is pleasing to Socialists as showing the growth in the ranks of organized labor of the feeling of class-consciousness which we strive to cultivate.

## SUMMER NIGHT'S FESTIVAL.

The Workmen's Educational League will hold a package party and summer night's fête at its club house, 312 E. Fifty-second street, on Saturday evening, July 20. The following is an incomplete program:

Photograph selection, piano recital, Miss Adele Stern; solo, Miss Adele Lederman; recitation, Margaret Moss; photograph selection, solo, Miss Marion Jahnowski; recitation, E. Loewen; piano recital, Miss Wase; recitation, Wm. Matly; photograph selection, recitation, Isabelle Reichenthal.

In addition to the above, many others have volunteered their services, who will prefer to have their names withheld for the present. The summer garden will be artistically decorated for the occasion, and here refreshments will be served. The beautiful album for which tickets have been circulated for some time, will also be raffled on this occasion.

Those who have attended the past affairs of the club need no assurance that a good time is awaiting those who attend. No admission fee is charged, and no money upon all to be present with their friends and to help make the affair a roaring success.

## TRYING TO ESCAPE RESPONSIBILITY.

These leaders are now trying to avoid responsibility for the crime committed by their organization at the Sprague works. At its last meeting, the General Executive Board of the S. T. & L. A. has voted that the strike at Sprague was "purely and simply a shop affair," and thinks thus to wash its hands of all connection with the matter. It explains, also, that the matter published about this strike is too

## LESS TIME; MORE WORK.

How the Capitalist Gets Around the Shorter Work-day Movement.

Both in America and in England, as Hours of Labor are Reduced, Machinery is Speeded Up and Intensity of Labor Increased—A Problem That Only Socialism Can Solve.

A Connecticut dispatch says: "One noticeable effect of the strike which has just been declared off in Waterbury is that henceforth a smaller gulf between the machine and the worker of the S. T. & L. A. with its loud boasts and its poor performances, and they are learning the difference between the so-called Socialists of that body, who use machinery and abuse to injure the labor movement, and the real Socialists of the Social Democratic Party, who stand true to their colors in the daily battle in the shop as well as at the ballot box."

## THE SAME IN ENGLAND.

"Attention is called by one of the English trade papers to a new and peculiar trouble among the cotton operatives in Lancashire, a result of the shorter working day which the labor unions of the district have succeeded in establishing. A system of overdriving is said to be growing up, and according to the reports of the labor leaders it is fast becoming intolerable. The foremen, or 'overlookers,' receive a percentage on the earnings of the weavers under their control, and it is asserted that these overlookers go around the mills with a slide to note what each weaver has earned, and put in a conspicuous place on pay day the amount each operative has earned on the looms. Opposite the names of those earning under the average, it is stated, a cross in red ink or a ring around the amount is placed, this being a warning that unless the average is kept up the weaver will lose his or her place. It is affirmed that this driving system has involved such a strain as to make the lives of many factory workers miserable, and various meetings have been held, at which the practice has been condemned, and a strike at the mills where it prevails is talked of. The employers assert that the complaints are exaggerated. They say that the 'speeding' of machinery has been the inevitable outcome of the reduction of the hours of labor, and that competition compels them to secure weight of production in a given time. Some similar complaints can be heard in this country by those who will question our skilled mechanics. A carpenter, for instance, said the other day, that the supervision of the men in his trade is vastly more rigorous than it used to be, and any relaxation of activity in working hours is instantly noticed and reprehended by the bosses, who make every effort to prevent the shortening of the day from increasing the expenses of production. As a consequence, the added hours of leisure are gained at the cost of a weariness equal to, if not greater than that which followed the long day's work of other times. These, of course, are effects to be expected in a period of transition, and may pass away in time, but they have made some mechanics doubt if the change for which they have fought so hard and long is yet a real advantage to them."

## A PROBLEM THAT MUST BE MET.

This condition presents a problem that must be met. The assurance that the overdriving is "an effect to be expected in a period of transition" and may pass away in time, is, as Hagan says, "interesting but not conclusive." No one has yet discovered a way whereby a capitalist, after having contrived to increase the intensity of his employees' labor, has willingly reduced it—no matter how the overwork might injure their health and shorten their lives. So long as the wage system lasts, so long as labor power is a mere commodity to be bought in the market, so long it will be cheaper to work the "hands" up to the highest limit of endurance than to treat them like human beings with human rights and feelings.

It is a matter that workmen and especially trade unionists may well keep in mind in their fight for shorter hours. If the working week is reduced by an hour or two but the men are compelled to do more work than they did before, it is evident that the added leisure is of little value to the overworked workers, while the capitalist is getting a larger share of the product of his employees' labor than before.

The capitalist has more ways than one of meeting the demands of the workers. If it pays him to revolt, he has the resources with which to fight and he has the power of the government behind him. But often he finds it wiser to yield in form and then, by some ingenious trick, to take back all that he has given.

Socialism alone will settle the question and settle it right. For Socialism will make the working class the owners of their means of production and the masters of their own lives.

## GIRLS ON STRIKE.

The Ladies' Shirt Waist Makers' Union held a mass meeting Tuesday night at 88 Forsyth street, on behalf of the striking employees of the National Shirt Waist Company. In spite of the heat, the hall was filled. Comrade Miller spoke in Jewish and Comrade Loewen in English.

This strike is now in its fifth week and about 100 girls are out. It is a defensive strike. The employees got wind of the employers' intention to reduce the already low wages and began to join the union. The boss then began to discharge those who had joined, and the whole force struck, the cutters going out in sympathy. An attempt has been made to get scabs, but less than thirty have been secured and these are said to be doing poor work.

The strikers have shown a splendid spirit of solidarity and resolution, but they have a hard fight to make and any assistance will be welcome. Sympathizers are requested to give what they can afford, even if it be very little. Contributions should be addressed to the "Volkszeitung," specifying that they are for the striking shirt waist makers.

## WORKING GIRLS FINED.

Paterson Judge Imposes Fines Equal to Two Months' Wages and Says He Has "Dealt Very Leniently."

The New Jersey courts have taken active measures to assist the capitalists in crushing the strike at the Frank & Dugan silk mill in Paterson. These girls have been on strike for many weeks and the universal sympathy of other wage workers is with them—as should be that of all decent men and women who know the hard work, wretched wages, and tyrannical regulations which prevail in the silk mills. Humanely, however, courts for nothing either with the capitalists who make their profits by such oppression or with the judges and public officials who owe their election to capitalist influence.

The girls have used the usual method of persuasion to dissuade other workers from taking the places of those on strike and where simple persuasion has not sufficed the strikers and their sympathizers have not hesitated to express their well-founded contempt for the scabs by derisive cries and songs.

The courts issued an injunction against such "serenading" to protect the tender feelings of the scabs and the pocketbooks of the bosses and a number of arrests were made. Vice-chancellor Pitney added to the contemptibility of his court last Friday by inflicting sentences of fine or imprisonment upon eight of the workers. Clara Herold was fined \$50 and sentenced to sixty days in jail. Emanuel Bassard was fined \$25 and sentenced to thirty days. A fine of \$50 was imposed on Clara Thilweine and Tillie Watson. Clara Ludwig, Florence Wardlaw were sentenced to pay each a fine of \$25. The prisoners were ordered to be committed to jail pending the payment of the fines. The cases will be appealed, but there seems little hope of getting any different sort of advantage from the higher courts, because all the judges are creatures of the capitalist parties.

An interesting feature of the case is that the accused persons all deny having taken part in the "serenading" and that, though there was certainly a question of fact as well as of law to be decided, the case was decided in an off-hand manner by the judge alone without jury trial. This is the great advantage of the injunction method, that in the first place, it makes penal offenses of acts that are not such under the law, and, further, that it leaves the workmen accused no opportunity of trial by jury. The judge becomes legislature, court, and jury, all in one.

The fines imposed upon these poor girls were outrageously heavy (even had they been guilty of real mischief, considering the smallness of their earnings). It would take them from one to two months' steady work, saving the whole of their wages, to pay their fines. Nevertheless, Judge Pitney said, with a smug hypocrisy characteristic of his species, that he "had dealt very leniently with these ladies," but that if any more were convicted he would send them to jail.

It might be said Judge Pitney no harm to be done a coat of tar and feathers by the workmen of Paterson. But if they want to "deal very leniently" with him, the least they can do is to vote him and his party out of office at the next election.

## TWIN CITY EXCURSION.

The Social Democrats of Minneapolis and St. Paul held their fourth annual excursion on Sunday, July 21. The previous excursions have been very successful affairs from every point of view, and this one is expected to keep up the record.

The excursion steamer Columbia will leave Minneapolis Falls at 8:30 a. m. and the Jackson street landing in St. Paul at 10 o'clock. It will go down the Mississippi to Hastings and up the St. Croix, making one of the most delightful trips imaginable, and returning to St. Paul at 11 p. m. in the evening.

A good time is assured to all who take part. Tickets, including dinner, are 50 cents and children under ten go free.

## PENNSYLVANIA HAS ITS TURN.

Outrageous Declaration of a Judge in a Contempt Case.

Court Assumes to Read the Minds of Strikers and Punish Them on the Presumption of Their Intention to Use Violence—All Guarantees of Justice Swept Aside.

And still they come, thick and fast, the "interferences of courts to protect capitalists, against the attempts of workmen, by peaceful organization, to better their condition." And daily their ruffianism becomes more outrageous.

York, Pa., now has its turn. Judge Stewart of the county court has issued an injunction forbidding the Iron Molders' Union or its officers or members to picket the shop or in any way "interfere" with the business of the York Manufacturing Company. George W. Test, corresponding representative of the Iron Molders' Union of North America; John P. Frey of Worcester, Mass., fourth vice-president of the union, and Howard Wilmer of the local union, have been adjudged guilty of contempt of court in violating that injunction. Test and Frey were sentenced each to a fine of \$250 and costs, with thirty days' imprisonment, and Wilmer was fined \$25.

In other cases—none not involving the issue between capital and labor—it is necessary, before a man can be convicted of a crime, to prove "beyond all reasonable doubt" that he actually committed it. But here it was not necessary to prove that the men committed any unlawful act or even that they intended to do so. The judge took occasion to say that "any person who undertakes by force, menace, or threats, to obstruct or interfere with the business of another, is guilty of a crime, and that it is not necessary to prove that he actually committed it. But here it was not necessary to prove that the men committed any unlawful act or even that they intended to do so. The judge took occasion to say that "any person who undertakes by force, menace, or threats, to obstruct or interfere with the business of another, is guilty of a crime, and that it is not necessary to prove that he actually committed it. 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# The Worker.

Organ of the Social Democratic Party.  
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1897.

## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1858 (Presidential).....	2,988
In 1860.....	13,831
In 1868 (Presidential).....	21,557
In 1874.....	32,133
In 1880 (Presidential).....	36,594
In 1893.....	82,504
S. D. P. ....	9,545
In 1900 (Presidential):	
S. D. P. ....	96,918
S. L. P. ....	33,450

NEW YORK CITY TICKET:  
For Mayor—BENJAMIN HANFORD.  
For Controller—MORRIS BROWN.  
For President of the Board of Alder-  
men—HENRY STAHL.

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be a profit in forcing men and women  
to degrade themselves. For the rest,  
Mr. Capitalist might have to take his  
turn at it.

The only man who is quite guiltless  
of the infamies of capitalism is the  
man who is doing his best to abolish  
them.

After a while, trade unionists may  
learn that the ballot box is the most  
effective place to declare a boycott  
against capitalism.

Talking of injunctions, one can read-  
ily understand why the capitalist press  
is advocating increased salaries for  
the overworked judges.

It is only the children of the poor  
that are compelled to play where they  
can become the victims of privately-  
owned and operated trolley cars.

The capitalist press is objecting vic-  
tiously to the proposition that the mil-  
lita be composed only of the class in  
whose interests the militia is used.

The record-breaking exports of  
American oil to Europe will not be  
conducive to calming the troubled  
waters of international competition.

The capitalists are keeping cool at  
the country resorts, but we can make it  
hot for them later on by circulating  
The Worker as much as possible now.

Are you—YOU, individual reader—  
doing your full share in the work of  
Labor's emancipation? If not, how  
can you clear your conscience of all the  
stretches of the system you passively  
endure?

Inasmuch as the capitalist politicians  
always assume the credit for good  
crops, the people can easily place the  
blame for the existing disastrous crop  
situation in the West where it properly  
belongs.

The recent advance of ten cents a  
ton in the price of anthracite coal will  
mean an increase of \$5,000,000 in the  
pocket of the coal trust. There is  
no talk of having the coal miners par-  
ticipate in the profit-sharing.

Considering the amount of drunken  
rioting indulged in by United States  
soldiers around New York, at San  
Francisco, and elsewhere, it would  
seem timely to call out the militia to  
maintain order.

Telephone wires taking the place of  
the telegraph system on the Larkawanna  
railroad, and 200 operators will lose  
their jobs. Notice that the capitalists  
forget that the interests of capital and  
labor are identical when there's a  
chance to increase profits.

The frequent punishment of work-  
men for contempt of court by Repub-  
lican and Democratic judges proves  
that these judges know how utterly  
contemptible they are. It is in order  
for the workmen to express their  
justified contempt at the ballot-box, by  
voting against both old parties, and  
for the S. D. P.

The "United Mine Workers' Journal"  
says: "The swinehead is the insti-  
tution that makes men animals and  
women prostitutes." True, and it is  
the capitalist system that makes the  
swinehead possible. A vote for Social-  
ism is a vote against capitalism: with  
its swineheads, animalism, and prostitu-  
tion.

Every child on the street or in the  
factory, every baby playing away in the  
foul air of the tenements, every crin-  
oid workingman begging on the street  
corner, every grave in the Potter's  
Field, is a count in our indictment  
against capitalism and against the Repub-  
lican and Democratic parties. Pass  
sentences upon these parties in Novem-  
ber, workmen of New York.

A VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS.  
It is not often that we are able to cite  
an exception to the general rule of mis-  
representation and slander engaged in  
by the capitalist press against Social-  
ism and Socialists in general, but even  
as a voice crying in the wilderness  
comes one protest against the infamous  
treatment accorded Comrade George D.  
Herron, and that from as rock-ribbed  
a defender of capitalism as ever em-  
ployed ink in an unworthy cause. That  
the protest should come from such a  
source but proves that even the most  
chameleons are sometimes susceptible  
to a sense of justice.

The paper in question is the St. Paul  
"Globe," one of the most conservative  
organs of capitalism in the Northwest,  
and its utterances are none the less  
surprising on that account. Incidentally,  
it may be observed that the "Globe"  
admits that the attack upon Herron  
was inspired more by reason of his  
lack of regard for religious church-  
ianity than because of any lack of mor-  
ality. And for this reason we reprint  
from a lengthy editorial that portion  
which bears directly upon Comrade  
Herron's case, deeming it worthy of  
reproduction, if only for its unusual  
candor at a time when candor is at a  
discount in the newspaper world:

It is when in the name of Christ men  
crucify their brothers that the faith we  
have in human goodness turns pale and  
halts by the wayside. The same spirit  
that condemned the great Jewish re-  
former without a trial, and because of  
his opinions nailed him to the cross,  
flourishes to-day within the confines of  
the church that looks back to Calvary  
for inspiration. This disposition to per-  
secute passes error the human race in  
waves. It seems to be epidemic. Fol-  
lowing the great temperance crusade  
which ended in the establishment of the  
army and navy, and the deeds of violence  
attending the outbreak of Garret's Na-  
tionism, seems to come a wave of re-  
ligious intolerance assuming the garb  
of morality.

This case assumed prominence in  
the circulating commination of Prof.  
Herron. In his case, social deeds which  
are condoned in others—acts which  
may be in strict accord with the high-  
est principles and the purest life—are  
made the object of savage and accu-  
sations. Guilt attended by the worst  
motives is assumed without so much  
as a suggestion of proof. Great dailies  
publish fairy tales by so-called "staff  
correspondents" of this man's fall; tales  
that bear on their face the stamp of  
battered, and all uncharitableness; great  
preachers who have known him and loved  
him, all at once discover that he is a  
"monster," because he secured a divorce  
from his wife. The domestic trouble  
that led to the divorce is not investi-  
gated—there is no judicial determina-  
tion of human rights, because for-  
sooth the man is a heretic—because he  
is off color on his confession of faith.

Prof. Herron may be blameable, he  
may have placed himself in a position  
to merit the rebukes of his brother min-  
isters, but so far there has been no evi-  
dence that he is better or worse than  
the average. The acts of the great  
Henry Ward Beecher were indiscreet  
to say the least, but they were con-  
doned as they should have been. The  
quarrelsome spirit behind this persecu-  
tion of Prof. Herron is what strikes  
the observer. It looks as if the inquisi-  
tion was attempting to punish him for  
an alleged social crime when his real  
crime is heresy.

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## SOCIALISM AND IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

## A Discussion of an Important Question of Socialist Principles and Policy.

BY HENRY SLOBODIN.

When first conceived and put into the Socialist platform, the "immediate demands" were considered as advocating such measures as are to be wrested by the working class from the capitalist class during the transition period from the capitalist state to Socialist society. We cannot now consider whether such step was prudent when first made. It is our purpose to consider whether or not it would be prudent for us to follow now in the same direction. It may be added that these measures of amelioration have never been considered of importance in Socialist propaganda and were never confounded with the sole object of Socialism—the overthrow of the capitalist state. Not because the Socialists regarded lightly any step conducive to the alleviation of the misery of the working class; but because experience has taught them that such alleviation is much sooner secured by the overthrowing and more radical attitude of the working class than by a temporizing and trucking method.

But there came the "practical" Socialist. He embraced the "immediate demands" as containing the alpha and omega of Socialism. He insisted and still insists that the fall of the Socialist platform is of infinitely more importance than its body. His loud protestations caused the Socialists to examine again the relation of the "immediate demands" to Socialist propaganda. It is satisfactory to find from the communications published in The Worker and the "Workers' Call" that the majority of the comrades have again found that the "immediate demands" are an altogether superfluous appendage to the Socialist platform.

The opportunist Socialists speak in a much louder and more confident tone when they have found a leader in Bernstein. They declare the "immediate demands" to be the real Socialist program and the declaration of the scientific basis and the chief object of the Socialist party as so much "Utopian phronology" a remnant of the French revolution. They discard the Marxian method of deducing from inquiry into social conditions the law of social tendencies. Theories they regard as the product of life rationalization, and the present fact constitutes for them all in all, failing to notice that the present cannot be understood except in its relation to the past and the future.

Following in their wake came the small but loud contingent of reformers and anti-socialists. They feel much happier in the Socialist party than they felt in the ranks of the old parties. They are persons of good heart, but their constitutions, shrinking from anything that appears extreme, in the old parties they were dubbed as visionaries and radicals; and they felt unhappy. So much more contented do they feel in the Socialist ranks where they can act the practical and the conservative.

The list of the argument of the "practical" Socialist is that nature does not act by leaps and bounds; that the capitalist state will gradually and imperceptibly grow into a Socialist society; that the action of individuals is of no weight in the evolutionary process; that the Socialists should devote their attention toward furthering such process and not to doubtful ultimate objects.

The last two classes are contradictory. This contradiction is inherent in the attitude of the "practicals." The following question naturally suggests itself: On what grounds do these Socialists base the necessity of independent political action by the working class? Since the socialization of society is an automatic evolutionary process, where is the good or the necessity of the individual meddling with such process? And since the tendencies of the process permeate every action of society, they must manifest themselves in any party or new. In fact, since the old parties constitute a larger section of society than the new, the process must be manifest in them stronger in proportion.

The conclusion that independent political action is not necessary for socialization of society has suggested itself, or has been suggested, to every Socialist who embraced the method of what may be called evolutionary opportunism. The Fabians point out that socialistic measures were realized by both the conservative and the liberal parties of England. Lack of moral courage, coupled to past association with the bourgeoisie, led to his failure in the past. But they have passed already the crossing of the Rubicon, and they have taken the old but what they consider right road. For them remains nothing but to either retrace their steps, or leave the realization of Socialism through independent political action by the working class to those whom they denigrate as "visionaries" and "utopians."

Many, even among those who advocate the retention of "immediate demands" as they now stand, are anxious to keep their skirts clear from all reform appearances. The revolutionary and clearly Socialist tendency must be kept in front. Hence we have an argument advanced from an authoritative source that the "immediate demands" cannot be realized by any party but the Socialist Democratic Party, when entrusted with the powers of government. The workingman may clearly perceive the fallacy of this argument by noticing how these "immediate demands" are being introduced through the capitalist parties and government, and having been put on ground against Socialist pretensions, it will not credit their realization to Socialist propaganda as it is legitimately due. Moreover the workingman may ask that if an ameliorative measure can be wrested from the capitalist government, what good for the working class a Socialist MINORITY, however strong, achieve in the legislature? And if the object of the Socialists, when entrusted with the powers of government, is to introduce ameliorative measures, we may pardon the working-

man if he finds that the change is not worth while, since it will require a revolution to effect it.

Our national platform holds differently on the subject. "The Socialist Democratic Party affirms its steadfast purpose to use those powers of government once achieved, to destroy wage slavery, abolish the institution of private property in the means of production and establishing the Co-operative Commonwealth."—National Platform.

It, therefore, appears that the object of the Socialist Democratic Party, when entrusted with the powers of government, will be quite different than the working with "immediate demands." As the industrial functions of society may be compared to the physiologic functions of an organism, so may its political life be regarded as the psychologic functions of the social organism. It would be insufficient merely to assert that the political life of society is determined by its economic conditions. For while it is true that the psychologic state is determined by physiologic conditions of the organism, it is also none the less true that these conditions may be changed by psychologic reaction. The higher the organism stands in the scale of culture, the more evident these characteristics become. They are more manifest in the social organism than in the animal. The "scope" of our ideas and desires is determined by the surrounding conditions, but ideas react, consciously on these conditions and change their character. The Socialist movement precludes the most palpable instance of conscious political determinism. This doctrine is quite different from and is opposed to the doctrine of evolutionary fatalism as advocated by the "practicals." The consciousness that our actions have, in a great measure, such effect on the economic conditions and our social life as we desire them to have, gains ever more ground. Under the pronoun "we" is not to be understood the mere legislator or promulgator, but those progressive elements in society the intensity of whose desire caused the promulgation of the measure. Certainly, these elements must constitute a numerically tangible factor before they can aspire to political influence—but the effect of their measures on the industrial life will be in proportion to the extent of the force of this minority.

It must not be forgotten that while measures of amelioration are being realized in the capitalist state, they are not exempt from the vicissitudes of other social phenomena. Around them as elsewhere rages the class struggle, and while the march of the revolution compels an extension of their functions, the capitalist state, in sheer self-defense, endeavors to limit or pervert them. The public school system, the introduction of militia system in place of conscription, are among the "immediate demands" of the Socialists of some countries. But we find how in this country these ameliorative measures were perverted to serve the interests of capitalism. It cannot be otherwise while capitalism lasts. The capitalist state must remain true to itself and production must be dominated by its interests. The capitalist class will resist the introduction of the "immediate demands;" it will limit or prevent their application where it can no more resist their introduction; it will corrupt and pervert them when it can no more limit them. After it had secured favorable legislation, the working class finds that it has to contend with the judiciary which interprets the laws and then with the executive which applies them. There is no inherent virtue in legislative measures. The measures are good in so far as they make good. What determines their merit and makes them good? Nothing but the revolutionary attitude of the working class. The Socialist Democratic Party and its platform go very far in determining such an attitude. While it must be a numerically tangible minority in order to be a factor in politics, it represents far more than its mere numbers. It is an intense, compact force, fierce and irreconcilable in its aspiration to dominion. It stands as the concrete embodiment of the class struggle that is going along the line, and its attitude is toward the forcing concessions from the capitalist class. The more irreconcilable this attitude, the larger will be the concessions to the working class. Who doubts that 50,000 votes cast for our candidate for governor at the last November election would have brought about sooner something like a real employer's liability bill than 200,000 votes cast for a reform party with an "immediate demands" program? Had it been a difference between the Democracy of Thomas Jefferson and that of the present time? The party now stands for obstruction; it would put back the wheels of progress a generation; fortunately, it too, is passing away, and will soon be relegated to the memory of the past. The citizen can scarcely be performing his duty in voting to continue in existence the Democratic party, for no good can possibly come of it.

The other party is the Republican party, which was formed in 1856, and which has had a practically free hand ever since; it has undoubtedly been a party of progress in its time, and has in a way brought about great changes and benefits to humanity. It was the means of abolishing negro slavery in the South, and in cementing the North, South, East and West into one nation. The Republican party is the parent of vast combinations of capital, commonly known as trusts, for which it deserves the thanks of the community. Much as the trust has solved the problem of production with the greatest economy.

The Republican party, however, has become the party of the moneyed interest, of the capitalist class, who would make of this fair land one great workshop for their own profit, throw back the privilege of laboring, that he and his family may live, in the worst kind of a slave—far worse than the negro slave was in the South, because the slaveowner at least fed and housed his negroes, even when they were not working. He never turned them off to become tramps.

If these two old parties were the only ones, the great mass of humanity would indeed be in a bad fix; for with improved machinery, which is yet in its infancy, fewer men are required in the workshops and fewer clerks in the offices—and what are the unemployed to do? With the capitalist class fighting to keep the old parties, the working class again become a question of whether the combinations are to own the people or the people own the combinations.

Fortunately, however, there is another party—one that stands clearly for the welfare of humanity; for just as the Republican party was formed in 1856 for the purpose of abolishing negro slavery in the South and after four years of civil strife, accomplished its purpose, so the Socialist Democratic Party has been formed for the sole purpose of freeing from the bondage of capitalism, the struggling white slave of this present era.

As the colonies of Great Britain were taxed and abused to that extent, that they were obliged to rebel and declare themselves independent, though they were made to suffer through seven long years of terrific strife, evolution decreed they should be free; and as in 1861, when human sympathy and progress demanded the emancipation of the negro, it was accomplished; so now when the vulture of Capitalism has plunged its talons into our midst and with its insatiable greed would devour our entire country, it is high time for every wage worker in the land, whether he be laborer or clerk, salesman or mechanic, to go to his voting place on election day and vote the straight Socialist Democratic ticket, determined once for all to free the white slave from the bondage of capitalism. This can be done only through the Socialist Democratic Party—the party that stands firmly for ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution, for social progress and liberty. It is to-day the party of progress, the only one which guarantees to every human being the right to work, the right to be honest and to live.

That is the citizen's duty on election day; to vote, and in so doing to bring about the social revolution that is bound to come; to bring it about possibly if possible, through the only peaceful medium, that of the ballot box.

The duty of those who are already Socialists, however, does not end with voting; for as Socialists are born of education, it requires that the doctrines of Socialism be spread broadcast through the land. Many are Socialists at heart, but do not know it. Therefore it becomes our duty to talk and teach Socialism, wherever we go, that the glorious day of emancipation may be the sooner brought with us.

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trines which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike the tools of the capitalist class. Their policies are injurious to the interest of the working class, which can be served only by the abolition of the profit system.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective power of the capitalist class only by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

We, therefore, call upon the workers of the United States, without distinction of color, race, sex, or creed, and upon all citizens in sympathy with the historic mission of the working class, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Democratic Party, as a party truly representing the interests of the toiling masses and uncompromisingly waging war upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage slavery shall be abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth shall be set up. Pending the accomplishment of this, our ultimate purpose, we pledge every effort of the Socialist Democratic Party for the immediate improvement of the condition of labor and for the securing of its progressive demands.

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This economic supremacy has secured to the dominant class the full control of the government, the pulpit, the schools and the public press; it has thus made the capitalist class the arbiter of the fate of the workers, whom it is reducing to a condition of dependence, economically exploited and oppressed, intellectually and physically crippled and degraded, and their political equality rendered a bitter mockery.

## NATIONAL PLATFORM OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Socialist Democratic Party of the United States, in convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the revolutionary principles of International Socialism and declares the supreme political issue in America to-day to be the contest between the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the powers of government. The party affirms its steadfast purpose to use those powers, once achieved, to destroy wage slavery, abolish the institution of private property in the means of production, and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

In the United States, as in all other civilized countries, the natural order of economic development is separated society into antagonistic classes, the capitalists, a comparatively small class, the possessors of all the modern means of production and distribution (land, mines, machinery, and means of transportation and communication, and the large and ever increasing class of wage-workers, possessing no means of production.

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The contest between these two classes grows ever sharper. Hand in hand with the growth of monopolies goes the annihilation of small industries and of the middle class depending upon them; ever larger grows the multitude of destitute wage workers and of the unemployed, and ever fiercer the struggle between the class of the exploiter and the exploited, the capitalists and the wage workers.

The evil effects of capitalist production are intensified by the recurring industrial crises which reduce the existence of the greater part of the population still more precarious and uncertain.

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Human energy and natural resources are wasted for individual gain.

Ignorance is fostered that wage slavery may be perpetuated. Science and invention are perverted to the exploitation of men, women, and children.

The lives and liberties of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit.

Wars are fomented between nations; indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged; the destruction of whole races is sanctioned, in order that the capitalist class may extend its commercial dominion abroad and enhance its supremacy at home.

The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are interested in upholding the system of private ownership in the means of production. The Democratic, Republican and all other parties

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principles employed in industrial combinations are being used to bring about the unionization. Papers of incorporation will be filed under the laws of Illinois. The theaters interested are situated in Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Kansas City, and Omaha.

Woolson Spice Company's plant at Toledo has closed down and the business will be transferred to Brooklyn. Several hundred employees are thrown out of work. Acquisition of company by sugar trust is the cause. Concentration and consequent economies does the trick.

A combination of the leading mica mines in New England is planned by New York capitalists, and from the present outlook the deal will be effected in a few weeks. Agents of the combination have been canvassing among the owners of the largest mines in Maine and New Hampshire, and it is reported that they have received options on a number of the principal mines. Mica mining is extensively worked in the States named, and by securing control of the large mines the promoters believe the smaller mine owners will be forced to consolidate.

The two gas companies operating in Staten Island, the New York and Richmond Gas Company and the Richmond City Gas Company have been consolidated under the former name. The new company controls the whole gas supply of Richmond County.

The Big Four has formally taken possession of the Cincinnati Northern Railway.

OF INGLORIOUS MEMORY. Judge Wm. A. Woods, of infamy fame, had his earthly career cut short on Friday last. Death called him before his tribunal and issued an injunction restraining him from participating in the affairs of the world. There being no higher court of appeal the mandate was obeyed. As an individual little can be said of him, but as a type of the class society in which he lived many lessons may be drawn of interest to the working class. Had Woods never lived many of his type would have been found to take his place in the service of the propertied class. He faithfully served the interests of the ruling class of his time, and received as his reward a liberal portion of the values wrong from the blood and sweat of the workers whom he aided in crushing. As a token of gratitude on the part of those whom he thus faithfully served memorial meetings will be called in his honor and possibly a monument built to his memory. Let them build. We shall build also. But our structure shall be a form of civilization in which the abnormal type of which Woods was a representative shall cease to exist. Justice Brewer, in speaking of Woods, says that his name will be "reverted and honored in coming ages." Nothing is farther from the truth. The capitalist order of things is rolling to its doom with a velocity that increases daily, and the next great age will be the age of social justice and industrial equality. In that age the servile tools of the ruling class will be forgotten and the names of those of living remembrance will be laid at the feet of those who suffered and died in the advancement of this cause, and not those who tried to thwart it—Terre Haute Toller.

It is said that Mark Hanna is one of the principal stockholders in a coal trust, but many of the miners who barely get wages enough to live on believe that he is a friend of the poor.—The Social Economist.

ARBEITER KRANKEN UND STERBE KASSE, Branch 13, South Brooklyn.

Semi-annual General Meeting at 203 Columbia Street, corner of Suffolk, on Wednesday, July 24, at 8 o'clock. Order 25 cents. Admission free.

Appeal from two members of Branch 8 and 10.

General vote on by-law.

Twenty-five cent fee for all members not being present. By order of the trustees: E. J. JONES, Financial Secretary.

VANDERVELDE'S COLLECTIVISM. Next time some one asks for a book that explains what the Socialists propose to do when they get in power, it will no longer be necessary to say "I have no such book for at last we have it. It is Vanderavelde's Belgium has written it, and is English edition is just ready. It is the best Socialist book that has appeared for years. Price, 10 cents. 50 cents in paper. 25 cents postpaid.

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VOL. XI.—NO. 17.

## WILSHIRE AT ROCHESTER.

Greeted by a Large Audience in Germania Hall.

Partial Report of His Speech—Socialism a Simple Proposition, He Says—Trust Ownership Forces It Upon Us.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., July 11.—Comrade H. G. Wilshire, editor of the "Challenge" of Los Angeles, Cal., addressed twelve hundred men and women gathered in Germania Hall. His topic was "Trusts and Labor," and he spoke in part as follows:

"I am afraid that I cannot come up to your expectations after the very flattering introduction given me by Mr. Brown, and can assure you that I am a man who has come to the conclusion that a social revolution is inevitable. It seems to me to be one of the simplest propositions that can be entered upon by the mind of man, but I will admit that, notwithstanding it seems so extremely simple—something like a 2 and 2 is a 4 proposition—as a matter of fact it is very extraordinary how difficult it is for people to understand. Now I believe you here in Rochester have a strike on hand. The strikers who, I understand, an increase of two cents an hour. Now to a Socialist it seems to be so absurd that there is a bargaining over two cents an hour. If it were \$2 an hour it would be all right. The wages are so infinitesimal compared to what he would get under Socialism, that it does seem strange that a man will give his life for two cents an hour increase when he could get \$2 an hour."

"We are so accustomed to think that wages determine the amount of production that when a laborer asks for an increase of wages we are inclined to think that society cannot pay it. I know a great many men to-day think that society could not afford to pay more than it does at present. They will point, for instance, to your city treasury and say: 'How can we pay any more? Taxes are so high, the treasury is bankrupt, and could not pay any more.' That is the same story throughout the United States. Let us consider the question: If a laboring man goes to a contractor in the city and wants a job, the contractor will say, 'Well, 15 cents an hour is what we are paying.' It doesn't make any difference if he is making 30 cents an hour, or not. If you stand for twenty years, you get it. When the contractor figures out his labor, and therefore my bill on this job is so much. If he has to pay 23 cents an hour, he increases the amount of his bill; so whatever you stand for in the way of wages, if you keep at it, you get it, because it simply means that the contractor raises his bid when he bids on city work."

"Is not this the general plan of all wages? A man receives wages, not according to what he produces, but according to what the employer can get another man for."

"I may be taking \$100 a day out of a gold mine, but every man who works for me, on account of there being plenty of men, receives but \$3 a day. Of course I make \$100; I pay the \$3 a day and pocket \$97. If I should make a strike in that mine, and take out \$200 a day, the wages would still remain the same \$3 per day. Wages are determined by what the employer's man demands, and by what the employer can get another man for."

"The United States may be considered as if it were a great gold mine, owned by Rockefeller, Morgan & Co., and it does not make any difference how much we take out of this country it is about \$1.39 a day) all the surplus we produce goes to Rockefeller."

"We all know that. But the point is, What does Rockefeller do with the difference? He may not like it, but it will make a useful difference to us when he has nothing to do with us. We all know that Rockefeller, Morgan, Gould, and the others spend a great deal for diamonds, yachts, etc. But that does not make any economic difference, simply because there are so few people who have these great fortunes. One per cent. of our population own 52 per cent. of the wealth of this country, and Rockefeller has an income of \$50,000,000 a year, and he cannot find an outlet for his income. Most of us could get along on \$1,000 a day. But \$1,000 a day is but a small part of his income. What does he do with the balance? He keeps down his expenses, say, to \$1,000 a day and by the doctrine of abstention, as the old economists say, he saves his money. But as a matter of fact it is more difficult for Rockefeller to spend his money than it is for you when a man owns all the United States he has nothing to do with his balance. He must save it, because he cannot spend it. It takes too much trouble to spend it. After you have one yacht you don't want another."

"By saving it, we mean either building new machinery of production, building new railroads, or iron mills, building it or buying it. Now you may have noticed that recently Mr. Rockefeller has not been building anything new. He has been buying out Carnegie. He has been buying out all the small owners of capital in this country. Why is it that he buys out Carnegie instead of building new mills? He doesn't wish to duplicate capital unnecessarily. You remember about twenty years ago the first trust was formed. When the trust was formed by Rockefeller, he had the same story that he had to-day. He said there was too much of being produced and we were going to combine our interests to prevent this over-production or we would have as much sense as you have, he is not fool, and he is not going to keep a thing that he could not keep anyway. He is naturally going to say: Why, here is the United States, take it. He wants it thought, until you tell him you want it. You have one simple way, go to the party that says: We want the earth—the Social Democratic Party. Socialism simply means the next step in evolution. We will operate all the industrial factories of the country, the land, the machinery of the country, it means that we will operate it to benefit ourselves and distribute to ourselves what we produce. Capitalism is not going to give to the producer what he produces. The capitalist has performed a useful function. Rockefeller, Gould, Morgan, have done the saving for us. They have fulfilled their mission just like the shell of the egg to the chick. After the chick gets out of the egg, the shell cracks and is cast off. Rockefeller and Morgan have done their duty, but now it is our turn to do it. We are now, I recognize that they were necessary to this industrial evolution, just as I recognize that the shell of the egg was necessary to the chick. But if we do not discard this capitalist shell just like the chick in the egg in the process of hatching, we shall die just as the chick would."

"Socialism is coming, step by step. It took Rockefeller and Morgan two years to do what they have done in the line of concentration of ownership. Will it take us one hundred years? No. It will not take us any longer to say that we want the United States for the co-operative commonwealth, and we will get it when we want it, had we enough. Comrade Wilshire's words were listened to with attention, and often greeted with applause."

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"You can only buy with the wages you get, so that if you give him more than he pays you, he must have a surplus on hand."

"The speaker here outlined the workings of trusts, saying that after they once had all the machinery they need, they will be dearest of employment, as the laborers will not be needed to make new machinery, and he predicted that that time will be in two or three years from now."

"When all the machines are built, what is the man going to do? They won't need to build others for a long time. The fundamental idea of a labor-saving machine is not to make another. I remember perfectly well when I was a boy that my cousins never had any time for play. They were to get a reaping machine. Now they would have plenty of leisure, but after that they had had no more leisure than before. I suppose a great many in this hall must have thought in their boyhood days when they heard of all the great labor-saving inventions, that sometime or other they would see the machinery do the work and they would get some time for leisure and recreation, but the more machines we have had the more we have had to do. Is not that a fact? The moment the machine is produced it throws out the laborer. The result is that he will agree to take less wages and will work longer hours. Now capitalists are business men, they are not for their health. They take advantage of the competition among laborers, and the labor-saving machine has actually made men work harder at less wages."

"Let the economists and politicians explain, if they can, how the men thrown out of employment by labor-saving machines, who are supposed to build other labor-saving machines, are going to be employed when the machinery is finished. How are they going to employ the great army of labor which has been building those machines? With trusts in absolute control of all industry, in connection with such complete cessation of demand for new machinery, it is not a question of ten or twelve years when these men will be thrown out of work, but it ought to come up within the next two or three years. Ten or twelve years ago, when I talked about the trusts, I had people who, believed that trusts would not come into control. But there is no theory about it now. We know that in America we are producing much more than we consume. Therefore, we must better in the gates of Pekin in order to get rid of our surplus, and in order to get what is left for ourselves. You see the absolute absurdity of the position. Chaucery Depey is right. Unless the workmen can get employment, they cannot get wages. If the capitalist cannot sell the products, of course he cannot give you sufficient wages."

"The Socialists have a very simple solution of all this. They say that if you must starve too much by producing too much, you would do better to take what you produce for yourselves. If you were living on some Pacific island and all by yourselves, Robinson Crusoe like, and the more you would raise on that island the more you would starve. You are producing more than you can consume, and therefore you cannot consume at all. Robinson, you are producing so much out there that you are going to starve to death unless you dump it in the ocean. You have probably heard President McKinley and what he is crying: We must have foreign trade. He is right. Under our existing conditions, under our present method of distribution, we must have foreign trade to get rid of our surplus."

"We Americans are a lot of jackasses. Here we have before us our own country, or rather Rockefeller's country. Please, Mr. Rockefeller, give us back our earth. He says: You Americans do not want the country, because you never ask for it. If I should say, the first gentleman that calls for this \$1,000 certificate of stock in the New York Central, would get it. If I should say, I have a great scramble for the stage, I have no doubt of it, or if I should say here are \$100,000 worth of Standard Oil trust certificates, you would all want to come up and take it."

"Now the Socialists say: Here is the whole country and all you have to do is to drop a slip of paper in the box and say you want it. You cannot blame Mr. Vanderbilt or Mr. Gould. They live over in Europe a great deal of the time. They are not thinking about it. At any rate, we are only going to get what we ask for. That is, if enough of us ask for it, we are going to get it. But the present position is that Mr. Rockefeller says: You have done all I want; You have built all the railroads; you have built all the machinery for me; you have finished your job; I don't want you any more. I can't make anything more out of it. I think over it for a while. And in the meantime he will expect you all to sit down and starve while he thinks about it. Perhaps thirty days elapse. Then it is simply whether the men are going to hunger for a dinner or not. Then we say to him: You have frozen us out; there is no more fun for us; we haven't anything; this old earth is so good and you might as well let us live now. We cannot starve to death in our own country. We have the privilege of taking it. We could do it in fifteen minutes, Rockefeller has just as much sense as you have, he is not fool, and he is not going to keep a thing that he could not keep anyway. He is naturally going to say: Why, here is the United States, take it. He wants it thought, until you tell him you want it. You have one simple way, go to the party that says: We want the earth—the Social Democratic Party. Socialism simply means the next step in evolution. We will operate all the industrial factories of the country, the land, the machinery of the country, it means that we will operate it to benefit ourselves and distribute to ourselves what we produce. Capitalism is not going to give to the producer what he produces. The capitalist has performed a useful function. Rockefeller, Gould, Morgan, have done the saving for us. They have fulfilled their mission just like the shell of the egg to the chick. After the chick gets out of the egg, the shell cracks and is cast off. Rockefeller and Morgan have done their duty, but now it is our turn to do it. We are now, I recognize that they were necessary to this industrial evolution, just as I recognize that the shell of the egg was necessary to the chick. But if we do not discard this capitalist shell just like the chick in the egg in the process of hatching, we shall die just as the chick would."

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## GOING IN TO WIN. Rochester Social Democrats Nominate Full City and County Ticket.

Goat Martindale for Mayor and Frank A. Sieverman for Alderman in Seventeenth Ward—A Strong Campaign Is To Be Made.

The Social Democrats of Rochester held their city and county convention on July 10. There was a large and enthusiastic gathering of comrades and sympathizers and much interest was shown in the nomination of candidates for the coming campaign, which the Rochester comrades propose to make the hottest that their city ever saw.

In the city convention Frank A. Sieverman and Joe Moore stood with Wm. T. Brown as secretary. The following is the list:

**CITY TICKET CHOSEN.**

For Mayor—GAD MARTINDALE, a member and now business agent of the Shoe Workers' Union.

For Controller—PHILIP JACKSON, Editor of the "Socialist," and for President of the Board of Aldermen—L. ZACHES.

For Assessors—JOEL MOSES and MICHAEL J. CARROLL.

For School Commissioners—MRS. MABEL KENNAN, WM. HAMMON, and CHARLES L. SWAIN.

For Police Justice—CHAS. RACH.

For Senator (Fourth District) to fill out the unexpired term of Senator Parsons—MARK MICHAELS.

Practically the whole ticket is composed of actual wage workers and union members, as is also true of the county ticket, which shows how well the Rochester Socialists have carried on their work of education among the organized workers. Comrades Martindale, Zerkner, Carroll, and Swain are members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Comrade Jackson of the Pressmen's Union, Comrades Moses and Michaels of the Garment Workers' Union, and Comrade Rach of the Hat and Workers' Union.

**THE COUNTY CONVENTION.**

Thomas Grady acted as chairman and Comrade Brown as secretary of the county convention, George Southworth, a shoe worker, was chosen to head the ticket as candidate for county judge. The other candidates are: For Supervisor, Charles Meering; for District Attorney, Erasmus M. Ely; for coroners, Wm. Erbacher and Isaac Prentner; for superintendent of the poor, James O'Connor; for assemblymen—First District, Chas. Volk; Second, Lawrence Oberlies; Third, Geo. E. Cooley; Fourth, Bernard R. Ward.

**DETER OF THE FIGHT.**

While no part of the city will be neglected, the center of the fight will be in the Seventeenth Ward, where Frank A. Sieverman was nominated for alderman. William Lippert is the candidate for supervisor in this ward, and Nicholas Brust for constable.

The comrades say they are either going to elect their ticket or "know the reason why"—and they do not propose that the reason shall be found in any industry on their part. All preparations are being made and the active campaign will soon begin.

**BIG ELECTRIC MERGER.**

A dispatch from Cleveland announces the completion in that city of a corporation which will be the first big electric railway system in the world. The Cleveland-More syndicate is engineering the scheme.

Over twenty-five different city and inter-urban lines have been acquired and gathered together into this system. It includes the city lines in Port Huron, Mount Clemens and Detroit, Mich., and in Sandusky, Lodi, Cleveland and Akron, Ohio, and the inter-urban lines connecting them. The system, already completed forms a belt almost around Lake Erie, from Port Huron, Mich., to Buffalo, N. Y., with lines reaching southward from the lake toward Cincinnati, Wheeling, W. Va., and Pittsburgh.

The mileage already completed and in operation in this system amounts to 1,215 miles over 400 miles of additional track are under construction and will be completed within the next year. The total earnings of the separate companies that comprise this huge system already amount to over \$10,000,000 a year. It is estimated that these earnings will increase enormously after the roads have been connected and united under one management.

And the earnings will come out of the community, while the employees will find it harder to maintain wages or shorten hours, and the men displaced by the consolidation will have time to study Socialism.

"The 'Bell' season during the hot summer months does not affect the demand for Socialist literature. Lots of books on Socialism are being sold right now by the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York. The comrades know where to find the most complete stock of their favorite books."

"When a man calls himself conservative, he should explain what manner of things he wishes to conserve. If the good that has come down to us from the past, he may be a useful citizen; but if the evil also, then he is a bad citizen."—The Public.

"The phrase 'dignity of labor' will have some meaning when Socialism comes. It is honorable to be a useful member of society; but it is not honorable to be the slave of a capitalist. There is a dignity in free labor; but there is nothing to be proud of in wage labor."

## THE ISSUE IS CLEAR. Steel Strike Presents the Class Struggle in the Plainest Terms.

Either Complete Capitalist Control or Else Socialism Must Be the Solution—No Lasting Compromise Necessary.

The past week has been a memorable one in the history of the class struggle in America. New strikes have begun, new injunctions have been issued, new methods have been devised by the capitalists and the courts for crushing the resistance of the working people.

The steel strike has settled down to what will apparently be a long and bitter struggle, with little chance of compromise. It will be a trial of endurance, with all the chances of victory on the side of the Steel Trust, unless the workers inspire their masters with fear by showing a determination to use their political power to settle the question in their own interest.

The issue is declared by the capitalists to be a clear one, on which no compromise is possible. That issue is: SHALL THE CAPITALISTS CONTROL THEIR MILLS IN THEIR OWN WAY OR SHALL THE WORKINGMEN, THROUGH THEIR ORGANIZATIONS, DICTATE TO THEM?

Since the fight is on, in the form of a strike covering practically the whole steel industry, it is the plain duty of every workman to lead the strikers, his fullest support in every possible way.

But the workers, and especially the strikers themselves, have another and greater duty. They know that it is they who have created the property of the Steel Trust. They know that they have a moral right to control the industry and to receive and own the product. It is their duty now to take up the challenge of the capitalists, to accept the issue as stated by them, and to answer it by their ballots.

There is really no lasting compromise possible. Either the capitalists are to rule and labor organizations must be crushed, or the workers are to rule and the capitalists must be appropriated. The strike, even if it ends in temporary victory, will not settle that question. It can be settled only by the Socialist proposition of collective ownership of the means of production. It will have to be settled that way, sooner or later. The sooner the better, for the interest of the working class.

**LOCKOUT IN TROY.**

Five Hundred Collar and Shirt Cutters Thrown Out of Work—Capitalists Exhibit Their Class-Consciousness.

The city of Troy is again threatened with a serious labor conflict. The leading industry of the city, as is well known, is the manufacture of collars, cuffs, shirts, etc., and it is in this industry that a lockout has now occurred.

A short time ago the Shirt, Collar, and Waist Cutters' Union submitted a proposition to the United Shirt and Collar Company, to limit the number of apprentices. This company was already employing as many apprentices as journeymen and was thus steadily displacing the better-paid workers and reducing the general level of wages. The union forbore to take other company would adopt the same plan if it were not stopped and therefore lost no time in attempting to make an agreement on the matter.

The company refused to consider the proposition and a strike of the cutters followed. Then came an exhibition of class-consciousness on the part of the capitalists. The Manufacturers' Association decided to help the company by having its cutting done in the various American shops.

Last Saturday morning the men were simultaneously assembled in the various shops and a statement from the Association read to them. The men were informed that the Association was determined to support the United Collar and Shirt Company, and that the men would be required to do the cutting for this strike shop. The men were cautioned against "driving capital away" by resisting the employers' demands and the hope was expressed that the "pleasant relations" existing between capital and labor would be maintained.

The men, however, considered that this relation, however pleasant to the capitalist, was not satisfactory to them. When, on Monday morning, the work from the strike shop was given out to them they refused to touch it and were all preemptorily locked out.

That this trouble was anticipated by the manufacturers is shown by the fact that the usual vacation was omitted and the shops kept busy to enable them to obtain a sufficient amount of stock to last through a long period. Thus to most of the manufacturers the trouble, unless of very long duration, will cause but little loss. They rely upon this fact to crush the five hundred locked out workers.

The Manufacturers' Association exerts a powerful political, religious, and commercial influence throughout Troy and vicinity, and the collar cutters must be prepared for attacks from all directions, for capitalism uses every means to further its own end. The workers are thus forcibly reminded of the class struggle and all that it implies. Let us hope they will take the lesson to heart and make use of the only weapon left them—the ballot.

All the textile workers' unions of Philadelphia voted that no militiamen could remain in their organizations.

## INJUNCTION IN CONNECTICUT. A Most Sweeping Order Against Striking Machinists.

Arrests Made and Vigorous Prosecution Probable—Great Indignation Is Aroused.

The injunction epidemic, which has spread so rapidly over the country during the recent strikes has finally reached Connecticut. F. W. Holden, counsel for the Farrell Foundry Company, of Ansonia, has obtained an injunction restraining the striking machinists from trying to prevent men from going to work in the shops of that company.

The injunction was issued by Judge Gager of the Superior Court and prohibits the strikers or their friends from "in any manner interfering with any person who may desire to enter the employ of the Farrell Company, by means of threats, PERSUASIONS, personal violence, intimidation, OR OTHER MEANS." \* \* \* from boycotting the company or any persons who may desire to do business with their workmen. \* \* \* from picketing or patrolling the factory or lotter or making boisterous noises near it, or causing others to do so." \* \* \* FROM ALL CONCERTED ACTION WHICH WILL IN ANY WAY INTERFERE WITH THE COMPANY OR ITS BUSINESS OR ITS EMPLOYEES."

Prominent members of the labor unions have also been served with attachments for \$25,000 and ordered to appear in the Superior Court in September for trial; some of them are charged with conspiracy.

On complaint of State Attorney William, Judge Shumway of the Superior Court issued a warrant for the arrest of six of the Ansonia strikers. These men—Stephen Charters, president of the Board of Aldermen and a member of the Carpenters' Union; Jason Wright, president of the Machinists' Union; and M. P. Driscoll, president of the Painters' Union—were arrested.

The largest demonstration in the history of the Ansonia strike has occurred when it became known that the labor leaders had been arrested, and would be taken to New Haven on the 11 p. m. train. Long before train time the streets were crowded with strikers and sympathizers, and when the officers led the men out to go to the station a crowd of several thousand thronged about them. At the depot some one called for cheers, and shout after shout went up for the prisoners, mingled with hisses for the sheriff.

As he boarded the train, Charters drew a small flag and waving it above his head, cried, "Here's for a shorter workday." The action was received with the greatest excitement, which did not subside until the train left the station.

**THE TAILORS' STRIKE.**

Large Gains Made by East Side Workers—A Strike for Fresh Air.

The strike of some fifty or sixty thousand East Side tailors has again brought to mind the horrible conditions under which they work. The sub-contracting system is responsible for the worst of these evils. The strike has been characterized as "a strike for fresh air," because one of the demands is that the manufacturers shall assume responsibility for the proper sanitation of the contractors' shops. Another grievance is that the contractors frequently withhold the wages for work done until the tailors demand that the manufacturers guarantee the payment of wages.

A considerable measure of success has been won. On Wednesday thirty-one manufacturing firms acceded to the whole schedule of demands, including recognition of the union. While it is to be expected that much of what is gained now will have to be fought for again next year, because the employers have long ago proved themselves absolutely faithless in their dealings with the garment workers, the present strike is, nevertheless, one of the most successful ever undertaken in this trade. The present developments do credit to the solidarity of the East Side workmen and workingwomen and give new hope for the final victory of the class-conscious political labor movement that shall at last render strikes unnecessary.

**THE LOGICAL CONCLUSION.**

The courts have decreed that an organized worker, who tries to resist the encroachments of the employer, has no right to address a non-union workman with view of pointing out to him that to do anything contrary to interests of the organized workers is detrimental to his own interest, is violating the law. Having declared that boycotting is a legal and blackmailing is legal, that picketing and conversing with non-union men is illegal and that to become a slave to the employing class is legal, the judicial representatives of capitalism should cap the climax by ordering the class-conscious union men to vote the old party tickets or stand in contempt of court. To insist that wage workers should exercise their political prerogative and relegate to oblivion the tools of capitalism, is far more dangerous than to boycott and picket when strikes are on, and must not be tolerated.—Cleveland Citizen.

All the textile workers' unions of Philadelphia voted that no militiamen could remain in their organizations.

## CENTRAL FEDERATED UNION DECLARES FOR SOCIALISM.

In the Central Federated Union of New York City the following excellent resolutions were adopted last Sunday and referred to the affiliated unions:

"Whereas, We the delegates of the Central Federated Union, view with alarm the rapid encroachment of organized capital and the courts on the freedom and liberty of organized labor as shown in the circumstances leading to the steel workers' and other strikes, and

"Whereas, We learn with the utmost concern and apprehension of the action of the courts in Ohio and Connecticut in depriving the citizens of the right of free speech and levying the court expense upon the workers' homes, thus wrecking the foundations of our institutions; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Central Federated Union now and while the struggle of the steel workers lasts pledges its moral and financial assistance to them and urges upon its liberty-loving citizens to stand by the steel workers in their struggle for freedom and justice."

"Resolved, That we earnestly recommend that all workers combine at the ballot box to overthrow the system that makes such outrages as the pre-amble mentions possible."

Now we want to ask you—you delegates in the Central Federated Union—do you mean what you say in those resolutions? Are they merely so many words to which you said "Aye," without giving them any thought? Or do they express your real convictions and are you going to act in accordance with them?

If they do not express your real convictions, then you have done an inexcusable wrong in voting for them—have, in fact, publicly and solemnly lied upon a question of the utmost importance to your class. We should be loath to think that any delegate has been guilty of such falsehood.

We are compelled, then, if we would not insult both your intelligence and your honor, to believe that you really mean just what you have said in those resolutions. And naturally we are pleased, for this is just what we have been advocating for a long time.

But you have done more than express an opinion. You have made a binding pledge. When you "recommend that all workers combine at the ballot box to overthrow the system that makes such outrages possible," YOU PERSONALLY PLEDGE YOURSELVES TO SUCH CLASS-CONSCIOUS POLITICAL ACTION OF THE WORKING CLASS."

There is not one of you that has not some political connections. There is not one of you that has not some political influence. There is not one of you that does not take some part in political action; you cannot keep out of politics if you would. And now at last you have defined the only sort of political action that any of you can honorably participate in.

Some of you have been more or less afraid of the word Socialism. You have associated it with certain doctrines which the capitalist press falsely assured you were held by Socialists or with certain wrongful acts committed by men claiming to be Socialists, but really disavowed and condemned by the mass of Socialist



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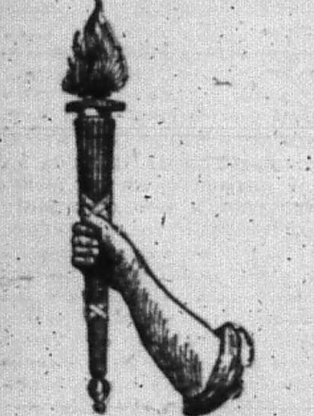
## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	9,005
In 1890.....	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,137
In 1894.....	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,594
In 1898.....	
S. D. P. ....	82,304
S. D. P. ....	9,543
In 1900 (Presidential).....	

S. D. P. .... 96,918  
S. L. P. .... 33,450

## NEW YORK CITY TICKET.

For Mayor—BENJAMIN HANFORD.  
For Controller—MORRIS BROWN.  
For President of the Board of Aldermen—HENRY STAHL.



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

Contrary to our usual rule, a very large amount of space in this week given to long and more or less theoretical articles and many matters of interest in the world of Labor are passed over or treated but lightly. This is due to the fact that this is the last issue before the Convention. We ask those of our readers who are not much interested in internal party affairs to pardon this, which will be in their eyes a defect, and to await our coming issues, in which we hope to announce the settlement of many internal questions and the reorganization of the party upon a basis which will enable us to carry on a more lively, a more aggressive, and a more effective propaganda of Socialism than ever before.

Capitalist judges cannot enjoin Socialist votes.

Seventh National Bank wreckers are not yet arrested. Perhaps the law dislikes breaking in on their summer vacation.

For some reason, the American consul at Bremen, Germany, fails to lay the blame of the very bad condition of trade in that country upon Socialism. This betrays a lack of political enterprise that should subject him to immediate recall.

Channey Dewey is "having a bully time" in Europe, so he says. "Bully" is good, coming from Channey. The New York Central employees learned what that word meant long ago. They've been having a "bully" time under Channey's direction for many years. That's why he's able to have a bully time in Europe now.

During the inquest over the disaster which sank the Italian liner *Perth* North and east five lives, it developed that the owners of the two boats that collided had been quarreling over signals and the collision was primarily due to that fact. And the owners of the two boats are still at large and doing fairly, thank you. Dear old private ownership, what could we do without you?

Out of the many labor bills introduced into the Pennsylvania legislature during the past session, one of the very few that became a law was one increasing the number of anti-trust mining inspectors and providing for their election by the people. The bill was closely watched by the miners' lobbying committee to prevent any attempt at dictating, so when the bill passed, there was exceeding great joy at the victory. Now it turns out that through a glaring error in the bill, it

entire purpose may be destroyed and all the expense and energy used in its passage has probably gone for naught. The miners should be used to this sort of thing by this time, but they never seem to tire of electing capitalist legislators to perform the trick with unfailing regularity. The working people evidently like to play the leading role in a green goods performance, only the role is a tragic one, if they would but see it. "Gold bricks" in the shape of worthless labor laws will continue to be imposed upon them while they evince a partiality for bacco games.

## THE TASK OF THE CONVENTION.

Next Monday the delegates of Socialist organizations from all over the land will meet in Indianapolis and begin their work for the organization of a united Socialist movement. In another week we shall know the result of their deliberations, shall know whether they have deserved the confidence reposed in them and have been able to rise above factionalism, above personal and sectional feeling, above petty prejudice, vanity, and pride of opinion, to the resolute courage of action and the no less essential power of forbearance required of the successful revolutionist.

We believe that the Convention will succeed in the performance of its task. We believe the delegates realize the sacredness of their duty and their obligation to the great mass, the rank and file of the party, the ones who work and sacrifice without reward or praise and the result of whose labors lies so largely in the power of these, their chosen representatives, by their wisdom to be infused most efficiently to the service of the Social Revolution or by their folly to be wasted in discord and strife.

We believe we speak for the rank and file when we say that we want complete organic unity, from bottom to top, through all the land. We want no trace of past divisions to be visible in our completed unity.

There is little doubt that this demand will be fully recognized. But care must be taken lest its fulfillment be endangered by stubborn dispute upon the details of organization. This is no light matter, no question to be settled with a phrase or put aside with a wave of the hand. There is an attention to detail which is frivolous and contemptible—a factions love of technicality which is most fatal to great movements. But there is also an attention to detail which is most necessary, which finds nothing too small for thoughtful consideration, and yet maintains its sense of proportion and knows how to subordinate small matters to great. To create a party machinery that will work to strike the happy medium between despotism and anarchy, local autonomy, to secure control over party officials without hampering them in the performance of their duties—this will require more than generous enthusiasm and good will; it will require calm and conscientious deliberation.

And on this point especially it is important that our delegates show the fullest confidence in the collective honesty and intelligence of the party, that they be not frightened by bogies of the past or phantoms of the future. Let them seek to frame an organization that CAN DO GOOD, rather than one that CANNOT DO HARM. We have less cause to fear an executive that may occasionally overstep its powers than an executive whose hands are tied with excessive restrictions. The former can at least be overthrown if it abuses its powers; the latter is sure to degenerate into a red-tape machine or into an intriguing clique—and lucky if it is not both at once.

There is but one matter which might give the Convention legitimate cause of failure to effect unity. If there be a real difference of principle, then unity would become a disaster as well as a farce. If there be any present who do not accept the class struggle as the basis of our movement, if there be any who do not accept independent political action as its inflexible rule, then we do not see how these can conscientiously seek unity with those who accept both, or how the latter can conscientiously accede to such union.

But we see no reason for believing that there is any such real difference of principle. Every day brings us new evidence that the rank and file of our party, in all its factions, fully accept these fundamental ideas. Indeed, the working class outside the movement is learning these lessons in the factory even better than we can teach them through our propaganda. If there be any individuals who reject them, we are sure that they are out of touch with the real living movement, and that they represent no considerable force.

The question of "immediate demands" is a matter of detail. It is not a trivial detail—we unhesitatingly say that we have the retention of such a program, consistently arranged, as an integral part of our platform—but yet it is a question of method rather than of principle. For all seem to agree that we should welcome and urge on ameliorative measures; they differ only in that some think that this will best be accomplished by declaring ONLY for our ultimate aim, while others (with whom we agree) think that our ultimate aim will be the more readily

understood if we give a recognized but subordinate place to an exposition of these ameliorative measures.

For the main portion of our platform, we see no reason why it should be much changed. Our party is more than a propaganda organization, but it is also more than an ordinary political party. Its platform must be more than a declaration of our purpose; it must be an exposition of our principles. "Let the nation own the trusts" is an admirable agitation phrase, but it would be a poor platform. A mere declaration, in two or three sentences, for collective ownership of the means of production, would state our purpose, but it would not explain our principles and it would carry conviction.

In its deliberations on all these questions, the Convention must be guided by the commonsense rule of seeking to keep all that is good of the past, while rejecting what has been found bad, and of adapting existing forms, with the least possible waste of energy, to the new conditions of our larger growth.

That the Convention will be enthusiastic we know. That it may also be thoughtful we desire. And that it may succeed in its work we hope, in the interest, not of any faction, not of our party alone, but of the toiling and suffering millions for whose emancipation it exists.

## MR. TOWNE'S FRANK AVOWAL.

Charles A. Towne of Minnesota, who once had visions of political greatness as the champion of free silver, admits that the silver issue is dead and explains the situation in the following words:

"Free silver as an issue is absolutely dead in the West. I do not believe it will be mentioned in the Democratic platform or campaign of 1904. The feeling among Democrats in the West is that they want to win, and they do not care a rap what kind of a platform they have so long as it brings victory."

For once Mr. Towne has stated the facts exactly as they are, without attempting to disguise them in "Jeffersonian" cant and gorgeous rhetoric. The Democratic party, just like the Republican party, wants to win, and it does not care a rap about principles.

Of course, if this was applied to the great mass of the men who have voted the Democratic ticket, who have supported Mr. Towne and Mr. Bryan through two disastrous campaigns, it would be a base libel. The rank and file of the voters have honestly believed that their party was right, and have had no interest in political victory except as it would mean the establishment of what they considered true principles.

But the Democratic party is something quite different from the mass of Democratic voters, just as the Republican party is something quite different from the mass of Republican voters. The platforms and policies of these parties are made by the machine, by the professional politicians who have just two ends in view: First, to serve the interests of their political backers; second, to feather their own nests with the perquisites of office. And they make and change platforms and policies with the sole consideration of "catching votes."

The workmen of the west who have honestly supported Mr. Towne will be sorry to hear of his desertion. But let them lose no time in grieving or in recrimination. Let them, instead, resolve that henceforth they will depend on their own class, and on it alone, for the political advancement of their class interests. Let them decide that they will no longer look for leaders or saviors, but that they will hand themselves together as workmen, conscious of their wrongs and determined to right them. Let them study for themselves the conditions under which they live and work out by frank mutual discussion the means of improving those conditions. And then, having thought together, let them act together for their common good.

Mr. Towne has done a real service to the Socialist movement by his frank avowal of the insincerity and the mercenary motives of the so-called "reform" parties.

The charge is made that Chicago merchants are making use of a dangerous poison to keep fruit and vegetables from rotting on their hands. Chemists testify that a very mild dose of the poison sprayed upon potatoes or fruit is enough to bring great suffering to the people eating the food so treated. This is nothing short of murder on a diabolical and long drawn out scale, but modern business methods tolerate and demand murder of this kind. For how are the merchants to compete and make profits if they do not use such methods? It is all a "business" and the man who is so scrupulous as to shut his eyes and smother his conscience at the dictates of "business" will go to the wall. His name spells ruin before he begins. And who are the people that are poisoned? The wealthy class? Oh, no! They can afford good food, and their purveyors see that they get it. It is the workers, who work so hard and get so little, who are the victims of the food and confectionery commercialism. They have to take what their sweat wages will buy, and as they are only working people, the merchants continue their soulless traffic without mercy, and grow rich in perfect and clean high in

good society by reason of it. Little need the bourgeois care while the working people continue to vote for the system of private ownership and profit that not only impoverishes them but murders them slowly and surely into the bargain.

More than ordinary interest attaches to the news that there has been a strike on Sir Thomas Lipton's *Shamrock II*, and that he will all the strikers' places with scabs in order to sail the yacht in American waters. Not that it is anything unusual for the titled groceryman to handle labor troubles in this way. Not at all. Long ago his treatment of his employees in his stores throughout Great Britain has been known as harsh and outrageous in the extreme. That is one of the ways he got rich, just like our own Carnegie and others did. Labor unions in England distrust Lipton with much the same vigor that the trade unions in America distrust Carnegie. But what makes the yacht incident most interesting at this time, is the probable attitude the trade unions will assume toward Lipton when he arrives here to compete for the cup. Will they again lead themselves to the laudatory so-called hospitality they have been led to believe necessary? Or will they consistently and openly levy a boycott upon Lipton and the yacht race, and show clearly that they place the cause of labor above a millionaire's race for a worthless laurel?

## Our Esteemed Contemporaries

(and OTHERS) ...

Terre Haute Toller.  
Secretary Gage estimates that the surplus of the fiscal year will be nearly \$80,000,000. If he will give us an estimate of the surplus wealth absorbed by the employing class from the unpaid labor of the workers for the current year we will acknowledge our gratitude to him. This is a form of "surplus revenue" that is conspicuous by its absence in the reports from Washington.

## Chicago Workers' Call.

Speaking of the recent hot-spell, the "Tribune" gives the following sage advice: "The facts justify the conclusion that it is advisable to slacken the working pace in extremely hot weather." But there are also several other facts that not only don't justify the conclusion, but on the contrary render it "inadvisable" besides. One is that "slackening the working pace" tends to reduce the profits of the employer, while on the other hand the wage slaves who attempted to slack up would speedily discover that his job was imperilled by the practice. Had the "Tribune" inserted a proviso in its advice to the effect that wages should be reduced in proportion to the slackening, there might be less danger in accepting it, but under present conditions it is evidently impracticable. Capitalism supplies too much "incentive" to permit its universal adoption.

## Philadelphia New Era.

Great alarm was felt in some quarters while our industrial masters were crossing the ocean. Some timid souls were afraid the world would go to smash if the Democratic ticket were chosen on occasion for alarm, for Morgan can't run a locomotive, Griggs can't sell a ship, Widener can't put up trolley poles and string wires on them, and Elkins can't build cars. If these gentlemen had gone to Davy Jones' locker there would be some seventeen millions of people who know how to do work, left. The billions could not take the mines, the forests and farms with them, and with these left to us we could manage to get along.

## Social Democratic Herald.

The student of wealth and want, of progress and poverty, of providence and piracy, etc., have object lessons challenging their powers of investigation in the mysterious processes of evolution in these notable estates created during the nineteenth century—the Astor, the Vanderbilt, and the Gould estates. The Astor estate evolved from a cow skin, the Vanderbilt estate from a mud scow, and the Gould estate from a mouse trap. These estates have all grown to colossal proportions within a century. The Astor estate, the most spectacular of the three because confined to real estate, lands, and buildings, about which the great public knows absolutely nothing, except that it is monstrously large. The Vanderbilt and the Gould estates attract more attention because they involve in a large measure public interests in the way of transportation. In the aggregate these estates are estimated at \$750,000,000. Their owners never performed a day's work in all of their lives. The Astor collected rents and the Gould collected toll and extended the lines of their railroads over the continent and are, therefore, constantly in the public eye. Labor, and only labor, has contributed in making such estates possible.

## BOTTLE TRUST LAUNCHED.

It has been made public that a trust in the first bottle industry has been formed. Every one of the fifty manufacturers of glass bottles in the United States is included. The capitalization of the new trust is \$20,000,000, and it will control the first glass industry of the country. The manufacturers declare that competition has been so keen that profits were all but wiped out, and it was finally suggested that they get together for self-preservation. The immediate effect of the consolidation was a raise in prices, and the other industries affected are getting ready to take it out of the consumers.

It is more convenient to know that these trusts are conspiring for the consumer's good, than to be tempted to suggest that the people own them.

## THE TASK OF THE CONVENTION.

An Unparalleled Opportunity to Organize the Socialist Forces for Future Progress.

The approaching Indianapolis convention will certainly eclipse all preceding Socialist conventions in this country in the magnitude and importance of the task before it.

For the first time in the history of this country Socialism bids fair to assume the dimensions of a real national movement. The closing years of the last century were replete with many glaring manifestations of the class struggle on the political and economic fields which did not pass unheeded by a large number of intelligent workmen. In almost every state and territory of the union there are indications of a complete revolution in the minds of these workmen; they are beginning to lose faith in their political views and parties; hundreds of them are joining the Socialist camp every month, and thousands of others are ripe for Socialism. The only thing required to shape these popular currents and to organize these elements in a well directed battle against the forces of capitalism is a Socialist party abreast of the times.

The Indianapolis convention will create such a party, and thus become one of the greatest landmarks in the history of the movement, as it will miss the splendid opportunity to become a lamentable failure. Whether it will do the one or the other the future will show. The one answer we can make at the present stage is, that the convention will certainly contain all the necessary material and elements to make it an unequalled success. If present indications do not deceive the representation will be larger than at any preceding Socialist convention; the delegates will be composed of some of the most active and intelligent workers in the movement, and they will have more freedom of action than ever before.

The recent troubles within the ranks of the Socialist parties have served to weaken the authority of former forms of party organization and administration; the delegates will be unhampered by party ties and traditions, and free to create a practically new party adapted to the needs of the times in all respects.

How can such a party be created, is the question of paramount importance facing the convention. The question has been vigorously agitated in our party press for the last few weeks, and I will now contribute a few suggestions to the discussion.

The ideal Socialist party is one which has: First, a clear and definite understanding of scientific Socialism as applied to the special conditions of the country in which it is organized, and knows how to express its views clearly and lucidly—4. A GOOD PLATFORM. 5. An intelligent, active and enthusiastic membership working in unison for the propaganda of Socialism on a well planned system of division of labor and in complete harmony with each other, i. e., AN EFFICIENT FORM OF ORGANIZATION. Let us consider these propositions separately.

## THE PLATFORM.

Much has been said and written of late under that head, which betrays a somewhat superficial conception of the subject: A Socialist party is more than an ordinary political party. It is also a party of propaganda and education, and its platform is more than the platform of an ordinary political party. It is also a declaration of fundamental principles and a program of action. While the platforms of purely political parties are merely called upon to comment upon passing conditions and outline a line of action and demands suitable to those conditions as a kind of prospectus for the voters, a Socialist platform is at the same time also a test of qualification for membership and a guide for the actions of any representative it may elect inside or outside of the party.

Socialism denotes a state of society, as well as the movement to realize that state of society, and a well drawn platform should make a full and lucid declaration of the end to be attained, i. e., it should contain a terse description of the material basis upon which the movement is founded—the present industrial system with its most salient concomitant features, such as the class struggle, concentration of capital, growth of the proletariat, etc.; the tendencies of that system and the final stage of its development—Socialism; and also the ways and means by which we expect to reach that stage—our plan of action.

The first portion of that declaration are contained in the body of the platform and the last portion in the "immediate demands." One is just as much an organic part of the platform as the other in the same way as Socialism as Socialist activity and vice versa.

From this point of view I am unable to agree with those who would like to see the platform boiled down to such a size that it could be printed on an envelope or postal card, as well as with those who advocate the striking of all immediate demands from our platform.

The fear that middle class reform parties may steal our thunder by purchasing some of our immediate demands is no reason why we should drop them, or, to be consistent, we should have to drop up our agitation and activity in the lines indicated by the immediate demands because other parties may also take up those issues, and we may remain ineffectively waiting for the social revolution in company with our anarchistic friends.

## FORM OF ORGANIZATION.

In deciding a new plan of organization, it will be proper to bear in mind that the convention is not called upon to frame laws for all times, but merely for the short period until the next convention. The latter depends for its living on the side of its wheat, potatoes,

will be a matter of impossibility at least until the Socialist movement in this country has developed to its full extent. While the party is weak and scattered in small organizations all over the country, a central administrative body with large powers is the only thing that will unite these scattered bodies into one compact party, and extend and strengthen the organization. A very strong national committee is the mark of a very weak party. The more the organizations grow in any one state the less is the intervention of the national committee in its internal affairs necessary or even useful, and whenever all states of the union will be well and fully organized, so that each state will be capable to take care of its own affairs, the functions of the national committee will of necessity be limited to the management of national campaigns, representing the party in external matters, and perhaps serving as a means of communication between various state organizations.

But have we already reached that point? The most sanguine of optimists will not say that we have. As yet there are many states totally unorganized, and many others too weak to take care of themselves. The spread out movement to the unorganized states, and to assist the weaker states is a task which only a national committee, a committee with funds, and an income, and meeting at frequent intervals can perform. The cry of "state autonomy" has its justification in a very limited sense so far. The result of leaving each state to its own resources at the present stage of the movement would be the retarding of the movement in a considerable part of the country.

If it is true, however, that the state organizations have gained much strength of late, and the convention should recognize that fact by increasing the powers and revenues of the state committees. For instance, the state committee should retain a larger portion of the membership dues than heretofore. It should issue its own charters to locals within its territory, etc. Should it appear within a few years that the useful duties of the national executive committee have become merely nominal, why may not the next convention be authorized to limit its powers and extend those of the state committees?

As long, however, as the national executive committee has necessary work to perform, organize it on a working plan and provide it with the necessary means. And in connection with this I believe the plan advanced by Comrade Harriman is in so far the best as it provides for a working body subject at all times to the control of the party.

M. HILLQUIT.

## SOCIALIST ECONOMICS.

Being an Attempt to Present the Main Principles of Scientific Socialism in Popular Language.

## V.—LABOR-POWER AS A COMMODITY.

I have sought to show, in the last two articles, that under the capitalist system, labor-power is a commodity, a thing to be bought and sold in the market and that its price, like that of every other commodity, is fixed by the cost of production—in this case, by the cost of living. I shall now try to make clear how it follows that Socialism is the only means by which the condition of the working class can be materially or permanently improved.

In society as it exists to-day a worker of buyers and sellers—the workman has but one commodity to offer for sale—his labor-power. This labor-power may be mere physical strength, with the smallest amount of skill or intelligence. It may be skill or manual dexterity, natural to the individual or acquired by long experience and training. It may be knowledge, gained by careful education. It may be and generally is two or all of these combined in varying degrees. In any case, it is labor-power of hand or brain, or both, is the sole stock in trade of the proletarian. And the proletarian gets his living by periodically selling this labor-power at such terms as he can get.

In several particulars labor-power differs from other commodities—and always the difference is to the disadvantage of the workman. It is necessary here to discuss only two of the points of difference—the fact that, unlike other commodities, labor-power is always owned by a man, and the fact that, unlike other commodities, labor-power cannot be saved or withheld from the market.

From the first of these facts it follows that the workman, the seller of labor-power, has always to labor under the disadvantage of being a "small dealer." It is the universal tendency, in every other sort of trade, for small trade to give place to great commerce, for competition to result in combination. Wheat, potatoes, cotton, iron, sugar, petroleum—all can be combined, and the whole or the greater part of the stock in the market can be brought into the hands of a single owner, or of a few owners who will act in unison. This he may do indirectly, as when a dealer buys up nearly all of the wheat offered by small producers, or directly, as when a Rockefeller holds of the source of nearly all the petroleum. In either case, the owner of the great stock has a great advantage, and is able to sell at much better terms than do the small holders. But the workman has control only of his own individual labor-power. The only way in which this commodity can be cornered is by a combination of its owners, the wage-workers, as in a trade union. It will soon be seen why such a combination can never be so successful as the combination of the owners of iron, petroleum and sugar.

The second point of difference noted between labor-power and other commodities is that the former cannot be withheld from the market. Here, again, it will be seen that the seller of labor-power is at a disadvantage. Let us compare him, for instance, with the farmer. The latter depends for his living on the sale of his wheat, potatoes,

and pork. But he has some choice in the time of selling. If he goes to the market and finds prices very low, he can go home and keep his produce till the next week, when better terms will be had. His only even hold his wheat till next spring without much danger of losing it. The small farmer can always do this to some extent. The large farmer can do it better. And in proportion as agriculture passes into the hands of very large capitalist concerns, the owners of large produce are better able to hold it back from the market, and so to command better prices for it. Not so the workman. His only commodity is his own labor-power. He must sell it daily in order to get its value. If he does not work for a week that week's labor-power is irretrievably lost.

This fact becomes more evident whenever the workmen and the capitalists are brought face to face in a strike—especially if the strike be a large one, if both sides be well organized, and if the matter in dispute be one of such importance as to make it worth while on both sides to fight it out to the end. The struggle then settles down to a trial of endurance.

The capitalist, at the worst, does not suffer an absolute loss. He is not compelled to burn fuel, consume raw material, and meet the other expenses of production without a return. He merely fails, for so many weeks or months, to get the profits that he expected to get. And sometimes even this negative loss is partly or wholly counterbalanced. The price of the product rises and he is able to dispose of his stock at an unusual rate of profit; and this unusually high price may continue some time after the strike is settled. Strikers, indeed, sometimes welcomed by the employer as giving him an opportunity to "redeem the market" without incurring the odium of a shut-down or a cut of wages.

With the workman it is quite different. His expenses go on the same, whether he is working or not. He must live, and in order to live he must have food, clothing, fuel. While the strike temporarily interrupts both the expenditures and the income of the capitalist, it interrupts only the income of the workman. And the workman has no "stock on hand" to dispose of. His one commodity, his labor-power, is such a nature that he cannot store it up and hold it until prices rise. If wages do rise, if the strike is won, the increase applies only to the future, not at all to the past.

Exactly the same contrast appears when, on account of the lowness of prices, however caused, the employer decides to shut down his factory. By so doing he raises the prices of goods already produced as well as of goods to be produced in the future. But the workman suffers an actual loss, because his labor-power must be maintained and reproduced by food, etc., whether they work or not, but does not, during the time of the shut-down, bring them any return whatever.

We have, then, this fact: That the workman lives by the sale of his labor-power and that the price of this commodity—that is, the wages of labor—is determined pretty closely by the cost of the workman's living. We have this further fact: That labor-power is a peculiar commodity in that, while it must be reproduced from day to day, it cannot be withheld from the market, cannot be saved in order to get better prices, but must be sold from day to day, or not at all. There is another peculiar quality about this, the only commodity of the working class: That it is the only commodity which, in being used up, gives rise to a value greater than that which is being consumed. Of this we shall speak in the next article, under the head, "What Is Profit?"

## Current Literature

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

## THE CHILDREN OF THE NATION: A STUDY OF THE MENTAL AND MORAL PROBLEMS OF THE MAJORITY.

By E. R. R. 8vo, pp. 315. \$1.00. The Children of the Nation is a book of the most interesting and valuable character. It is a study of the mental and moral problems of the majority, the children of the nation. It is a book that should be read by every one who is interested in the future of the race. It is a book that should be read by every one who is interested in the future of the race.

Mr. Bigelow has traveled extensively, visiting the nations of the earth and their children; he kept his eyes open in his travels and reflected on what he saw. His observations and conclusions on the relations between the children and their mothers, together with a broad historical sketch of the colonizing movements of our four centuries, he presents in this book, which is greatly to be commended. It is the most philosophical of travel books, the most traveled of philosophers. It must be said that Mr. Bigelow himself is rather better as a traveler and narrator than as a philosopher.

In general, the failures in the world's colonizing are attributed to corruption and greed, and the successes to liberal administration and free opportunity. Spain and Portugal were the most elaborate, expansive, but they sought only to fill the home coffers, and cared for nothing but the natives whom they conquered nor the colonies whom they ruled; they exploited both "for all they were worth." France, however, while also a "Latin" nation, gives her dependencies excellent administration, but because of the Frenchman's reluctance to emigrate and his distrust of colonial self-government, his colonies are simply good homes for aliens, principally Italian and Spanish. France is doing a great work, and a civilized, her flag is a blessing to a country "so far as it means good roads, efficient police, courts of justice, harbor works, and other necessary expenditure." But France gets no benefit from it all.

Germany's official colonizing is a failure, because it is a mass of red tape which upholds the flag, indeed, but which hinders trade. But the Germans, like the Scandinavians, the Russians, the Chinese, are successful colonists unofficially; these people migrate to foreign lands, taking their industry and thrift and other virtues with them, becoming good citizens and prosperous, to their own advancement and the credit of their respective fatherlands—for which they always retain an affectionate regard. Russian off-

cial colonization is the most complete on record. "The Czar has moved his people eastward for political and strategic reasons, because he required an army of occupation, and the cheap labor was the one which handled the hoe as well as the rifle." Russia's success has been due to her complete control of some 20,000,000 two-legged creatures on the social and intellectual level of domestic cattle. "The Russian alone has sought to fuse with the Chinese, but China sets the limit to Russia's expansion."

The Anglo-Saxon has been prominent as a colonizer, because of his capacity for self-government. Wherever colonies have had self-government, they have thrived. Whenever, for any reason, colonies of other nations came under the power of England they revived and prospered; when they returned to their original owners, they languished and decayed except where the English influence had become permanent.

From his survey of the world's experience in this field, Mr. Bigelow concludes that America, which has so recently become interested in these problems, must take warning and profit from the examples of other nations, and develop a school for trained administrators, to give our outlying territories principled. History is more than a jumble of great men and striking events. The author tells us that "the moving forces of this world cannot be put into the scales and weighed. \* \* \* Loyalty, respect for parents, patriotism, religion—these are the forces that move the world, not factory-wheels and banking concerns." Yes, indeed, loyalty, and patriotism, and religion, humane sentiments, enthusiasm for right and justice, love of liberty, civility, anything you please—but factories, banks, greed, trade balances, interests! Goodness me, by no means.

We learn from Mr. Bigelow's study of colonization and its problems that the church has always found it easy to justify institutions that were worth while in a worldly way; that private interests have always succeeded in educating public "sentiment" in the proper channels; that merchants never allowed patriotism to interfere with trade—which "follows the flag" only when the flag leads along the line of greatest profit; that after the Jews, the Jesuits who tried to civilize the heathen and to protect him against his Christian exploiters received the greatest attention in the way of persecution. "Columbus knew that anything would be forgiven provided gold was procured; but that nothing could atone for an empty chest." Just so; and Columbus tracked the way of empire; thus, wags the world. We need not sneer at the priests and friars, or at the planters and merchants who professed to believe that Providence laid out the "gentle Carib" and the miserable negro to carry the white man's burden for him. The best of us to-day believe things that will be as shocking to the humanitarian at the other end of the century. There were abolitionists in 1510—yes, and what did they get for their pains? There are abolitionists to-day—always have been; but there are also freebooters, and "pioneers" and "merchants" and business methods.

Let us do our own philosophizing, in gathering the material presented in this book. Mr. Bigelow bulled better than he knew, but the philosophy of colonization and the problems must be left to others.

Oppression has meant the government of one class according to the interests of another—the governing of colonists, planters, "natives," in the interests of merchants, officials, soldiers. Colonies so governed have failed. Liberty and opportunity have meant self-government—the government by a class of its own people, in its own interests. Colonies so governed have succeeded. The same principles apply to all government; when there are none to exploit, none will suffer from exploitation.







## NEW TENDENCIES IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

The Problem Is to Adapt Our Methods to New Conditions Without Losing the Fruit of Past Labors.

BY A. M. SIMONS.

We are allowed to print the following article from the "International Socialist Review." Our readers will doubtless be glad of the opportunity to receive Comrade Simons' views on the present condition and needs of the movement before the convention assembly, and we gladly give space to the article for this reason.

### ARE WE READY?

One thing is certain. This newly forming new movement demands new tactics. A mighty social upheaval, a great political party, an economic revolution cannot be confined within the bounds of a fraternal society for propaganda purposes. The greatest need of the hour is not, as in the past, a training school for propagandists, so much as a political expression of the movement that is already at hand. Questions of dues, officers, organizations, and means of carrying out the work, are of minor importance. The main thing is to have a clear, definite, and effective plan of action. The present moment is a critical one in the history of the Socialist movement in America. It is a moment when the movement is being tested by the most severe conditions. It is a moment when the movement is being tested by the most severe conditions. It is a moment when the movement is being tested by the most severe conditions.

### A CRITICAL MOMENT.

One thing is sure, and that is that in the midst of the most tremendous political, social, and industrial changes the world has ever known, the movement of intelligent, developed Socialists is being tested by the most severe conditions. It is a moment when the movement is being tested by the most severe conditions. It is a moment when the movement is being tested by the most severe conditions. It is a moment when the movement is being tested by the most severe conditions.

The Populist party is to-day, by a memory, so far as a political organization is concerned. But the impulse which led to the casting of a million votes in blind protest against a ruling capitalism is becoming more intelligently evolutionary. The suffering of the American farmer during the past ten years, together with the lessons of general economic developments, have made the farmers of America ready for Socialism. But the Socialists are not yet ready for the farmers. The majority of Socialists, writers, speakers are so hopelessly ignorant of the problems of agriculture that they cannot possibly have an intelligent opinion upon them. Yet they are anxious to write farmers' programs and to give voice to farmers' demands. Many a Socialist talks learnedly of the problems of agriculture, from the depths of a city office, who not only knows nothing of practical farming, but would be hard put to it if asked to name a single periodical or book on agriculture. If such men will first study the needs and demands of the farmer, they will find that he is simpler making in a more or less intelligent form, the economic demand of the slave, that he receive what he produces and that he be free in common with his fellows the tools with which that product is created.

The great body of trade unionists, too, through the formation of trusts, is made of injunctions, and use of militia, are being forced to recognize the necessity of independent political action to secure common possession of the essential of life. When they have recognized this fact they are Socialists. The laborer is losing his grip all along the line. Capitalist politicians are being driven from the unions. Active Socialists in the trade unions are hastening this process at a multitude of points.

### CHAOS IN THE OLD PARTIES.

Within the political parties all is chaos. In the height of its power the Republican party is panic-stricken lest its old dummy adversary disintegrate and give way to a real antagonist. Hanna shrieks out that the real struggle will be between Republicans and Socialists. Wayne McVeigh guards the same statement in more guarded language. The leading spokesmen and writers of the Republican party have found the fading force of their dearest ally, the Democratic party, and have sought to turn it into a party of the Democratic party, and have sought to turn it into a party of the Democratic party.

Once more "it is a condition, not a theory, that confronts us." The Socialist movement has already outgrown the reach of party discipline. With the hundred independent Socialist papers of to-day grown into a thousand in a year hence, any press censorship becomes as impossible and as ineffective as personal expulsions. We grow, not because we will it, but because we are alive and obey the laws of growth.

### FLEXIBLE ORGANIZATION

### IS NOW REQUIRED.

Any organization that shall correspond to the existing conditions must possess great flexibility. The Socialist of no other time or place were ever confronted with such a task—nor such an opportunity—as that which now lies before the Socialists of America. It is more nearly comparable to the international problems that have confronted the Socialists of Europe than to any questions that have ever arisen within national boundaries. It is even more difficult and more significant than any international question, for in the last analysis all such problems could be solved by cutting the Gordian knot of international connection and leaving each nation free to solve its own problems. But political and economic relations force us to accept the fact of a world of nations, and it is but the part of a coward or a fool to refuse to recognize this fact. History, tradition, political practice and economic solidarity demand that there be but one national Socialist party, and any discussion of anything else is an idle waste of breath which may for the moment obstruct the coming of such a party, but cannot prevent its ultimate appearance and success. Whether that one party will come as the result of intelligent cooperation or as a survival after a bitter

fraternal struggle is for the Socialists of America to decide.

But if there is national unity, local diversity is no less a fact. There is as great variation in economic conditions between Maine, South Carolina, New York, Mississippi, Illinois, Florida, Dakota, and California, as between Germany, Belgium, France, Norway, Italy, and Spain. Yet as was said before, there must be an organic unity and not a federation of independent, isolated groups extending over the entire United States. To talk of anything else betrays an ignorance of American political, social, and governmental institutions. The ideal must be complete autonomy in local affairs with closest national co-operation in all affairs, and national control of national affairs. This ideal can be realized through the establishment of a central control that shall be almost entirely advisory and educational in its character and that shall secure obedience to its decrees only because of the possession of wider knowledge of the things on which it speaks.

Under the conditions of the future the maintenance of a membership in a dues-paying organization will be rather a mark of greater activity for Socialism than a test of Socialist orthodoxy. The party machinery will be an organ of coordination and communication, not of discipline and regulation.

The whole attitude of the Socialist movement from now on must be one of attack upon the entire capitalist organization at every point of opening. We must "bore from within" and strike from without. Let us become conscious of our strength. Let us lay aside our platform in all its forms. Let us maintain the purity of our doctrines by striking them continually against the weapons of our adversaries, that all our associates may be farred away. Let us not fear contamination by contact with capitalism. Let us rather draw close to every old and decaying social institution, that, while preserving our identity, we may strike the harder blow. This does not mean the slightest concession to Fabianism, compromise or fusion. We must of ways and at all times preserve the class-conscious position, maintain our independence and abate no jot of our principles. The evolution of the ages has led to the few who would preserve the truth, to-day no man dares openly challenge the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism. No man has challenged them for many years. Why, then, should we fear injury to them in closest comparison with the exploded positions of the defenders of capitalism?

We have nothing to gain from half-measures, save delay to complete victory. Economic evolution in America has been secured through party discipline. The time is even now here when the attempt to uproot economic heredity by personal expulsions becomes the broadest of burlesques. The purity of Socialist principles must henceforth be maintained by the honest way of open discussion and free discussion. The right and true must be made to triumph because of their logical power to conquer and not because of the support of party discipline. This demands the greatest freedom of personal discussion and action within the party. At a time when the Socialists were but few in a hostile land, when the corrupting influence of capitalism had completely upon each individual from every side, then it was perhaps necessary that those principles be maintained by the honest way of open discussion and free discussion.

Two contending forces are struggling for the mastery in the Socialist movement of America at this moment. One sees only this new phase of economic development and that the old institutions of Socialism do not correspond to the new demands. They would wipe out all the work of years and surrender all to the exigencies of the moment. These men would abolish national organizations, and indeed, all organizations, and enter the field of capitalist life, to be met by the forces of the competitive offers of immediate amelioration. The other force remembers only the good work of the past and fails to recognize that new forces are here. They would seek to maintain a secular church, a doctrinaire seclusion, and a personal discipline. Let us apply the Hegelian dialectics that in a modified form lie back of the earliest Socialist classics, and seek the solution in a higher synthesis, that shall contain the old and include the new—that shall maintain, principles intact, but shall give the greatest flexibility of form. If we can do this we shall have solved the problem that lay before us and acquitted ourselves like men and women and Socialists.

**THE FAILURE OF JONISM.**

The fallacy of Mayor Jones' policy of no party receives a striking exemplification in his own particular case. Here we have a man whose platform approaches very close to that of Socialism; who is known to be honest, who is admittedly striving to benefit humanity, with no suspicion of his being personally ambitious for office or to go down in history as either a hero, a martyr or a leader. I say here are all the conditions but one at hand to place a man in position to get his views considered by the public, yet they are not considered, simply owing to the lack of that single condition, viz., a party of adherents to propagate his ideas. To the extent that Mayor Jones' ideas are in line with scientific Socialism, he owes it largely to the organized Socialists that such ideas are spread among the people. Therefore, I cannot understand how a man as sensible as Mayor Jones certainly is in many ways, does not come in hand and hand with the organized Socialist movement.

As for myself, while the "Challenge" is admittedly not a party organ, yet to-day it is owing almost entirely to the efforts of organized Socialists that it is making such a bowing success. My aim in life is to spread Socialism. I make no fetish of the Socialist party, but I would like Mayor Jones to tell me how I could have been preaching Socialism in halls and from the street corners of Chicago for the past several nights if there were no Socialist organizations to arrange such meetings? For the effective spreading of Socialist thought the individual can do nothing, standing alone, compared with what he can do when backed by an organization.

And then consider the question of vote-getting and election to office. I suppose Mayor Jones would probably find it more difficult, perhaps impossible, to be elected mayor of Toledo as a candidate of the Socialist Party, whereas as an Independent he might be elected. However, it's a very grave and uncertain question as to whether it helps Socialism as much to have a Socialist elected as an Independent, by virtue of his personal popularity, as it does to have him defeated as a candidate of the party. I myself feel that defeat with the party is better than victory without it. Eleven years ago, when I was nominated by the Socialist Party for congress in Los Angeles, I had it conveyed to me that I might be endorsed by one of the old parties if I would stand as an "Independent" instead of a party nominee. It was said that I could get a personal endorsement, but that it was hopeless to expect the Socialist Party to be endorsed. Of course, the overtures were not considered. I would have had no personal satisfaction in going to congress in this semi-underhand manner, nor do I think it would have been any great benefit to Socialism. Today in Los Angeles I think it would be generally admitted that if I simply wished to go to congress without reference to Socialism, that I would stand infinitely a better chance of running as an "Independent" than as a Socialist Party regular candidate. In other words, many people would vote for me as a "person" who refused to vote for me as a "Socialist."

However, it seems to me that being elected to congress, even if one is a well-known Socialist, simply as an "Independent," is of comparatively little importance with standing with the organized Socialist movement in defeat.

Socialism is not an individual movement. It is a movement of the whole people. The man who can push the Socialist Party alone an inch is doing more for Socialism than the man who pushes himself a mile.—H. G. Wilschke, in The Challenge.

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### HAT TRUST

That Will Control the Hat Industry Is the Latest on the Cards—Trouble Ahead for the Workers.

Plans are being devised by the hat manufacturers of New Jersey and Connecticut, looking to the organization of a hat trust, which will control the leading hat factories of the country. The trust will probably be called the United Hat Manufacturers of the United States.

All the firms doing a successful business will turn over their plant and good will to the combination, the different owners acting as managers of their respective factories. Most interesting is the announcement that the combination will have one large sales room in New York to display goods and each firm will have one of its own men in charge of its display. This plan is to do away with the large corps of salesmen now necessary to sell the hats. The many separate salesrooms now in use.

When the trust has entire control of the hat industry, the question of continuing the use of the union label will undoubtedly arise. Then the manufacturers may decide to do away with "union interference" and "coercion" and to run their own business as they see fit. It will then be "up to" the hat workers to establish their right to organize, just as the steel workers and the rubber workers have done.

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## Don't write on both sides of paper.

Don't send anonymous letters.

The Conquest of Detroit.

Editor of The Worker.

In the "Workers' Call" of July 13, Comrade Simons writes regarding the report of the late Detroit conference with the Socialists. I am glad to hear that the Socialists who participated in this conference were not disappointed.

The account is interesting, as much as the information contained in it. It is a many-sided side-thrust at the Socialists, but it is not a direct attack. It is a many-sided side-thrust at the Socialists, but it is not a direct attack. It is a many-sided side-thrust at the Socialists, but it is not a direct attack.

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Trades and Societies' Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trade Unions and other societies will be inserted under this heading at the rate of 61 per line per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity for advertising their places of meetings.

BRANCH 2, R. D. P. 34th and 55th A. D. (German Socialist Science Club), meets second and fourth Thursday evenings of each month at the Workmen's Educational Club, 2300 Third Avenue.

BRANCH 2 (English), 20th A. D. (Brooklyn, N. Y.), meets every Tuesday at 10 A. M., at 84 East 4th Street, New York Labor League. Business Secretary: Fred.

CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL UNION NO. 90. Office and Employment Bureau, 631 East 71st Street, every Saturday at 8 P. M.—District III, meets at the Clubhouse, 800 East 80th Street, every Saturday at 7:30 P. M.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd Street, every Saturday at 8 P. M.—District V, meets at 547 East 12th Street, every Saturday at 8 P. M.—District VI, meets at 1422 Second Avenue at 8 P. M.—Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 Second Avenue at 8 P. M.

Arbeiter-Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse fuer die Ver. Staaten von Amerika. WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workmen united in the spirit of solidarity and Socialist thought. It has since that time been growing and prospering. It is now a powerful organization with a membership of over 100,000 men. It is a powerful organization with a membership of over 100,000 men. It is a powerful organization with a membership of over 100,000 men.

Workmen's Children Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The address of the Financial Secretary of the Executive Committee is: 100 West 42nd Street, Room 4, Astor Place, N. Y. City, N. Y.

WORKMEN'S Furniture Fire Insurance.

Organized 1872. Membership 14,000. Principal Organization, New York and Vicinity.

OFFICE: 64 East Fourth Street, Office hours, daily, except Sundays and holidays, from 10 A. M. to 6 P. M.

DR. C. L. FURMAN, DENTIST.

Simon Sultan, 67 Nassau, corner Fulton at Law.

L. D. MAYES, LAWYER.

MORRIS HILLQUIT, Attorney-at-Law.

H. E. SALISBURY, Counselor-at-Law.

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THOMAS J. MORGAN, LAWYER. PATENTS.

I Would Like TO KNOW SOME THING ABOUT SOCIALISM AND THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

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THE WORKER'S CALL.

THE RED BUTTON.

THE TORCH OF SOCIALISM.

THE WORKER'S CALL.

THE WORKER'S CALL.



## CAPITALIST HYPOCRISY.

### A Striking Example from a Georgia Street Car Company.

Much Heralded Voluntary Increase of Wages Turns Out to Be a Clever Ruse for Diverting Public Sympathy and Securing Seats in Case of Strike.

The street car men have their troubles everywhere. There is probably no large section of the working class—unless it be in the clothing trades—where a worse combination of low wages, excessive hours of labor, uncertainty of employment, and general bad treatment prevails than among the street railway employees. On account of higher speed and the greater crowding of the streets, the work is somewhat harder in large cities than in small ones. But otherwise the smaller cities have little to boast of. Everywhere the men are over-worked and underpaid—and so it will continue to be so long as the street railways continue to be run for profit.

From the Macon, Ga., "Press" a trade union paper, we take an account of conditions prevailing there, which will apply to every city of the land. It seems that two or three weeks ago the street railway company, etc., of the community by voluntarily advancing wages two cents an hour. The generosity of the capitalists was loudly proclaimed in the daily papers and they were given unlimited praise.

But now comes the "Press" with a statement of the facts, which throws quite a different light on the case. Nothing could better illustrate the cruel shrewdness and the disgusting hypocrisy of the capitalist class. The raise in wages is proved in this case to be in the humorist's phrase,

#### "A DELUSION AND A SNARE."

"The raise of two cents," says the "Press," "AFFECTED FIFTEEN OR TWENTY MEN. The remainder did not get the advance—a discrepancy in favor of the men who had been in service over two years and not all of them."

"Here shows the injustice of the management, for there are men on the Bellevue line—a branch of the Consolidated—who have been on the line five or six years, who were not allowed the raise of two cents."

"The true injustice of the case is this: The Street Railway Employees' Union were dissatisfied with the long hours of toil and inadequate pay and had prepared a request to the management for an increase in wages. The management had emissaries in the union who kept their pockets as to how things were progressing."

"The best laid plans of mice and men 'Gang aft' agley."

"The union saw proper to draw the lines in certain quarters which shut out the emissaries and the management was at a loss as to how to proceed. Something must be done, and done quickly, and the two-cent advance was to act in the same capacity as the red flag to an infuriated bull—direct attention."

#### BAIT TO CATCH "SUCKERS."

"THE NUMBER OF MEN AFFECTED BY THE RAISE IS JUST ABOUT A SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF MEN TO INCREASE THE RISE OF A STRIKE. What a happy thought on the part of the management. Are they not proud of this grand achievement, this genuine Yankee trick of the first water?"

"For the smallest offense, one of these men that receive the advance may be laid off and a twelve-cent man substituted."

"The Consolidated seems to have a sliding scale of prices to suit all applications. It has twelve-cent men and a few fourteen-cent men—but a precious few, and they can be laid off 'happy thought'."

"If these men perform the same labor and are kept on duty—as they claim—from twelve to eighteen hours, running and making all connections equal to the favored few, then why not all receive the same?"

"As to the treatment these men receive at the hands of the management of the Consolidated, it is simply outrageous and only equalled by that of chattel slavery."

#### NEW WORK EIGHTEEN HOURS.

Does the general public know that FREQUENTLY THESE MEN WORK EIGHTEEN HOURS A DAY? One of them informed "The Press" that he had worked twenty-five days, AND OUT OF THIS NUMBER HE HAD WORKED EIGHTEEN HOURS FOR NINE TEEN DAYS, AND SIX DAYS FOURTEEN HOURS. Singular to relate, the man is still living.

"Recently a gentleman on Fourth Street, at 10 o'clock at night, standing in front of an approaching South Macon car, under the glare of an arc light, signaled the motorman to stop, but without avail, and only by the conductor ringing the motorman down did this gentleman secure passage. Our informant stated that in this instance nature had been overtaxed. THE MAN HAD BEEN WORKED DOWN BY THE LONG HOURS REQUIRED BY THE MANAGEMENT OF THE CONSOLIDATED, AND WAS ASLEEP WITH ONE HAND ON THE BRAKE AND THE OTHER ON THE CONTROLLER. Nature asserted her supremacy."

"These are some of the irregularities practiced upon an over-sleeping public which 'The Press' charges and stands ready to substantiate at any time. It charges 'The Consolidated' with management with working their men from twelve to eighteen hours a day for 15¢ cents per hour."

"A 'Press' reporter, several weeks

ago, was on a South Macon car at the junction on Mulberry street at 10:30 p. m. One of the motormen of the Short Belt boarded a car, and from his feeble condition the reporter was under the impression that the man was sick and inquired if such was the case. His reply was, 'No, I am not sick—worse than that, I am tired and completely broken down.' He was asked how long he had been on, and replied that he went on duty at 5:45 a. m. and had ceased work at 9:00 p. m.—fifteen hours and a quarter. No wonder this poor unfortunate man was broken down—all for 12½ cents per hour.

"The 'Press' could mention many more horrible affairs connected with the Consolidated, but believes this is sufficient for the time being to show the condition of affairs of this stupendous monopoly, and to show the utter failure of the management coming forward under the pretext and guise of an advance of two cents in wages of fifteen or twenty of its men, leaving the others out to work for 12½ cents, who do the same amount of labor and meet the two-year requirements of the road."

#### THE CONSOLIDATED IS NOW PUTTING ON SIX-MONTHS' EXPERIENCES AT TEN CENTS AN HOUR.

The story is quite a common one and we choose it only because in this case the different phases of the question are so well brought together.

#### A CLEVER CONSPIRACY.

First, the company compels its men to work beyond human endurance. We say "beyond human endurance" advisedly, for no man can work from fourteen to eighteen hours a day without soon becoming a physical and nervous wreck. It is well known that the work required of street car employees is so severe that a large part of them break down within a few months, and the lives of all are undoubtedly materially shortened by such over-exertion.

Further, it gives them for such excessive work, wages that barely suffice to maintain a human existence—making it absolutely impossible for them to lay up anything for the almost inevitable time of sickness or to save themselves from beggary should they be thrown out of employment.

#### CAPITALIST CLASS NEVER KEEPS FAITH.

The capitalist papers are always ready to cry out about an alleged "breach of faith" when a strike is declared. They did so when the street car men struck at Albany. They did so when the machinists' strike was declared. They are doing it now in connection with the steel strike. But workmen are learning by such incidents as that recorded above, that it is absolutely futile to expect the capitalists to keep faith. Palehood, hypocrisy, and guile is the very essence of capitalist policy. And the sort of "public sympathy" that can be turned aside by such tricks as that of the Macon street railway company is not, in any case, of much value to the workmen struggling for better conditions.

The working class must depend on its own united efforts. It may safely set to work as a rule, that the capitalist is always wrong, that the capitalist press can never be believed when it discusses the labor question, and that it is the duty of every workman to support his fellow workers in every conflict, regardless of any plans that the other side may make.

And the working class must learn to use its political power, too, to back its strikes and boycotts.

#### NOW FOR A BREAD TRUST.

One of the latest developments in the trustification process is the formation of the National Bread Company, with a capital of \$3,000,000. This is intended to become a veritable bread trust. The plan is to consolidate all the large bread-making companies and also to control the use of a new machine which is said to make 30 per cent more bread from the same amount of flour than can be made by methods now in use. The difference is in the water absorbed by the dough, when kneaded by the machine. The people who have to eat trust bread will doubtless find this extra water very non-desirable.

Two prominent Democratic politicians of New York City—anti-trust men, of course—are connected with the new trust. One is Augustus Van Wyck, the brewer. The other is Rudolph Gorgeheimer, president of the council. Excellent friends of the people!

#### HUDSON COUNTY.

County Committee of Local Hudson County meets Sunday, August 4, 10 a. m., at 324 Central avenue. The Seventh and Eighth Ward branches of Jersey City are requested to send delegates, as the delegate to National Convention will report.

#### IF YOU VISIT BUFFALO.

Any comrade who may visit Buffalo during the Exposition and may desire to meet Social Democrats there should call upon Henry Moore of 139 Caroline street or J. Mosler of 40 Knicker avenue.

"A 'Press' reporter, several weeks

## NATIONAL CONVENTION AT INDIANAPOLIS.

### One Hundred and Twenty-Four Delegates Gather, Representing Twelve Thousand Organized Socialists.

#### First Three Days' Sessions Are Lively, but Harmonious—After Long Discussion, "Immediate Demands" Are Retained in Modified Form—Resolutions on Negro Question and on Puerto Rican Conditions Adopted—Unity Now Seems Assured—Warm Greetings Received from Many Quarters.

The National Convention which opened its sessions at Indianapolis last Monday was proved by the number of its delegates and the membership they represented by its enthusiasm, and by the seriousness of its deliberations. The wonderful growth that the Socialist movement has made in recent years, and especially in the last year. Up to the time of our going to press, all reports are most favorable in the group. With redoubled energy and influence, while there have been hot debates—as indeed there should be among men who are in earnest—there seems to have been less than might have been expected of personal or factional feeling.

The majority of the delegates were on the field on Sunday, those from Maine and California being the first to arrive, and the evening was spent in the pleasant removal of old friendships and the formation of new acquaintances between those who had never met, but who, as comrades in the movement, could not be counted strangers.

#### HERRON PRESIDES ON FIRST DAY.

Masonic Hall was well filled with delegates and visitors when the convention assembled on Monday morning. J. W. Kelly, of Marion, Ind., as chairman of the first committee on resolutions, called the gathering to order and welcomed the delegates in a brief speech. After reading the two calls for the convention issued by the Springfield and Chicago National Committees, he called for nominations for temporary chairman. George D. Herron was elected by acclamation, and received a hearty welcome when he ascended the platform. He made a short and eloquent speech upon the purpose of the convention, the duty of the delegates, and their responsibility. He was frequently interrupted by applause. Philip Brown, of Chicago, was elected temporary secretary, also by acclamation.

It was then decided that a committee of ten on credentials be elected, to consist of four from each national party and two from the unaffiliated state organizations represented. The two national secretaries to act with the committee and render whatever assistance was needed. In accordance with this provision the following committee was elected: From the Chicago side—Westphal of Illinois, Winchey of New York, Benesi of Michigan, and Elizabeth Thomas of Wisconsin; from the Springfield side—Hillquit of New York, Hayes of Ohio, Greenbaum of Missouri, and Richter of Illinois; from the Indianapolis side—Hobson of Kentucky, and Jacobs of Iowa. A committee of five on rules and order of business was elected in the same way, consisting of Harpman of New York and Ryan of California for the Springfield side, Steadman of Illinois and Sedel of Wisconsin for the Chicago side, and Dobbie of Kentucky for the Independent.

Before the convention read telegrams of congratulation were read from the Voice of Labor and "Forward" associations of New York, as well as the following from Eugene V. Debs:

"As I cannot be present, I send greetings to the Convention and best wishes for the success of its deliberations."

#### OUR INCREASED NUMBERS.

When the convention reassembled at 3 p. m., Hillquit opened the proceedings by a local newspaper report which said that the convention had "given Debs a black eye." With other malicious falsehoods of the sort, much indignation was expressed at this wantonly misrepresented report. Hillquit, in reply to it, Hillquit offered a resolution which was unanimously adopted, and telegraphed to Comrade Debs in the following words:

"Be not deceived by false newspaper reports. Unity Convention is harmonious and enthusiastic. The nation of Socialist forces will soon be an accomplished fact. Convention sends cordial greetings. You have our esteem and love now, as you have always. We cheer for the International Socialist movement and the Social Revolution. United we stand." Later in the day the following reply was received:

"The expression of the Convention is gratifying in the extreme. May a united and harmonious party crown your labors. Press reports do not disturb me. I am a Socialist. A thousand thanks to the delegates for their personal expression. But for illness in my family I would be with you."

The first order of business was the reading of the reports of the two national organizations, through their secretaries. National Secretary Butcher of the Springfield Committee reported first. His report detailed the work done since the committee has been in existence, and the showing was a most creditable one. It called forth applause and Secretary Butcher was the recipient of congratulations from many of the delegates.

#### A GRATIFYING REPORT.

The report showed that the committee has granted charters to 137 new locals with a membership of 1,497, bringing the total number of locals up

to 221. Reports from 147 locals showed a present membership of 7,328, with 82 not reporting. The total receipts were stated to be \$4,187.63; total expenditures, \$4,167.22; cash on hand, \$20.44. Due stamps had been sold to the number of 32,579. Liabilities were \$677.02, covered by assets of \$853.29. Secretary Theodore Debs next reported for the Chicago N. E. R. The report was a brief one, and showed receipts since Jan. 1, 1901, of \$3,707.01, and disbursements of \$3,637.64. Liabilities for loans and salaries were stated at \$1,083.55. He stated that a complete report would be given when the work of the convention is accomplished, and his office transferred to successor. He expressed his hope that unity would be effected and said that when relieved from office he would not be a candidate for any official position in the party. Both reports were accepted.

#### SYMPATHY WITH PUERTO RICANS.

The Resolutions Committee, through Hoehn, reported a resolution submitted by Santiago Iglesias, the delegate from Puerto Rico. Some objection was made to the phraseology, especially to the word "non-American," as applied to the residents of the Puerto Rican colony under administration—the delegates evidently being of the mind that such tyranny has now become very thoroughly American, as shown in the Quar of Alencas and elsewhere in the United States. The word was finally stricken out and the resolution adopted as follows:

"Whereas the wage working people of Puerto Rico are in a deplorable condition, owing to capitalist rule and exploitation;

"Whereas, the present administration, under the pretext of giving to Puerto Ricans a free government, is making every possible attempt to destroy the trade union movement and prevent all labor and Socialist agitation;

"Whereas, the organized workingmen of Puerto Rico, and especially the Socialists, have been persecuted and ill-treated in the most shameful and disgraceful manner by the political and military tools of the present administration; therefore be it—

"Resolved, That we hereby enter our most emphatic protest against the brutal action of the administration;

"Resolved, That we appeal to the organized wage workers of Puerto Rico to continue their struggle for the right of organization and for the emancipation of labor;

#### NEGRO QUESTION.

The next resolution, bearing on the negro question, provoked a most interesting discussion. There were three colored delegates in the convention—Costley of San Francisco, and Adams and McKay of Indiana, the two latter being coal miners. The resolution submitted by the committee was not satisfactory to these delegates, and spoke in a manner which commanded attention and evoked loud applause. Their remarks showed a firm grasp of Socialism and of the Socialist conception of the race question. The resolution was finally tabled. Costley then introduced a resolution on the negro question, but this was also tabled, as the delegates believed it hardly suitable for agitation purposes. A special committee, consisting of Hampton, Lux, Costley, Wan, and Spring was then elected to draft an address to the negro voters, with the assistance of the colored delegates.

The resolution on "Socialism and Organized Labor" which was reported by the committee was discussed and—on account of dissatisfaction with the form, a draft being found with the committee—was sent back to the committee for revision. Slobodin, Thompson, Wise, Philip Brown, Abbott, and Tyle were added to the committee on resolutions.

Many messages of greeting and congratulation were received during the day. Julius Zora, national secretary of the United Brewery Workers, expressed himself thus: "Three cheers for International Socialism! We are for unity every time." Other messages were from the German branch in Philadelphia and from organizations and individuals in Washington, Montana, Oregon, California, and Texas.

In the afternoon session Margaret Hall reported for the platform committee. The platform was a concise

statement of revolutionary Socialism, and defined clearly the reasons for the existence of the Social Democratic Party, and why the working class should support it in order to achieve their emancipation by abolishing capitalism and establishing Socialism. The platform concluded as follows: "While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We therefore consider it of the utmost importance for the Social Democratic Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition, and to elect Socialists to political offices in order to facilitate the attainment of this end. As such means we advocate:

- "1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines; and to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition, and to elect Socialists to political offices in order to facilitate the attainment of this end. As such means we advocate:
- "2. The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
- "3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accident, lack of employment, sickness, and want in old age.
- "4. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
- "5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing, and food.
- "6. Equal civic and political rights for men and for women.
- "7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.
- "8. No more public land to be sold; all lands now held by the United States to be retained under strict regulations, as to improvement and cultivation; public credit to be used for the improvement of roads, irrigation, and drainage; public ownership and control of forests, irrigation, and water-power; and public insurance for farmers against losses caused by the elements."

#### "IMMEDIATE DEMANDS" DISCUSSED.

Simons, as a member of the platform committee, offered the following as a minority report and moved its adoption: "To strike out all that part of the platform following the words 'such means we advocate,' and that a committee be appointed to draft an address to contain the immediate demands, with an explanation of them." He supported his motion in a fiery speech, and a lengthy debate then ensued. He was followed by Hoehn, who opposed striking out the immediate demands, characterizing Simons' motion as reactionary and ridiculous. Westphal spoke against Simons' demands, saying that the economic development of America was now more advanced than any other in the world, that we were on the verge of the social revolution, and that immediate demands were no longer necessary.

As the debate promised to be an exhaustive one it was decided that a vote on Simons' motion be taken at 11:45 Wednesday morning. It was voted to hold a night session to permit full discussion on the motion. The debate was then resumed. MacCarty, Berger, Siererman, Harpman, and Goebel speaking against the motion, and Murphy, Clemens, MacSweeney, and Backus in favor. Harpman said he was not in favor of the demands as formulated, but thought they should not be stricken out. He explained how he thought the demands should be drawn up. His explanation was received with approval from many delegates. Mills of Chicago said he was instructed against immediate demands, but he favored Harpman's explanation and would like to see the demands so inserted in the platform.

In the evening session the debate was renewed by Goebel, speaking for the immediate demands. At this point Herron took the floor and advocated a modification of the statement of the demands, which practically coincided with Harpman's views. He moved the following as a substitute for the demands as stated in the committee's report:

- "1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines; so part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on the property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees and to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.
- "2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of

wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

"3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accident, lack of employment, sickness, and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class and to be administered under the control of the working class.

"4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose, in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

"The remaining points (5 to 8) stand in the committee's report, but to add: But in making these demands as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and in the establishment of the 'Co-operative Commonwealth,' we would warn the people against the public ownership demands made by capitalist political parties, which always result in perpetuating the capitalist system through the compromise or defeat of the Socialist revolution."

After a parliamentary contest as to the status of the different motions, Simons stated that while he accepted Herron's substitute, he was still opposed to immediate demands; but there would be more discussion and more conventions, in which he expected to be heard. At present he wanted the convention to agree on a platform, so that unity could be speedily effected.

The substitute was then adopted, and the discussion continued on the question of striking out the demands from the platform. Spring, Lux, and Hayes spoke in favor of striking out the latter being so instructed. Falkopf favored the plan of retaining the demands and issuing an address fully explaining them. Morgan of Chicago made a telling speech in favor of their retention, saying that the movement to eliminate the demands seemed to be the beginning of another struggle in the Socialist movement between anarchism and Socialism. He was frequently applauded.

The debate was still on when the convention adjourned for the night. On Wednesday morning the debate was continued until the time set for the vote came. The vote when announced stood 5,358 for the retention of the immediate demands in their modified form, and 1,925 for cutting them out altogether.

Max Hayes was chairman. The debate on the platform continued in the afternoon.

A group photograph of the delegates was taken on Tuesday. This picture will be a souvenir worth having.

Beginning on Sunday, large street meetings were held in Indianapolis every day and attracted much attention.

#### NOTE THE DIFFERENCE.

The scab "Sun" joyfully announces that "Socialists denounce the trade unions." Please observe that the people whom it recognizes as Socialists are the scab known as the Socialist Labor Party—not the party which this paper represents, whose Convention is now in session at Indianapolis, and which cast 100,000 votes for Debs and Harriman last fall. Remember the difference.

#### PIPE MAKERS TO MEET.

A meeting of the New York smoking pipe makers, including turners, mounters, stumblers, sandpaperers, polishers, and all branches of the trade, will be held at the Labor Library, Sunday, August 4, at 2 p. m. The conditions in this trade are very bad, the wages having been reduced and hours of labor being very long. The purpose of the meeting is to form a union with the immediate object of establishing a nine-hour day, with Saturday half day, and without reduction of wages.

All workers in the pipe industry should attend this meeting, as they can hope to improve their position only by united action.

It is a curious thing that some people recognize the fact that a trust can direct and administer a great industry much more economically than can a multitude of small capitalists, but yet cannot see how a Socialist state could do the same thing; administering industry for the benefit of all the people.

Defenders of capitalism tell us we should not kill Moxam and Rockefeller and Carnegie others or monopolists. The capitalists work hard they say. Yes, some of them undoubtedly do work hard. So do the burglar and counterfeiter. But the question is whether their work is useful or harmful. So one has to be careful that the usefulness of the capitalist

## BURNED ALIVE, FOR PROFIT.

A whole family of working people over in Brooklyn were burned to death in their tenement home last Wednesday morning.

Why did this happen? Why were those five lives sacrificed? Because, notwithstanding the plain provisions of the law, the tenement house was not provided with fire escapes.

But why were there no fire escapes? Because the landlord preferred to save expense at the cost of other people's working people's lives.

And why was not the law enforced? Because officials of our state and city are the nominees of the capitalist class and know that they are put in office to protect profits, not to protect working people's lives.

And finally, why did these people take the risk of living in such a death-trap? Because they were working people and, accordingly, could not afford

to choose their home, but had to live in a cheap place that they could afford to pay for. They might have preferred to live in a Fifth Avenue mansion and spend the summer at Newport. Beggars are not choosers.

The horrible death of those five people should not be set down to accident or to God's will. It should be set down to murder—plain, unadorned murder for profit. The landlord and his class and the old-party politicians who allow them to build such tenements share the guilt.

Don't you think it is time, you workmen who live in similar tenements, to put an end to this sort of thing? Don't you think it is time to vote your own party into power and put an end to the whole tenement house infamy? Don't you think you deserve death for profit? Or do you think you deserve to be burned like rats in a cage?

#### STEEL STRIKE

### No Prospect of Settlement Favorable to the Men.

Trust Offers Not to Discriminate Against Unionists—But Its Promises Are of Little Value.

The prolonged conferences between the officers of the Steel Trust and those of the Amalgamated Association have, up to the time of publication, brought no indication of a settlement. And if a settlement is reached in the near future, there is little reason to hope that it will be very advantageous to the strikers.

The Trust is said to be willing to settle upon the basis of all mills being "open mills" and recognized as such on both sides; that is, the Association shall consent to the employment of non-union men and the Trust will promise not to discriminate against union men. The Trust would insist, too, it is understood, on "protecting" the scabs who have gone in since the strike began.

It is hard to see how the Association could consistently accept this proposition. The real object of the strike is recognition. It is, as the Trust officials truly say, a question of whether the capitalists shall run the mills or whether the employees shall "dictate" to them on certain points. The Association cannot, if it has the power to enforce recognition, afford to accept any other terms for in giving up that it really gives up all.

Nominally and ostensibly the mills have all been "open" in the past. The Trust officials deny all charges of discrimination against union men. But the men know that the Trust officials are lying on this point, and they naturally infer that, if the strike were called off on the basis of running open mills, the Trust would at once begin its policy of coercing men to leave the union and getting rid of those who resisted.

The fact that the Trust has been willing to treat so potently with the Association is due to the fine split shown by the men, who are evidently "full of fight." The Association has certainly done good preliminary work, closing one mill after another that was supposed to be safely non-union, and very few of the men have failed to answer the call to strike.

If no settlement is reached, the strike will settle down to a long, hard battle. The men seem prepared for this, and they will have a great deal of support from other unions; but they will have need of all their strength and courage, for no strike has ever been waged against so powerful an antagonist.

However this battle ends, it will not settle the question. The question will never be settled till the workers vote to take over the mills they have created and use them for their own common good. And even for the present conflict, it is worth while for the strikers to think how they shall share the Trust would fear them if they had cast a solid Socialist vote last fall. They will have another chance.

#### THE TAILORS' STRIKE

The tailors' strike, which appeared at the end of last week to have ended in practically complete victory, is now complicated by a new element. The manufacturers having conceded the demands of the workers, the contractors have now gone on strike, claiming that their profits would be wiped out. So there is a deadlock and few shops are open.

As usual, the small capitalist is a worse nuisance than the big one. The garment workers suffer much more from the exploitation of the contractors than from that of the manufacturers, but so long as capitalism prevails, it seems impossible to get rid of these leeches. In the clothing industry, at least. Many of the East Side garment workers while bravely carrying on their trade union struggle, are convinced that real relief is to be found only in the triumph of Socialism.

Defenders of capitalism tell us we should not kill Moxam and Rockefeller and Carnegie others or monopolists. The capitalists work hard they say. Yes, some of them undoubtedly do work hard. So do the burglar and counterfeiter. But the question is whether their work is useful or harmful. So one has to be careful that the usefulness of the capitalist



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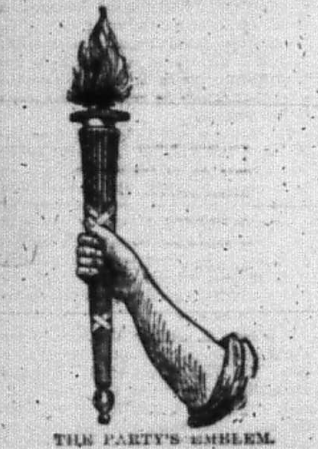
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NEW YORK CITY TICKET.

For Mayor—BENJAMIN HANFORD.  
For Controller—MORRIS BROWN.  
For President of the Board of Aldermen—HENRY STAHL.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.  
In 1888 (Presidential), 2,068  
In 1890, 13,331  
In 1892 (Presidential), 21,157  
In 1894, 39,123  
In 1896 (Presidential), 39,504  
In 1898, 82,304  
S. L. P., 9,545  
S. D. P., 96,918  
S. L. P., 33,450

NEW YORK CITY TICKET.  
For Mayor—BENJAMIN HANFORD.  
For Controller—MORRIS BROWN.  
For President of the Board of Aldermen—HENRY STAHL.



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

Why should capitalists object to strikes, if strikes are a sign of prosperity?

Workingmen would not need to withdraw from the militia if Socialist governments were the commanders-in-chief.

Reducing prices to freeze out its rivals shows that the wool trust has got the little capitalists where the wool is short.

The garment workers exhibit fresh contempt for law and order by striking in order to have the laws against sweatshops enforced.

President Shaffer has probably discovered ere this that an off year in politics is a bad time to enlist the sympathy of the national administration in labor troubles.

Now there is a movement on foot to cure the tenement evil by furnishing more free baths. The originators are evidently determined to make the job of skinning the workers as clean as possible.

Railroad mortality is increasing, but as there are plenty of railroad men left to be killed, with an unlimited number of unemployed to fall back upon, nobody need worry over the prospect.

As the courts have become necessary to the capitalists in breaking strikes, it follows that the same courts could be used by the workers to win them—if the workers controlled the courts as the capitalists now do.

Ryan's reputation by the Ohio Democracy is followed by McLaughlin's expulsion from the party by the Bryanite state committee of South Carolina, which is a sign that the Democratic party is rapidly deteriorating into a vacuum—and Nature abhors a vacuum.

Show manufacturers of Vienna, Austria, want the government to prohibit Americans from emigrating in the shoe business in that country. Still competition is the best system that ever existed for workingmen who have to compete to sell their labor power to manufacturers.

Senator Marion Butler, who holds the distinguished position of chairman of the distinguished Populist party, informs the world that the party still lives. At the same time he tells the public what Populism is, and depicts that Populists are Socialists. We welcome this last piece of information.

gratefully. To be threatened with Marion at this time would be almost a greater loss than the Socialist movement could bear.

Coincident with the discussion of "the plotting of Populists" appear articles in the daily press upon the growth of Socialism. There should be food for reflection in this for the honest Populist who has been misled by compromise measures and betrayed by fusion.

Socialists are accused of lacking a sense of humor. But is there anything funnier than the proposition that in order to have progress it is necessary that one class in society should do all the work so that another class should have all it desires to eat, wear, and throw away?

We don't care a rap whether Schley is a coward or Sampson a slunderer. But we observe that the capitalist newspapers find this fake case of Schley vs. Sampson a very convenient means of keeping the attention of their readers off the real and vital case of Labor vs. Capital.

A most pleasing feature of the tailors' strike has been the solidarity displayed by the workers. In former years it has often been possible for the bosses to play off German against Jew and Jew against German. This time the workers have stood together, regardless of nationality, and have deserved the success they have won.

This is the season of the year when the New York "Evening Journal" feels safe in counselling workingmen to organize into a labor party. If the workingmen want to see the "Journal" do a flip-flop back to Tammany, they should take it at its word and organize into the only labor party in America—the Social Democratic Party.

The resolute stand of the workingmen in Passaic County resulted in Chancellor Magie modifying Vice-Chancellor Pitney's outrageous order against the strikers. Good! Now if resolute action by the methods of trade unionism can accomplish that much, how much more could be accomplished by equal resolution on the political field. We are glad that the workingmen of Passaic have won this partial victory. We hope they will vote together to win a greater victory next fall.

The capitalist papers of America are devoting a great deal of space to the alleged progress of Bernsteinism in the German Social Democracy. The fact that these mouthpieces of American labor-exploiters delight in advertising Bernstein's views and supporting his attacks upon the uncompromising policy of the party ought to be enough to discredit any attempt to force Bernsteinism upon the American movement. We know that what the "Sun," the "Post," and the "Times" support cannot be good for the working class.

## AN ABSURD CANARD.

On the second day of the Unity Convention the capitalist papers all over the land published, under such headings as "Socialists Fall Out," an Associated Press dispatch to the effect that there was an attempt in the convention to "throw" overboard Eugene V. Debs. Our comrades knew, of course, how much faith to put in such a report, but many outside sympathizers may have been deceived. How false the statement was will be seen from our report of the convention.

It is easy to see the motive of such a false report—to foster dissension among Socialists by alleging and advertising its existence. And it is easy to see how naturally such a method of effecting such a motive would occur to men familiar with the tricks of capitalist politics.

In the capitalist parties leadership depends chiefly upon successful trickery and influence is gained through personal favor. Conspiracies to throw overboard this or that prominent man in the party are therefore of common occurrence. The politicians have not yet learned that in a Socialist party—because it is a party founded upon principle, not upon spoils-influence rests upon and is measured by integrity of conduct and service done to the movement and is lost only by misconduct or neglect of duty.

Whatever position Comrade Debs holds in the Socialist movement, he holds by virtue of his services to the cause, and no plan to "throw him overboard" could have the slightest chance of success so long as he continues true to himself. And the same is true of Herron, of Harriman, and of every other comrade. Each is sure of just the position which his ability and his devotion entitle him to.

The report so eagerly published by the newspapers was absurdly false, and will do little harm. But the fact of its circulation is significant of the capitalist desire that Socialist unity should not be affected.

The dispute over the late Pierre Lorillard's estate has disclosed the fact that he lived in open adultery with a woman who has presented a claim for part of his estate. She moved in the same circle of "good society" as Lorillard, and their intimacy was well known to their friends. Yet never a

word ever appeared in public print about it until Lorillard died. Their adultery was winked at, and, though they did not even pretend to sanction their intimacy with a ceremony, they were not denounced for seeking to undermine the marriage system, "the most sacred of human institutions," so we are told. All because Lorillard was rich, and he could command silence from the press and pulpit. The class to which he belongs dictates the moral code for society, and violates that code with impunity when opportunity and occasion demands it. Money covers a multitude of sins—of those who possess it.

## JUDGE FOR YOURSELVES.

The organ of the S. L. P. and S. T. and L. A. publishes a statement, purporting to bear the signatures of a considerable number of men in the Sprague Electrical Works of East Orange, N. J., denying all the allegations about the conduct of the Alliance in the late strike there, as published in The Worker of July 21.

Our information was derived from what we believed and still believe to be credible sources. The reason why we cannot publish a rebuttal with a list of signatures appended was explained in the original article. That reason is, as there stated, that the firm has forbidden discussion or criticism of the strike settlement and has power to punish any who openly defy its command. It is easy to get signatures to a statement of which the employers approve, but not so easy to get signatures to a statement injurious to them. In the nature of the case, we can present no further evidence, without breach of faith.

The question has now become, therefore, a simple question of veracity between The Worker and the organ of the S. T. and L. A. We believe that in all essential points our statement was correct. We cheerfully leave it to our readers to judge by the past conduct of the two papers, which better deserves belief. And we leave it to the thousands of machinists, cigarmakers, and others who, although they know nothing directly of this case, have in other cases, had personal experience of the peculiar policy of the S. T. and L. A., as guided by Mr. DeLoon and as executed partly by Mr. Hickey, to judge whether our statements were not highly probable.

Secretary of War Root's proposition to make the militia in the several states a federal force would save the capitalists a lot of bother in time of labor troubles. Instead of having to depend upon a number of governors for assistance to break strikes, they would have but on individual to call upon, the president, who would have full command of the National Guard. This concentration of power follows logically upon the concentration of the ownership of industry and the centralization of political power at Washington. Should the Socialists happen to obtain control of any state, any opposition on their part to the use of the military to shoot workingmen could be nullified by the action of the president, provided he was not a Socialist also. This will probably turn out to be true reason for the movement started by Root. Presently the workers will have to stop fooling with long-winded, verbose resolutions and petitions and get down to business. And their business is to capture the national government at Washington, and make the National Guard their creature, as it is now the creature of the present capitalist class government.

## THE EICHMANN CASE.

It now appears probable that we were misinformed when, some weeks ago, we referred to the case of Comrade Eichmann of West Hoboken, N. J., who had been elected as justice of the peace without opposition, and favorably compared his action, as we then understood it, to the course reported to have been pursued by some comrades in a western city. It is with regret that we say that, as nearly as we can learn, Comrade Eichmann did formally accept the endorsements of the old parties for re-election to the office, to which he had formerly been elected by the Socialist vote alone.

It is urged in Comrade Eichmann's defense that he acted in good faith, without making any compromise of party principle, and that he did not believe he was doing any harm to the cause. This may be true. We are inclined to believe that it is true. But, at the best, it is a poor excuse. The rule of the Social Democratic Party is—or, by this time should be—well understood, that under no circumstances shall any combination be formed with or any endorsement accepted from any other party. And when a candidate violates that rule, without so much as notifying his local organization of his intention to do so, he commits an offense which cannot be covered by any plea of good motives.

We know that the office is an unimportant one. We know that the action of the candidate probably did not affect the result of the election; that he would have been elected anyhow. But neither by these considerations alter the case. There are matters of discipline in which absolutely no latitude can safely be allowed; and among the chief of these is the rule of keeping out of entangling alliances and the rule

that a candidate is purely and simply the servant of the party. If a candidate for justice of the peace may accept a Republican or Democratic endorsement, who shall say that a candidate for mayor or governor may not do the same? And if a local may allow its candidates thus to violate the rules of the party, where will anyone draw the line against compromise? It is the first step that counts.

If the facts be as we now understand them to be, the least that Comrade Eichmann can do is to resign his office. We hope that the local will lose no time in setting itself right.

The Boston "Herald" remarks that "Mr. Carnegie would make a great fit with the union labor men of the country by giving them a million or so with which to fight the steel trust magnates." The joke is a good one. But it is more than a joke. Everyone recognizes that it would be ridiculous to expect Carnegie to contribute to the steel workers' strike fund. But why? No one knows better than Carnegie that the right is on the strikers' side. Why should he not spend some of his troublesome millions in helping to win their strike, so that they would have more leisure to use the libraries he has endowed? The reason is plain: Because he would be acting against his own interest and the interest of his class, helping to cut off his own unearned profits and those of his fellow exploiters. Apply the same reasoning to the gifts that he does make and you will see that the chief motive of his lavish donations for libraries is a desire to conciliate the workers, to mollify their just hatred of him and his class. Workingmen have no reason to thank Carnegie for his libraries or Rockefeller for his endowed universities. They are offered as bribes and the insult implied by the offer should only intensify the workingmen's opposition to a system which enables useless masters to play philanthropist at their expense.

## THE SERVANT GIRLS' DEMANDS.

As previously reported, a servant girls' union has been formed in Chicago, under the name of the "Workingwomen of America." The rules adopted are reported as follows in the daily press:

"Rule 1. Work shall not begin before 5:30 o'clock, and shall cease when the dishes are put away. Two hours each afternoon and the entire evening, at least twice a week, shall be allowed the domestic as her own.

"Rule 2. There shall be no opposition on the part of the mistress to club life on the part of the domestic. Entertainment of friends in limited numbers shall not be prohibited, provided the domestic furnishes her own refreshments.

"Rule 3. Gentlemen friends shall not be barred from the kitchen or back porch. Members of the family of the house shall not interrupt the conversation arising during said visits.

"Rule 4. Domestic shall be allowed such hours off on Mondays as will permit them to visit the bargain counters of the stores and enjoy on that day the same privileges enjoyed by the mistress and her daughters.

"Rule 5. All complaints shall be made to the business agent of the union. The question of wage shall be settled at time of employment, and no reduction shall be allowed."

These hundred women now belong to the organization. The officers are as follows: President, May Murphy; recording secretary, Stella Weidert; financial secretary, Margaret Keenan; treasurer, Hannah Johnson. This is the scale of union wages of servants: Cooks and housekeepers, \$5 to \$7 a week.

General and second girls, \$4 to \$5 a week.

Young and inexperienced girls, \$3 to \$4 a week.

The capitalist seem to find these rules very amusing, and the newspapers are waxing funny on the subject. The idea that servant girls should demand the right to belong to clubs, to go visiting and shopping, and to entertain friends! It is ridiculous, is it not? And the height of absurdity is reached when the girls demand that their mistresses shall not interrupt their conversation with friends during hours of rest.

To anyone who did not know the life of the average domestic servant and the treatment she gets, these demands would indeed seem absurd. Why should it be necessary for girls who earn their living by hard and useful labor to unite for the purpose of demanding such treatment as the common sense dictates of humanity and of courtesy ought to accord?

But "there's the rub." Mistresses may be very humane to persons outside of their service. They may be ever so well-bred and show the most exquisite courtesy to members of their own class. But also mistresses out of every ten (to put it mildly) are petty, vulgar, inhuman tyrants to the girls who cook their meals and wash their clothes and scrub their floors. Their inhumanity and insolence to their servants may not be intentional. They may not be conscious of it—often they think they are very considerate. But the inhumanity and insolence is there, nevertheless.

The average mistress—especially of the middle class or of the newly rich—thinks that she has a right to every minute of their "laid girls" waking time. She thinks she has a right to pry into the girl's private affairs, to inquire into every detail of her past life, to dictate her amusements—if she is allowed any—and to interfere in her

friendships—if she is so unreasonable as to form any. And then if she gives her an old gown or a hat-year's hat she expects her to be filled with gratitude.

The overwork and the low wages of the servant girls is bad enough. But this injury is made a thousand times worse by the insult that is added to it. And then the mistresses are never tired of talking about the faults of servants—how lazy they are, how they lie, how they steal; and so on, to the end of the chapter. Very likely some of them are lazy. Very likely some do lie and steal. They would be more or less human if they did not somehow take revenge for the impositions of their mistresses. Change places, and in a few years the former mistress would have all these vices. Put any person in the position of a slave, and it is safe to say you will soon cultivate slavish vices in him.

The responsibility for the faults of servants justly rests on the shoulders of the master class who determine the conditions that make them good or bad. In short, the relation of mistress and servant is a positively inhuman one, resulting in injustice, insult, and degradation to the servants. And these girls are members of the working class, our class. They are the daughters and sisters of workingmen. And because they are weak and defenseless, because they have neither the physical, the economic, nor the political power that we, the men of the working class, have to defend our interests, the duty falls upon us to aid them by all means in our power.

We wish all success to the newly launched union of domestic servants. But our wishes go beyond our hopes. The conditions under which they work, their isolation from each other and from other workers, the large number of poor girls who must work in order to live and who have no training in united action—all these things make it very difficult to organize them effectively.

Whatever aid the unions of workingmen can give ought to be given cheerfully and vigorously and promptly—and no doubt it will be. But the workingmen must do more than this. If they want to save their daughters and sisters from such oppression. They must make up their minds to abolish the system which creates a rich class and a poor class and offers the weakest and most helpless of the poor as victims to the idle vanity and insolence of the rich. They must use all the means in their power for the overthrow of this system of class rule and for the establishment of real freedom, real equality, real fraternity.

The greatest of these powers is the ballot, and the Socialist movement of fern the opportunity for its use. For the sake of the women of their class, if not for their own sake, let the workingmen vote the Socialist ticket straight and work for it the year round.

There must be great satisfaction to workingmen in reading the Sunday papers during the summer months. Therein is reported in painful detail, with the aid of taken-on-the-spot photographs, the details of "everybody," means, of course, the elite of society, the overburdened capitalists who suffer the working people to remain in the city and work while they sacrifice themselves sporting at the seaside. With what laudable indignation do they submit to the inquisitorial reporter and photographer who desire "copy" for the papers, for our gracious superiors know they are thereby assisting in brightening the lives of the drudges who have been left to toil in the cities. These drudges are all non-entities, so far as the world is concerned. These slaves of the work-shops, who make all the clothes, build all the houses, run all the world's vast machinery, only receive recognition when they shake themselves and move in revolt against their condition, as the steel workers and the East Side tailors are now doing. Their names or pictures never appear in the papers, except when they remind us that they are alive, and that they suffer, by threatening the existing institutions and customs by a huge strike. Then we suddenly become conscious of their existence and their power. When they take a "vacation" everything gets out of plumb, but "everybody" can go to the seaside, to the mountains or Europe, and they are never missed. The world's traffic moves on just as well without them. Still they can enjoy what is best in the world, while the powerful, necessary drudge scrubs along on the worst or next to it, and feels happy if he can finish the week with a trip to "Coney." By-and-by this will be changed, but not until the workers appreciate their power and use it to its highest and noblest purpose.

The question is not whether a doctrine is beautiful, but whether it is true. When we want to go to a place, we don't ask whether the road leads through a pretty country, but whether it is the right road.—Julius Marx.

If each reader in New York City will send in one new subscriber to The Worker each month for the next year, we should be sure of doubling or tripling our vote in the city at the next state election.

## SOCIALIST ECONOMICS.

Being an Attempt to Present the Main Principles of Scientific Socialism in Popular Language.

## VI.—WHAT IS PROFIT?

We have said that the answer to this question would be drawn from the consideration of a third peculiarity of the commodity labor-power. Before considering the matter in this light, however, let us briefly examine two or three explanations of the origin of profit advanced by the defenders of capitalism.

First, there is the "wages of risk" theory. Some alleged economists have justified the taking of profit by pointing out the great hazard incurred by the investor, who must be recompensed for his courage by receiving a share of the product of labor. We might point out that while the capitalist risks his wealth, the wage-worker risks his life, which is incomparably more valuable to him than any money; yet these economists do not think that the workmen are entitled to "wages of risk." We might point out that the capitalist can, and generally does, entirely cover his risk by insuring his "plant," and that after paying all insurance premiums there still remains a surplus to the owner of capital. The best of insurance is, indeed, and rightly counted, along with cost of materials, wages paid, fuel, and the like, among the expenses of operation. The word "profit" designates what is left after all these are paid. (We might point out that what the capitalist risks is not even his own wealth, but wealth taken from others. But it is enough to say: First, that this theory admits at the start that profit is not produced by those who receive it; and, secondly, that since capital itself is the accumulated profits of the past, it is as absurd to justify its existence by the risk theory as to expect a man to lift himself by his own boot straps.)

Again, there is the "reward of abstinence" theory. Its advocates have maintained that profit is the recompense rightfully due to the capitalist for his self-denial in having invested his wealth in productive industry instead of spending it in riotous living. The object lesson in capitalist "abstinence" given by our capitalist "smart set" have made this theory rather unpopular. (It is curious, by the way, to note that the same economists who say that profit is the reward of capitalist frugality, applaud the lavish and vulgar extravagance of the same capitalists—because it gives employment to the working people.) It is necessary only to point out again that capital is accumulated profit and that the mere saving of a thing cannot make it grow, in order to show the fallacy of this explanation.

Finally, there is the theory of "wages of superintendence." It is claimed by some that the capitalist actually earns the profit he receives by the mental labor he performs in directing and managing the labor of others. This is the most plausible theory advanced by the defenders of the profit system. It tries, at least, to explain the origin of profit. And a century ago, when the capitalist generally did manage his own business, the theory seemed reasonable enough. But the growth of the joint stock company has shown its absurdity. J. Pierpont Morgan draws no salary from a large number of steel mills, banks, railroads, street railways, and many other concerns, in very few of which he is even formally a manager. Consuelo, Duchess of Marlborough, probably could not locate the railroads from which she draws her income. The profits produced in many American mills and factories go to Europeans who never saw the establishments from which they draw this wealth, and so the other hand, there are American millionaires who have never left the country who are nevertheless receiving profits from Chinese industries. A certificate of stock may belong to a child, to a maniac, to an idiot, to a convict behind the bars; and it continues to draw profit for him. In modern industry, far the greater part of the "mental labor of direction" is done by paid managers, superintendents, and the like, by wage-workers—well paid, indeed—but still wage-workers.

All capitalist theories of profit fail to the ground when brought face to face with facts. Let us see what facts themselves teach. Let us see where it is that profit comes into existence. The capitalist who carries on any productive industry buys and uses up for the purpose several kinds of commodities. Let us take the manufacture of cotton goods as an example. The mill owner buys raw cotton, which forms the principal material. He buys certain auxiliary materials—bleaching chemicals, dyes, and the like. He buys coal, lubricating oil, illuminating gas, and other things necessary to the running of the mill. All these things have value. In the process of manufacture their value is transformed into the value of the cotton cloth. The coal is destroyed, but not the value of the coal. That value forms a part of the value of the finished product. So with each of the other items mentioned. So, too, with the value of the machinery as it wears out. It all goes into the value of the product. But so far no profit has appeared. Each of these things has given to the product just the value that was put into it. Each ton of coal burned, each bale of cotton spun and woven, has been so much cost—and so much value produced. Debt and credit are equal.

But the manufacturer has been buying and putting into his mill, along with these materials, another commodity—the commodity of labor-power. And in the process of production this labor-power is used up, just as the coal and gas and cotton are used up. But its value is not destroyed, any more than the value of the materials consumed. It, too, reappears in the value of the product, and—here is the secret—it gives to the product an additional value greater than that of the labor-power consumed. For, observe, labor-power is a living commodity, and this differs from coal and cotton. The value of the labor-power that the man-

ufacturer bought was the average cost of so many men's living for one day. The value these men's labor added to the day's product was far more than the cost of their living.

Thus, and thus only, can the origin of profit be explained. Profit is the surplus of the value of the product of labor over the value of the labor-power expended. When the man who does the work is, at the same time, the owner of the materials and tools of production, the whole product, of course, belongs to him. It is not then possible to separate the value of the labor-power used up from the surplus value produced. And there is no occasion for separating them. In such a case it is absurd to speak of the product, which is the reward of labor, as profit or as wages. It is just as absurd as it would be to speak of the wings and legs of a hen's egg. The egg is a future chick. The chick will have wings and legs, developed from the tissue of the egg. But in the egg there is yet no such differentiation. So in primitive independent production there is labor-power and the product of labor, but there is no wages or profit. The words "wages" and "profit" represent shares of the product of labor under a special system which divides up that product, giving the value of the labor-power to the worker and the surplus value to the employer.

I should say here that I have used the word "profit" in a broad sense for the whole of surplus value—the whole share taken by the capitalist, whether in the form of profit proper, or called, or in the form of interest, or of rent. Profit, you will observe, is a residuum. It is all that is left of the product of industry after the value of the labor-power consumed has been taken out. (I do not mention the value of materials, because each of these values, if analyzed, will be found likewise to consist of the value of labor-power plus the surplus power created.) And in proportion as labor becomes more productive, in proportion as the workingman is able to produce a larger surplus over his cost of living, this residue, the capitalist's share, grows greater. This is the tendency with the improvement of modern machinery.

At this point we shall leave the discussion of economic theory for a while and turn to the historical side of the question. Next week we shall take up the subject: Labor, Past and Present.

## THE NECESSITY OF POLITICAL ACTION.

It is a principle of military strategy that a general must always provide for the food supply of his army. Cutting off supplies is a favorite method of subjugating an enemy. The army of organized labor, therefore, must break up this control of the sources of their food supply which their enemy has acquired. The property rights of the capitalists in the means whereby the people live must be abolished. The laws which give one individual the right to take possession of the means of producing wealth and thus be able to say to the rest of mankind, "Pay me a tax or profit of all the product of your labor, above such wages as you can live upon, or you cannot work at all; you can starve"—the laws which give that power foster the most inhuman and tyrannical rule on the part of the few, and the most impoverishing and miserable slavery on the part of the many. Such laws must be abolished.

This, then, is the key to the situation. The point of attack. Private property in the means of producing and distributing wealth, must give place to collective ownership of those means. The people in their collective organized capacity, the state, must own all the industries of the country, and operate them on a democratic basis—every one having the right to work, to produce wealth and to get the full value of his product when he does labor. In order to effect this change the governmental powers must be captured. The workingmen, whose goal is this change, the new order, must organize themselves into a political party, to capture the legislative, executive, and judicial positions. It is to their interest to do so; it would abolish poverty and enable them, by a few hours' labor, to obtain far more of necessities and comforts of life than they now get by long days of arduous toil.—San Francisco Advance.

## THE GREAT NEED.

We are face to face with a great need—greater incomparably than ever before summoned the soul of man. This need cannot be measured by the words of any book or the terms of any law. It is written deep in the lives of men and women and children—all over the face and forms of the men you meet of the street. And it is written in the ethical ideals which possess the hearts of those who are most human. The world is fairly and madly with it, supremely pathetic and divine cry of the ages. It is the cry of the human emergent from the animal. It is the cry of the Son of God in agony of birth-cries. It is the cry for those rights which cannot be denied without mocking at the universe, without laughing in the face of God; the right to be free; the right to love and be loved; the right to have air to breathe; the right to an environment within which the new ethical man can grow.

Our world to-day is suffering from ethical suffocation and spiritual emphysema. New possibilities have awakened in the human soul of which the religious institution has never dreamed, which, indeed, it has always denied, and these new possibilities must have a fitting environment within which to come to fruition. Not just the life of this one and that and the other, but the life of all men—other they know it or not—is today demanding a new order of things; fellowship in place of mastership, co-operation in place of competition, freedom in place of slavery.—William Thurston Brown.

"Private enterprise" has now succeeded in producing an imitation new potato which is quite indistinguishable from the genuine article. In company with imitation corn, and various gelatinous strawberries, this is quite a feat. A blessing of the capitalist system! Keep the wolf at the door and we shall have a good market yet for dog meat and sawdust bread.—Telegraph, South Jamaica, N. Y.

## Our Esteemed Contemporaries.

Memphis Commercial Appeal. The trusts are rapidly driving this country into Socialism. When the rumormongers robbers get possession of all the producing properties, the people will demand their confederation by the government and national ownership will follow.

The Seattle Socialist. Seventy-five thousand men out on a single strike in three branches of the United States steel corporation. Organized labor against organized capital. Capital may win in the first battle, but the workers are getting together. First, united on a strike. Then united at the ballot box. It is not a long step. Prepare to take it. It must come.

Telegraph, South Jamaica, N. Y. A Staten Island trolley car killed a woman because the conductor was eating a proper and therefore unable to give proper attention to the trolley. The conductors cannot have time to eat their supper, why can't they get along without supper, anyhow? When they strike for time to eat in the country will be told that it is another effort to get "ten hours' pay" for nine hours' work.

San Francisco Advance. The Labor Council condemns the mayor for begging alms from Carnegie. The board of supervisors proceeds to give proper attention to the mayor's action and accept the donation. This is a striking testimonial of the contempt in which the Labor Council is held by the honorable board.

United Mine Workers' Journal. The efforts to secure beneficial mining legislation were, to say the least, not very successful. In Colorado the bill was stolen bodily. In Illinois the bill was "scooped." In Indiana and Pennsylvania the miners were openly defied. It would seem that the miners of those states have a duty to perform and should perform it in a manner that lacks no force for want of intention.

## Current Literature.

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

Tolstol is perhaps the most interesting character before the public at the present moment. His teachings are criticized from a wholly new point of view by R. H. Brumberg in the August number of the "International Socialist Review." The writer is himself a Russian and subjects the writings of his fellow countryman to one of the keenest criticisms they have ever received, by setting them in clear-cut opposition to the doctrine of Socialism.

H. Lagardelle, editor of a leading French Socialist magazine, describes the various Socialist parties in France and gives the first authentic account as yet published in English of the French Socialist Congress at Lyons. Other articles are: "Pantheism and Socialism," by Peter Burroughs; a report of the work of the Socialists at the Detroit conference, by the editor, A. M. Simons; and a review by Herman White of criticisms of the Socialist propaganda. The foreign department contains a graphic account of the struggle being made for universal suffrage by the Belgian Socialists, which seems to be approaching the point of violent revolution. The Socialists openly claim that the army are on their side and recent events where the militia fraternized with Socialist gatherings they were ordered to disperse would seem to justify their claims.

## SOCIALISTS AND THE FAMILY.

Socialists are charged with an intent to abolish the family. We do know that every system of production has had a special form of household, to which corresponds a special system of family relationship. We do not consider the existing form of the family the highest possible nor the last utterance upon the subject; and we do expect that a new and improved social system may yet develop a new and higher form of family relationship. But to hold this view is a very different thing from striving to dissolve all family bonds. Those who do destroy the family bonds—who not only mean to but who in fact do destroy them right under our own eyes—they are, not the Socialists, but the capitalists themselves. Many a slaveholder has before this torn husband from wife, and parents from growing children; but the capitalists have improved upon the abominations of slavery; they tear the suckling from the breast of the mother and compel her to intrust it to strangers' hands. And yet a society in which hundreds of thousands of such instances are of daily occurrence, a society whose humanitarian motto, "benevolent" institutions for the purpose of making easy the separation of the mothers from their babes, such a society has the opportunity to accuse the Socialists of contemplating the abolition of the family because they, basing their opinion upon the fact that the "family" has ever been one of the reflexes of the system of production, foresee that further changes in that system must also result in a more perfect system of family relationship.—From The Proletariat, by Karl Kautsky.

## THE TRADE UNIONIST.











ers, and plumbers have won the day. Independent political action, by the working class on a national scale, would just as easily establish the Workers' Republic.—San Diego Chief.







## Current Literature

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

**MONOPOLIES, PAST AND PRESENT.** By James Edward Le Rossignol, Ph. D., Professor of Economics in the University of Denver, New York: Crowell & Co. 1901. Cloth, 250 pages. Price, \$1.50.

Professor Le Rossignol explains, in his preface, that the reader will not be satisfied with a mere history of the evolution of the study of monopolies for the use of busy men who may wish to find in a single brief work a digest of a mass of information only to be obtained in a number of special treatises. "The attempt is laudable; how well it succeeds is another matter. He further says that 'the problems connected with modern monopolies are stated as clearly and concisely as possible, and it is hoped that the reader will not be satisfied with the superficial treatment, but will be sufficiently interested to work out conclusions of his own.' In this hope we heartily coincide.

We Americans are, as a rule, intellectual cowards. We are so trained in our schools and colleges. Whatever be the reasons, it is a fact that in no advanced country in the world is education so superficial as in America. It is not thought worth while to go to the bottom of things. We might say something that would shock us. It is not well to criticize our own convictions too closely, to make them constant, and to hold them strongly. We might tread on somebody's toes, and we are too good-natured to take that risk. Besides, intellectual enthusiasm is the mark of the crank. It is better to stick to a superficial eclecticism, assenting to mutually contradictory doctrines, agreeing with everyone in general and no one in particular; one gets on in the world much easier so. Seventy years ago it was said, "Who reads an American book?" It might still be said, so far as philosophy, history in the larger sense, and economics are concerned, and we could hardly make a reply. One does not expect anything thorough, consistent, and positive from an American in these fields—certainly not if he is a college professor. And Professor Le Rossignol has not broken the rule. After reading his book with careful attention, we know a number of things that he does not believe; but we have not found one thing that he does believe.

The book is composed of eight chapters, as follows: 1. Nature of Monopoly; 2. Monopolies in Ancient and Medieval Times; 3. Guilds and Monopolies; 4. Exchange and Monopolies; 5. Patents and Copyrights; 6. Municipal Monopolies; 7. Railways as Monopolies; 8. Capitalistic Monopolies. The best part of the work is comprised in the second, third, and fourth chapters. They contain, in quite readable form, a fairly good outline of the facts for the period covered—not much that could not be got from the encyclopedia; but then it is boiled down and gloriously so.

The last three chapters contain a good deal of general information, mixed with a good deal of what the author refers to in the preface as "solutions proposed." The phrase is rather misleading. Professor Le Rossignol's method seems to be to note down all the various "solutions proposed" that he can call to mind, say something for and something against each, and then say: "Well, gentlemen, there you are; I don't know who is right, and it's too hot to think it out now, anyway." As for the information on matters of fact, it is far from being exhaustive; of course, that saves it from being exhausting; and this may be a virtue.

The worst of it is that Professor Le Rossignol knows better than to do this sort of thing. Here and there is a passage which shows him capable of thinking, if he would only take the trouble. Let us quote the closing paragraph of the second chapter: "The world moves in advancing cycles. First, we have the individualistic spirit of the Middle Ages. Then we have the competitive spirit of the industrial revolution. Again we pass into a period of monopoly and restriction of competition. In the first period we have individualism and restriction of industry. In the second period we have the system of industrial liberty. May it not be that we are returning to a system of public control like and yet unlike that of ancient and medieval times? The doctrine of the Socialists revives in the teaching of modern Socialists. The ideals resume their sway over the human mind, now in form but still in the matter of 'Monopolies' and restriction, they call for realization."

That is not exactly original, of course; but we do not demand that one be original more than once in a lifetime. At least there is the germ of a large historic conception there, if only Professor Le Rossignol had had the courage or the patience to work it out; or, not to use too hard a word let us say, if he had had the intellectual curiosity.

Or we may quote this from the last chapter: "Unfortunately for this beautiful theory (the theory that freedom of competition will, of itself, cure all economic evils—the laissez faire theory, 'a few facts of industrial life' per se, refuse to be conformed to it. The parts of which the economic world is composed are chiefly persons and things. Being persons, they have human interests and feelings that demand recognition. The interests of one class of persons are not always identical with those of every other class, or if they are, the identity is hard to perceive. As a result of the clash of interests we have unjust treatment of men by men. Not all oppression is due to the application of physical force. There is the power of influence, the power of position, the power of law, and that power has often been used for purposes of oppression," etc.

This, again, is not strikingly novel. But it is a pregnant enough consideration to have given birth to something better than the shifty balancing of "ifs" and "buts" that follows.

Unsatisfactory as the book is—especially in the matter of "Monopolies Present"—it is far from being without value. For one who wishes a hasty sketch of the subject it will do very well; and we know of no other that

does quite the same purpose. Besides, as Mr. Dooley says of Kipling's poetry, "it is a pity."

The book is durably bound and clear of errors, but the punctuation leaves much to be desired. Some sentences are rendered very difficult of comprehension, or even entirely ambiguous, by the lack of the minor pauses. Perhaps the printer was shy of commas.

To us the most interesting thing in the current number of the "International Socialist Review" are the articles on "Tolstoy and Socialism," by H. H. Brunsberg, and "Paganism vs. Socialism," a reply to Julian's article in the June number, by Peter E. Burrows.

Mr. Brunsberg treats Tolstoy with the exalted respect which his extraordinary genius and his heroic sincerity demand. But he points out very clearly, what is often not understood, that the position of the great Russian is the very antipode of the Socialist position. Tolstoy is ascetic to the core. He carries out his asceticism to the bitter end. It is this intellectual and moral consistency, this absolute fearlessness of consequences, that makes him such a grand figure in the age of evasion, concealment and juggling.

But much as we admire him, we cannot and we believe there are few who really understand him that would not say the same—we cannot but think him absolutely, hopelessly wrong. His asceticism, logically carried out as it is, leads him straight to the same end with Schopenhauer and the Buddhists, with whom he has so little in common at the starting point. His philosophy is a religion of the will to live, and the will to live is at once the source and the test of all ethical rules or ideals. This is the certain teaching of evolutionary science—and it is too late in the day to go back to Darwin. Tolstoy, of course, says little more by Darwin.

The contrast between the ascetic pessimism of Tolstoy and the Socialist position is well brought out in the article under discussion, and it deserves reading.

Comrade Burrows opens his reply to Julian with the words: "They are surely the world's true philosophers who seek to relate the contemporaneous things of the world. Whether the other philosophers want to see them related or not, the facts of man's world must be related. Two of these facts are Christianity and Socialism, and the couple seem now to be approaching each other with amicable intent, and several friends of the parties seem to differ about the affair; some, like myself, favor the union, because it is inevitable, and we hate runaway matches anyway; and others, like Julian, are disposed to forbid the union, not liking one of the parties." This passage strikes the keynote, both in its attitude of good-humored banter and in the idea advanced.

The present reviewer not being in the least a Christian, nor even holding any sort of belief that an ordinary Christian would admit to the category of religions, has some sympathy with Julian's opposition to the espousal of Christianity and Socialism. But Comrade Burrows' Christianity is of a sort so similar to our own unregenerate state that we have no quarrel with him—except about the use of words.

Hubert Lagardie, editor of "Le Mouvement Socialiste," gives an account of the Congress of Lyons and the relations of the French Socialist parties. A. M. Simon writes briefly of the Detroit Conference. Under the title of "False Critics vs. False Prophets," Carl Pankratz replies to Herman Whitaker's article in the June issue, "Some Misconceptions of Marx."

The July number of the "Social Democrat," the English Socialist monthly, contains an excellent article by Comrade Spargo on "The Degeneracy of Mr. Frederic Harrison," written as a reply to a remarkable article by Harrison published in the "New York Times Saturday Review." During his stay in America, Mr. Harrison's article was remarkable in that it showed a combination of ignorance and unfairness very much in contrast with his work in previous years.

Here also Tolstoy is taken up. This number concludes a study of "Tolstoyan Asceticism," translated from the Dutch of J. K. Van der Veer. A sketch, with portrait, of Henry Van Klee, the Dutch Socialist, adds interest. Jaures' lecture on Zola's "Travail" is translated and H. M. Hyndman writes in criticism both of Zola and of Jaures. "On the Steppes," one of the stories of the great Russian novelist, Gorki, is translated by Emily Jakowick and Dora B. Montefiore.

### THE YOUNG GIANT OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE.

We have already referred to the remarkable young Russian writer, Gorki, a translation of whose "Foma Gordyev" is soon to be published in this country. The London "Social Democrat" has begun the publication of some of his best stories, which are considered much stronger than his novels. The series is introduced by the following personal note, written by the translator, Dora B. Montefiore: "Alexei Maximovich Peshkoff was born March 14, 1868, at Nijni Novgorod. He belonged to the people, both on his father's and mother's side; his father had followed the trade of a jobbing upholsterer. His parents died when he was quite young, and he passed the rest of his childhood with his father, a cruel and tyrannical old man, who had already so ill-treated young Maxim's father when the latter was a lad that he ran away from home. This exploit was repeated by our author, who, after a few months spent under his grandfather's roof, during five of which he attended school and the rest of the time was apprenticed to a shoemaker, began his life of roving by taking service as galley boy on board a river steamer. The cook on the steamer, whom it was his duty to help, was a reader and something of a character; he possessed a small library; which he allowed his galley boy to read, and it was here that Gorki felt the first awakening of literary instinct, though he had always from the time he left school, at nine years old, read everything that fell into his hands. The cook's library contained, amongst other authors, Nekrasov's translations of the works of Am. Radcliffe; a volume of

Sovremennik, whose editor was Tchernichevsky, the translator and commentator of John Stuart Mill; Icarus and several works in Little Russia; the lives of the Saints; and works by some mystical writers; and some Prometheus and Dumas, and some Frodo's literature. This odd collection of miscellaneous writings gave the boy Gorki, now fifteen years of age, a burning desire to obtain some degree of culture, and awoke in him the wish to write. He left the steamer and wandered to Kama, where he was told free instruction could be obtained. Here, in order to maintain himself, he had to enter a bakery at three rubles, or six shillings, a month, and he speaks of this work as being the hardest he ever did, with the exception of work in the salt mines, which he describes in one of his essays. A powerful story, written later in life, called "The Outcasts," is a truthful reflection of the people amongst whom he lived and worked at this period of life, and there is in it much that is autobiographical. He lived amongst these outcasts of society, chopping and sawing wood, carrying burdens and earning a living as best he could, and in the intervals of manual labor picking up what instruction fell his way. On leaving Kama he tried his luck as a signal man on the railway at Tzaritsyn.

"At the age of twenty he had to return to Nijni Novgorod, in order to perform his years of military service, but he failed to pass the health test, and was rejected as not strong enough for service. For some time after this he led a 'kavkaz' life, until he managed to get a situation in a lawyer's office. This lawyer, whose name was Lantse, eventually took a great interest in Gorki, and influenced him much in his reading and general culture. But a settled and sedentary life did not suit him, and in 1890 we find him again wandering through Southern Russia and two years later he was working at Tiflis, in the Caucasus, in the railway engineering shops. At this time, also, his first story, 'Marka Tchepundz', appeared in a local paper. The budding talent in his stories being recognized he returned to the Volga, where he had spent so much of his youth, and began writing short stories for the 'Volgskiy Vistnik'. These were followed by a longer story, 'Emilia Milai', which appeared in an important Moscow paper, the 'Kosmoy Viedomosti', and at last, having brought him across the Kordoko, Gorki, through the influence of this leading man of letters, was able to place his writings in some of the most important periodicals of the day. Korolenko did much for him also in the way of advice and Gorki wrote later of this period of his life: 'If I learnt little it was not Korolenko's fault but my own.'

"Gorki acknowledges the four literary influences of his life to have been those of the cook on the steamer, the kindly, of Lantse; thirdly, of Korolenko; a nihilist; and fourthly, of Korolenko. Of late years he has been forbidden, because of political writings, to enter St. Petersburg or Moscow, and his name appeared lately amongst those who were arrested early this year at the time of the student troubles, occasioned by the forcible and illegal enlistment in the Russian army of students, who had been concerned in breaches of university discipline.

"Gorki possesses a literary style peculiarly his own, characterized by a spontaneity and freshness, and a freedom from the ordinary tricks of literature which charm and surprise one at every turn. His philosophy of life consists in accepting and delineating life as it is, neither excusing nor exaggerating, but depicting the morals, the habits, the soul of the tramp and vagabond as faithfully as in his lies. His aim de plume, Gorki signifies 'bitter,' and his realism is often intensely flavored with this quality; but the restlessness of his soul is counterbalanced by his passion for nature and music, and by the consolations which are granted to him by the power of his nature, and the power of his art.

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### DANISH PARTY CONGRESS.

The ninth national convention of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark was opened on Thursday, July 18, at Copenhagen, with the reddest of reds, representing 114 local organizations. The presiding officers were R. R. Anderson, member of the Landsting, and Editor Møller.

City Councillor Peter Knudsen presented a report upon the actions of the party, in the parliament and elsewhere, in the last three years. During this time the Socialists had been introduced into the parliament as follows: 1. For the reduction of hours of working people; 2. To establish national sanatoriums for consumptives; 3. For the establishment of the eight-hour day for industrial workers, and, so far as possible, for agricultural laborers, seamen, and fishermen; 4. For state support for the existing out-of-work benefit fund; 5. For the free maintenance of school children; 6. For the reduction of hours of labor in bakeries; 7. For the restoration of the land to the cultivators; 8. For the introduction of universal suffrage for men and women in communal elections; 9. For the abolition of the militia system in Copenhagen; 10. For the establishment of labor lycées by the commune.

They succeeded in getting a considerable improvement in the provision for the aged; a factory law which included, among other advantages, a legal recognition of the trade unions; and a reform of the communal and

fragile, which it is hoped to carry further in the near future.

It was reported that during the last two years 1,100 public meetings had been held under the direction of the agitation committee in the seven agglomeration districts into which the country is divided, besides many others held without the action of the committee. The party has fifteen daily papers, all owned by a single association as an agency of the party, besides a humor weekly, a weekly for the farming population, and a general trade union paper.

At the close of the year 1900 the party had 356 members in communal councils. In last year's city elections the Social Democrats were victorious; in the election, the tax commission seventy-four succeeded. In the city election of last March in Copenhagen two more Social Democrats were chosen, bringing the representation in the city council up to seventeen.

### Over the Water

In Bohemia there are 430 local organizations having 17,627 members, 51 political groups with 3,676 members, and 154 trade unions having 17,647. It should be noted, however, that some members belong to more than one group. The Social Democratic Party has eleven newspapers, of which two are dailies, one of these being published in Czech at Prague and having a circulation of 12,000, and the other is published at Vienna. The headquarters of the party is at Prague.

In Argentina there are 1,500 members which form twenty-five groups, nine of which meet at Buenos Aires. Organization is very difficult, as the population is very mixed and not always very favorable to paying regular subscriptions. There are four papers published, three of them being in Spanish and one in German.

The party in Sweden is made up of different organizations and representatives of trade unions. There is a central council of 23 members, and an executive council of seven, which sits at Stockholm. There are three daily papers, published at Stockholm, Malmö, and Gothenburg, and five weekly papers. There is only one Social Democrat, H. Branting, who sits for one of the districts of Stockholm; this is due to the suffrage being very restricted, as no one can vote who has not a yearly income of 444, and direct taxes have also to be paid. In several municipalities there are Socialists. Altogether there are 221 organizations, with a membership of 44,100.

During the month of June Socialists in Germany were sentenced to four months, ten weeks and five days' imprisonment and to 125 fines.

At the municipal elections which have just taken place at Paris, in Italy, the Socialists and Republicans have gained all the seats.

Comrade August de Witte has been writing in "The Worker" ("The Worker") of Amsterdam a series of articles about "Poor Flanders." His tales are heartrending. The weavers of Rome and Kortrijk earn an average weekly wage of not more than 10 to 15 francs, and the work is very hard work. The rich ladies in England, who buy the beautiful Belgian lace, or admire it in exhibitions, do not know, or do not think, that it is produced amid the most indescribable misery by women working fourteen and more hours for 70 and 80 centimes (7d and 8d) a day. Flax workers receive from 8 to 12 francs a week for sweating twelve to sixteen hours a day. And some go home at the week end with as little as 4 and 5 francs. Half of the 700 to 800 weavers of Kortrijk live on charity. No wonder Socialism is advancing in Flanders so rapidly.

City council in Zurich, Switzerland, repudiated on August 13, and at Denver on August 14. Their trip has been an unqualified success.

The Socialist Party of Austrian Poland has been holding its seventh annual meeting at Lemberg. There were present sixty-six delegates from seventeen different organizations and also representatives from Silesia. In spite of the opposition of the landowner classes and the Clericals, a very anti-factory report was presented of the affairs of the party. The Hungarian Socialists have decided to run thirty candidates at the forthcoming elections.

Great distress still prevails in southern Russia. An Odessa dispatch says that a German factory inspector asserts that 40 per cent. of all the industrial works of the great manufacturing district of Ekaterinodar have suspended, and in order to relieve distress and to prevent disturbance \$50,000 articles have been deported to their homes in the interior at the expense of the government. Conditions in the other industrial centres of southern Russia are similar.

It is reported that the Japanese and Chinese laborers in British Columbia are forming a union. The Chinese laborers got started in the labor organization and the white workers will have little to complain of in the way of pauper competition.

### FACES IN THE STREET.

They lie, the men who tell us in a loud, decisive tone, that what is here a stranger, and that is a woman's sidewalk. For where the nearest suburb and the city street meet, my window is level with the space in the street.

### MAIL IN CALIFORNIA.

The National Organizer Speaks to Great Audiences—Reception to Mrs. Vail in San Francisco.

San Francisco has had a season of speech-making by Comrade Vail, and the public has shown its appreciation by a generous attendance at four meetings.

Our first meeting was held on Saturday evening, July 20, at Academy of Sciences Hall, which was crowded almost to suffocation. Comrade Vail's speech was "The Emancipation of Labor," and the appreciation shown by those in attendance was manifested by frequent and hearty applause. The joy of the Socialists was made complete during the time for answering questions, for during that time Comrade Vail proved the most capable man in that line that San Francisco had seen in many a day. This meeting was held under the auspices of the state executive committee of the S. D. P. of California. Cameron H. King, Jr., was chairman.

This introductory meeting was a better means of advertising than the other methods employed for the subsequent meetings.

On Sunday evening Comrade Vail again spoke in the hall named above, and to a packed house. The success of the evening before was repeated; the collected applause for times as big as is generally contributed was one of the results. J. E. Scott, a member of the state executive committee, presided.

The big meeting of the series was held in Odd Fellows' Temple on Tuesday evening, July 23. The subject was "The Abolition of Poverty." The great auditorium was filled, and a more enthusiastic gathering has never been held in San Francisco. It was a reminder of the hot times in the middle of past campaigns. Comrade Vail's telling points were cheered again and again. After the speech questions were declared in order, and several questions of value were answered by Comrade Vail in his usual ready manner.

The DeLeonites were in evidence, asking the questions required by the professional and retired in the district. Comrade Vail bowed the questions over with logic and some satirical advice as to public conduct, which would have a salutary effect upon anything bearing the form of man except the misshapen products of DeLeonism. The meeting was in charge of City Central Committee, S. D. P. Cameron H. King, Jr., presided.

On Thursday, July 25, at Academy of Sciences Hall, Comrade Vail addressed a house filled to the doors on "The Aims and Purposes of the Social Democratic Party." It was a constructive outline of the possibilities of Socialism, and was in many respects the best of this splendid series of addresses. Again the answering of questions was a most interesting feature, and another item of interest was the entire absence of S. D. P. with their usual bravado and insolence. The last one they were taught on Tuesday evening was such that it made an impression even on the case-hardened brain of the "professional" men, and they were not looking for more "lessons" on Thursday.

On Monday afternoon, July 22, the ladies of the Social Democratic Party in San Francisco gave an informal reception to Mrs. Vail at Sherman-Clark Hall. There were present over one hundred ladies, among them many that gained their first knowledge of Socialism from an interesting presentation of our principles by Mrs. Vail. This was a most enjoyable affair, and by no means less useful than the other work done while our eastern comrades were visiting San Francisco.

On Saturday, July 20, Comrade Vail spoke to a large house in Vallejo; on Monday he was greeted by a fine audience at San Jose, and on Wednesday he addressed a splendid meeting at Fratern Hall in Oakland.

Further meetings were arranged at Tulare, July 27, at Los Angeles on the two following days, and after that at Riverside, Santa Barbara, San Diego, and San Jose. The latter will be about August 8, the Vails are to return eastward, speaking at Birmingham, Utah, on August 13, at Colorado Springs on August 13, and at Denver on August 14. Their trip has been an unqualified success.

G. B. B.

### MACHINERY AND AGRICULTURE.

The wonderful effect of agricultural machinery in increasing the output of farming land and cheapening production, as illustrated by a recent statistical report issued by the United States department of agriculture, is causing much discussion in scientific circles. In 1885, the labor time necessary to raise a bushel of wheat was thirty-four hours and thirty-four minutes of labor time on the average to produce a bushel of corn, and the price of the work was 35¢. But to-day machinery does as much work in one minute as hand labor formerly did in one hundred minutes, and now the working time on a bushel of corn is thirty-four minutes and the cost 10¢. In 1885 the labor time necessary to raise a bushel of wheat was thirty-four hours and thirty-four minutes, to-day, with machinery, a bushel of wheat is raised in only ten minutes, while the price of production has fallen from 17¢ cents to 3 1/3¢ cents. And yet in the face of these facts, there are still a few confused financial theorists who claim that the price fall was due to silver demonetization.—Cleveland Citizen.

### IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

Our work is the conversion of trade unionists to Socialism, not to ally ourselves as a party with trade unions, which are composed of men of all shades of opinion. It may not be an easy task to convert them, but, however that may be, they represent the best of the working class, and if we could not win converts from among them the outlook for the spread of Socialism among the working class at all would be a black one. For if we cannot win the trade unionists, those outside the unions are not worth appealing to. As a matter of fact, we are winning our way among them. But we must not weary in well-doing, and then we shall reap if we faint not.—London Justice.

Show your color. Wear the red button with Arm and Torch.

### PARTY NOTES.

#### Comrade Barringer writes from Dayton, under date of July 20:

"Comrade Goebel, the New Jersey hustler and agitator, spoke Sunday to a crowd on the corner of Brown and Wyoming that fairly drank in his utterances. The location is near the 'Model' National Cash Register Works, where the reform factory methods are in vogue and where the workers are supposed to be above the average intelligence. The impression Socialism is making on them is very satisfactory. Comrade Wilshire speaks here next week, and then comes Comrade Lux of New Whatcom, Wash., who came so near defeating both nominees of the capitalists last fall. The Sunday meetings are well attended; the excessive heat cannot keep down the enthusiasm of the people, and we trust for an uprising in public sentiment that will sweep everything before it."

At the regular meeting of the Metal Polishers' Union of Bristol, Conn., held at St. John Baptist Hall, the president of the union, Comrade Alexander Morton, called for a vote of the members to ascertain whether they desired to listen to a talk upon "Lessons to Be Drawn from the Strike," by Comrade George A. Swastika. The response was unanimously in the affirmative. Comrade Swastika spoke for about thirty minutes, explaining the nature of the class struggle between the workers and the capitalists, and pointing out that the very existence of the trade union movement was a manifestation of this class struggle. He particularly urged the necessity of independent political action in connection with membership in the unions, and advocated the Social Democratic Party as the medium in and through which the workers should strive for their emancipation. His remarks were received with the closest attention, interrupted by occasional applause, and when he had finished his address a vote of thanks was tendered. The reception accorded to him proved that, many, if not all, of the members were seriously considering the subject of Socialism.

The San Diego "Chieftain" expresses great satisfaction with Comrade J. Stitt Wilson's work of agitation there and elsewhere in California. Local San Diego has decided to hold a public meeting on the last Monday of each month at Federation Hall, 723 Fifth street.

Comrade L. H. Edmonson of Riverdale, Cal., is sending in subscriptions to "The Worker" writes: "The Socialist propaganda in this neck of the woods is starting ahead in fine shape. I think we could easily double our vote of last fall if an election took place now. Our local is active, harmonious, and growing. We have a free reading room, ground floor, on the leading business street. The organization also edits a column in the Sunday edition of one of the local dailies. This column is doing us an immense amount of good in awakening interest and removing prejudice. In addition we have outside speakers with us every month or so. Our local propaganda meetings are held every Sunday."

Father T. McGrady, of Kentucky, will deliver the principal address on Labor Day, Sept. 2, at Saginaw, Mich., for the Central Labor Union.

San Francisco "Advance" of July, 27 was the first issue with sixteen pages. It is a credit to the Pacific Coast comrades. The price remains at 50 cents a year.

### TENDENCY OF CAPITALISM.

The report on statistics of manufactures for 1900, recently issued by the Massachusetts labor bureau, gives some figures which well illustrate certain tendencies of capitalism. The figures are based on reports of nearly five thousand establishments for the years 1890 and 1900.

Comparing the two years, it is found that the amount of capital invested increased 17.8 per cent. The number of employees increased 37.7 per cent. The aggregate value of the product increased 8.51 per cent., showing that the average amount of work done by each employee was increased. Aggregate wages increased 6.67 per cent., so that, although average wages were slightly increased, the rise of wages did not keep pace with the increase of the product nor with the increased amount of work required of the employee.

A very satisfactory showing for the capitalists, is it not?

### HARVEST-LABOR BUNCO GAME.

A hobo tramp writes to the Chicago "Times-Herald" regarding the widely advertised wages of \$3 a day for harvest hands in Kansas. He says it is a fraud. The little middle-class capitalists offer \$1.25 a day when you arrive as emigrant coaches at "special" rates. If you don't go to work, merchants in small towns refuse to sell you anything to eat. If you do go to work, you are compelled to start at 3:30 in the morning and toil until 8:30 in the evening. Your food consists of fat pork and corn bread, and when pay day comes, after the harvest, the big capitalist would be pleased to have a flat of "extras" to deduct, and you draw less than a dollar a day. Then, when you leave, the railroad charges three cents a mile, and if you "bum" your way the marshals in small towns rob you outright. It is a great bunco game, and the daily newspapers are the "cappers."

### BUSINESS FAILURES.

"Roadsters" reports 180 failures in the United States during the week ending 180 for the previous week, and 170, 180, 180, and 214 for the corresponding weeks of 1900 to 1897. The middle states had 42; New England, 21; Southern, 16; Western, 50; North-western, 13; Pacific, 15, and territories, 3. Canada had 18, against 32 for the preceding week. About 83 per cent. of the total number of concerns failing had a capital of \$5,000 or less, and 11 per cent. had from \$5,000 to \$25,000 capital.

### RAILROADS ARE ECONOMIZING.

#### Office Forces Being Consolidated and "Salaried" Workers Learning That Even Playing "Sucker" Does Not Secure Employment.

The railroads are economizing—at the expense of their employees, of course. They are also doing that—dividing methods by which one man can tend more switches, one train crew haul more cars, etc. But this time it is the office employees who are being hit—and even the high-salaried ones, the men who object to being called wage workers and are always eager to look out for the companies' interests as against the "common workmen."

A Philadelphia dispatch says: "Steps toward the consolidation of the various district freight and passenger departments of the railroads and the subsequent reduction of district forces, which move has been anticipated, are being taken. The initial move has been made in Chicago by J. C. Stubbs, who was recently placed in charge of the traffic of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific railroads. The local freight and passenger departments of the two companies in that city have been consolidated and the Union Pacific force notified that their services will be dispensed with at the end of fifteen days. W. G. Neimyer, formerly general western freight agent of the Southern Pacific, with headquarters in Chicago, will be in charge of the consolidated district, with the title of general agent."

The Southern Pacific and the Union Pacific maintain separate establishments in this country for freight and passenger departments of the two companies and districts of the two companies had been consolidated, although officially they had not been advised of the change. It is expected that what has taken place in Chicago will be done in other cities, where separate expensive establishments are now maintained.

A district representative of one of the largest western railroads, whose headquarters is in this city, said that for some time the tendency of freight managers had been toward concentration and the reduction of expenses by a decrease in the force. In several instances where railroads have maintained district freight and passenger offices or departments in large cities, with a man in charge of each branch, the two had been combined and placed in charge of one man."

We are not exactly pleased to see these employees thrown out of their jobs, although they deserve little sympathy, having always, as a class, played "sucker" to the capitalists. But we hope some of them will learn a lesson.

### SOCIALISTS THE BEST TRADE UNIONISTS.

Comrade Willard Barringer, of Dayton, O., after five months spent on the road—as a "drummer," not as a tramp—writes: "I have become more a confirmed Socialist than ever I was before. The last five months have put me where I could hear the rumblings of discontent among the small middlemen, grocers, and retail clothiers. The growing of the merchant where competition is sharp is of a nature to convince a thinking man that beyond doubt there is wide discontent in every trade and calling; and the puny effort of the small dealer to compete with the great stores is substantially ridiculous, were it not so serious a matter."

"We must do all in our power to prepare the mass of the people for the coming change



edness of \$467.02, as reported by Secretary Esterline of the Springfield organization, and the indebtedness of \$1,083.53, as reported by Secretary Tols of the Chicago organization, said indebtedness to be assumed and said by the Socialist Party; provided, however, that upon the assumption of said indebtedness the books, records, funds, resources, liabilities, and effects on hand of the two national organizations named shall be turned over to the Na-

If this verges on the poetical? The elder Mr. Weller will please note that after the dry prose of Indianapolis a touch of poetry would hardly seem out of place now, and I only wish some poet had been assigned the task.

\* \* \*

Another striking feature of our convention was the youthfulness of many of the American-born delegates. The chairman of the last day, for instance, was a youth hardly out of his teens.

—Socialism means that the man who produces something will not have to divide up with the man who does not work.—The Workers Call.

The National Committee shall also arrange a system of financial secretaries' and treasurers' books for locals, the same to be furnished at cost upon application.

**AMENDMENTS.**

This constitution may be amended by a national convention, subject to a majority referendum vote of the party or by a referendum without the action of such a convention, and it shall be the duty of the National Committee to

**SPRINGFIELD ACTION.**  
CALIFORNIA—Wm. E. Costley, San Francisco, 90; Harry Ryan, San Jose, 88; F. J. Spring, Los Angeles, 82; H. Gaylord Wiltshire, Los Angeles, 81.  
CONNECTICUT—Wm. E. White, New Haven, 108.  
ILLINOIS—Jas. H. Bard, 13; John Collins, 106; E. A. Goad, 1; M. Jucker, 1; A. Kienke, 31; Jas. Lambert, 30; Wm. J. McQuinn, 29; J. J. McQuinn, 28; J. J. McQuinn, 27; J. J. McQuinn, 26; J. J. McQuinn, 25; J. J. McQuinn, 24; J. J. McQuinn, 23; J. J. McQuinn, 22; J. J. McQuinn, 21; J. J. McQuinn, 20; J. J. McQuinn, 19; J. J. McQuinn, 18; J. J. McQuinn, 17; J. J. McQuinn, 16; J. J. McQuinn, 15; J. J. McQuinn, 14; J. J. McQuinn, 13; J. J. McQuinn, 12; J. J. McQuinn, 11; J. J. McQuinn, 10; J. J. McQuinn, 9; J. J. McQuinn, 8; J. J. McQuinn, 7; J. J. McQuinn, 6; J. J. McQuinn, 5; J. J. McQuinn, 4; J. J. McQuinn, 3; J. J. McQuinn, 2; J. J. McQuinn, 1.

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# The Worker.

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## THE GOVERNMENT'S DUTY IN REGARD TO STRIKES.

### What Republican and Democratic Officials Do and What Socialist Officials Would Do.

Government, whether local, state, or national, cannot remain neutral—represents either capitalist class or working class and must serve its masters—Socialists would turn against the capitalists the political weapons they now use against labor.

It is coming to be fashionable to speak of a strike as an act of war. The phrase is perfectly correct. Strikes and lockouts, boycotts, and blacklists are incidents of the age-long and increasing war between the class that owns the means of production and lives upon profits and the class that uses the means of production and creates all wealth, the irrepressible conflict between Capital and Labor.

Shifty politicians and mere theorists may try to conceal this fact of the class struggle; but the fact asserts itself in spite of their subtleties and evasions. When a thousand workmen go on strike, it is quite a different thing from a thousand workmen leaving their jobs as individuals; when an employer locks out a thousand workmen it is quite a different thing from his dismissing with the services of a thousand employees as individuals.

Every one knows this. The working class at large recognizes it by attacking the opportunistic exploiters of "neutrality" to a man who takes the place of a striking or locked-out brother.

A strike is an act of war. Let us admit this frankly. It is always better to call things by their right names.

Now war has its laws; but they are quite different from the laws of peace. War has its own laws, and imposes its own duties upon those concerned in it or affected by it. This is not at all true of the class war, fought in strikes and lockouts, boycotts, and blacklists, as in the wars of nations, fought with cannon and rifle.

### A QUESTION THAT DEMANDS AN ANSWER.

Let us ask them: What is the duty of the government—local, state, or national—in regard to strikes? It is time for every voter to make up his mind on this question, for the question is becoming more important every year, and this for three reasons: First, the working people are becoming more thoroughly organized and more determined on victory; second, industry is rapidly passing into the hands of a few great combines, which are able to offer a more substantial resistance to workers; finally, the government, because of the pressure of international, different trades and industries are coming to be overlapped and interwoven, so that a conflict in one directly affects many, if not all, others. To put it in another way, the lines between the capitalist class and the working class are being more sharply drawn and the solidarity of each class is becoming more complete.

Moreover, as labor conflicts thus become more significant, the powers of government are actually drawn into them, in spite of the theories of economists and the pretensions of politicians. The government is forced to take action on one side or the other. It cannot remain neutral. There are many workmen, many labor leaders, who will object to this. They only say that the government should not help the capitalists. They have become so used to seeing the government help the capitalists that they cannot imagine the possibility of its helping the workers. So they only ask it to keep its hands off.

NEUTRALITY IMPOSSIBLE.

That seems a modest demand and a reasonable one. But it is really an impossible and unreasonable demand. The government cannot keep its hands off, and it ought not to if it could. This is a case where it is foolish to ask for the halfhearted, because the whole loaf is easier to get than the half. It will be much easier to get a government that will actively help the working class than to get a government that will remain neutral. And it will be much better, as well as easier.

The people are divided into two classes, capitalists and workers, with opposing interests. The interests of these two classes are involved in the two opposing sides in every strike. The public officials at any given time must represent one class or the other. They cannot represent both. They owe a duty to the class they represent, whichever that may be.

With representatives of the capitalist class in power, put there by a capitalist party, we know very well what will be done. We know that the public powers will be used to help the capitalists, to the height of folly, then, to deny that, if representatives of the working class were in power, put there by a working class party, they would use the powers of government to help the workers.

Moreover, they ought to do so. Either the strikers are right or they are wrong. If they are right, then the capitalists are wrong, and vice versa. The conflict that not affect only the persons directly engaged; it affects the whole population. The victory of the strikers is a victory for the whole working class; the victory of the capitalists is a victory for the whole capitalist class.

Our question was: What is the duty of the government in regard to strikes? Here we have the answer: If it is a capitalist government, its duty is to help the capitalists crush the strike; if it is a working-class government, its duty is to help the workers win the strike.

We have had very little experience of working-class government in this country as yet. We shall have more

laws and Socialist judges would punish them. Socialist magistrates and sheriffs would prevent capitalists from employing private armies of armed thugs; they would prevent violence to persons and destruction of property, of course, but they would protect also the right of free assembly, free speech, and free publication on the part of the strikers. Socialist judges would hold that any one has as good a right to call a scab a "scab" as to call a thief a "thief." If a Republican or Democratic judge issued such an injunction as they are in the habit of issuing against the strikers, Socialist officials would use the police powers to protect the strikers in holding meetings and doing other lawful and orderly acts in violation of that injunction, treating it as illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust.

### KEEP OUT SCABS.

Second, a strike is sure to be lost if the bosses can get enough scabs to fill the strikers' places.

Socialist officials would therefore use whatever power lay in their hands to prevent the capitalists from getting scabs. Under Republican or Democratic rule, the police are the tool of the capitalist class. They are going around hunting for work and "without visible means of support" is likely to be arrested as a vagrant. Capitalist officials assume that such a man, becoming penniless and hungry, is likely to commit some offense against property—to steal or to bother "respectable" people by begging. They arrest him as a "suspicious character." They are quite right from the capitalist standpoint. On just the same principle, applied the other way, a Socialist administration would assume that any man who comes looking for work when there is a strike on is likely to commit an offense against working-class morality—that is, to become a scab. So, unless otherwise assured, they would treat him as a "suspicious character" and not give him a chance to scab.

Capitalists would call that "irresponsible" people by begging. They arrest him as a "suspicious character." They are quite right from the capitalist standpoint. On just the same principle, applied the other way, a Socialist administration would assume that any man who comes looking for work when there is a strike on is likely to commit an offense against working-class morality—that is, to become a scab. So, unless otherwise assured, they would treat him as a "suspicious character" and not give him a chance to scab.

### PUBLIC AID TO STRIKERS.

Third, a strike is sure to be lost if the strikers are starved out.

Socialist municipal councils and other authorities could and would meet this danger in two or three ways. They might, in cases where it was feasible, appropriate money to help the strikers establish co-operative industries of their own, under public supervision. They might, and unquestionably would, vote money directly to supply food and other necessities to the strikers, and inaugurate public works especially to give them employment.

The capitalists would say such ways of spending the public money were illegal. We would spend the money first and discuss its legality afterward.

In extreme cases, they would, if the power were in their hands, take still more radical action. We have spoken of what President McKinley and Governor Steiwerberg did in Idaho. Just to match that, suppose that now, with the steel strike on, there were Socialist governors and legislatures in Pennsylvania and Ohio. They would say to the strikers: "If you cannot run your business without strikes, you will have to get out of business. We give you forty-eight hours to decide whether you will settle this strike or whether you will confiscate your steel mills and other works and run them under public control for the public good."

If the Morgans and Carnegies wanted to resist and make a civil war over it, we should see who could put up the best fight.

We need not speak of what a Socialist president and congress would do in regard to strikes; for when we have a Socialist president and congress we shall have Socialism, and THEN THERE WILL BE NO STRIKES, BECAUSE THERE WILL BE NO OCCASION FOR THEM.

There you have a sketch of what Socialist officials would do in case of strike. What Republican and Democratic officials do, you know. YOU HAVE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THEM. THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT REMAIN NEUTRAL. IT MUST EITHER HELP THE CAPITALISTS OR HELP THE WORKERS. YOU WORKINGMEN ARE THE MAJORITY OF THE VOTERS. WHICH DO YOU CHOOSE?

### THE CHOICE IN NEW YORK CITY.

If the workmen of New York City want to see the city governed for the interests of the capitalists and the office-holders, they may as well throw dice to decide whether they shall vote for the Democrats or the reformers. If they want to see the city governed in the interest of the working class majority, the people who have made the city and do its work, they should vote the Socialist Democratic ticket—Hanford, Brown and Stahl—under the emblem of the Arm and Torch.

### ESSEX COUNTY, ATTENTION.

To the Socialists of Essex County: Comrades—You are hereby requested to attend the joint meeting of the Socialists of Essex County, to be held at headquarters, 124 Market street, Newark, on Wednesday, August 21, at 7:30 p. m. It is the purpose of this meeting to accomplish a strong organization of the now united forces and to nominate county and city officers for the coming fall campaign. We expect every one to be present, as there is no more excuse for Socialists to stay outside the party, now that national unity has been perfected by the harmonious work of our comrades at the Indianapolis Convention. Whoever desires to become a member of the new united organization will be given the opportunity to do so at this meeting.

## THE BIG STEEL STRIKE.

### Correspondence from the Field of Battle Between Union and Trust.

#### The Strikers Resolute, but Expecting a Severe Struggle—Mayor Black's Attitude Approved—Shaffer's Position on Labor Politics.

Notwithstanding the continued vague talk about the possibility of arbitration and rumors that the Amalgamated Association will soon make overtures for a settlement, there is no reason to doubt that the steel strike has passed the stage of negotiations and that it will be a long and hard fight.

There are unquestionably terrible odds against the men. The Steel Trust is an enormously rich corporation, with powerful financial backing and with great political influence. Its officers and stockholders have only their prospective profits to lose, while the strikers have put at stake their very means of livelihood. Such odds are always against the workmen in every strike, and that is why it is desirable that the working class instead of depending upon the methods of unionism alone, should adopt the method of independent political action, which promises infinitely greater results with infinitely less risk.

But in the present struggle, in spite of the overwhelming power of their foe, the strikers seem, from the most trustworthy reports, to be resolute and hopeful. They count upon the scarcity of skilled men, upon the sentiment of loyalty and the intelligent self-interest of their fellow workers, and upon the sympathy of the whole working class. On this they have a right to depend, but if they count upon "public sympathy" in general, they will be disappointed, so far as the bulk of the middle class is concerned. Nothing could be more disgusting than the cold-blooded indifference with which the comfortably situated members of society view this battle. It is a growing clearer every day that the working people can depend only on their fellow workers for sympathy and aid.

The situation is developing slowly. While it is true that President Shaffer's strike call was not responded to on Monday by all that should have responded—notably in the Western mills—yet, on the other hand, it is to be remembered that many, especially at Pittsburgh, anticipated this order went out last week. The men in the mills have been organized and are showing a fine spirit, and that considerable gains have been made since Monday morning.

If a criticism is to be made at this time upon the course pursued by the officers, it is that they were too slow, too cautious, too full of regard for "public opinion," too anxious to exhaust every means of conciliation before ordering the strike. It is well known that the rank and file are already ready for a more daring course than the officers are willing to adopt. Delay dampens their enthusiasm while it gives the capitalists time to make their preparations.

It is to be expected that many of those who have failed to come out this far will join the strike as soon as it develops sufficient strength to give them courage. Much will depend upon the action of workmen in other trades, and none should fail to give their aid now for it is the battle of the whole working class. If the unions of the building trades generally refuse to handle material bought from the Trust until the strike is settled, they can exert a tremendous influence. And the duty falls upon the workmen of every craft not to stop with resolutions of sympathy, but to give prompt and generous financial assistance. On their readiness to help much will depend, for there are thousands of steel workers, not yet organized, who are wavering between a desire to join the strike and the fear of privation for their families.

### SHAFER'S VIEWS ON THE STRIKE.

(Special correspondence to The Worker.)

PITTSBURGH, August 12.—President Shaffer granted me a special interview for The Worker this morning. I found him affable and cordial and apparently perfectly self-possessed. He expressed himself as deeply interested in The Worker, a copy of which I had left at his home yesterday. "I read the report of your Indianapolis Convention and noted its success with much interest," he said. "I want to say also that the message of sympathy sent by the Convention was very inspiring and encouraging." He expressed his satisfaction with the present strike situation. "I am not pleased with one phase, however, and that is the apparent submission of some mill men to the oppression of the Trust at a time like this, when we are making a fight which if won will mean to some at least 50 per cent. increase in wages. This is the most disgusting when I remember that in the non-union mills the appliances for doing good work are not provided; material which is condemned in the mill is often sold afterwards by the manufacturers."

### STRIKERS RESOLUTE.

(Special correspondence to The Worker.)

PITTSBURGH, August 11.—Being unable to meet President Shaffer to-day, I fell in with some of the union men, and had a chance to learn their opinion of the conflict between the steel workers and the Trust. It was going to be a hard fight, and the trade unionists were alive to the gravity of the situation. Everywhere among working people the sentiment was the same. The Steel Trust must be beaten. If it took every cent from the unions' treasuries, and if every man connected directly or indirectly with the steel mills and their products had to quit work. The Trust was trying to destroy trade unions, therefore the trade unionists must defeat the trust. I had doubted before coming here whether or not the workers really appreciated the true meaning of this struggle—if the issue was clear to them. Those doubts are nearly, if not entirely dispelled after my experiences of to-day. The recognition of the power and influence of the Trust is unmistakable. These workers have felt it, and their attitude toward the Trust very nearly approaches hatred. On the car going to McKeesport I struck up a conversation with a young man beside me. He turned out to be a union bricklayer. His opinion was identical with that of those I spoke to in Pittsburgh, and the sentiment of all the workmen I knew was the same. The bricklayers, he said, had already voted to quit working in the mills when it became necessary. The boiler-makers and structural iron workers I had learned in Pittsburgh, were prepared to do the same thing when the union product they were now working upon gives out. At present both these

trust from importing irresponsible men into places where they might cause trouble by their conduct. He has the matter under advisement now.

"You were reported as saying that the working people could remedy their condition by using their ballots judiciously. What did you mean by that?"

"Just what I said. If the working people would only unite at the polls they could get a fair share of that which they create, which would mean better conditions, better opportunities, better homes, and better American citizens."

"Do I understand from that that you believe there is no hope for the working people in the Democratic or Republican parties?" I asked.

"That's what I believe, even if Mr. Guntton of New York does call it demagoguery."

I explained to him that the Socialists believe the workers should have the full product of their labor and in order to get that they would have to organize into a working class party. Did he believe in that?

"I believe the working people should practice independent political action. I have not given collective ownership sufficient study to declare a positive opinion; but from what I know of it, it looks reasonable and just. Fifteen years ago, while a minister, I declared that we should have government regulation of corporations."

I explained that regulation would not be effective without ownership, and then if the capitalist class owned the government there might be even a worse condition of affairs than now.

"That looks reasonable," he said.

"When I asked him what importance he attached to the strike, he replied: 'This appears to me to be a fight for us—not only for the Amalgamated Association, but for the preservation of the life of every labor organization in America. Right here let me correct a wrong impression that has been spread throughout the country. It is true we are battling for the principle of the right to organize, but we are also contending for higher wages for the non-unionists at work. If we succeed in having our scale signed, it will affect the whole steel industry, and will be a blow to the Trust. We are fighting to protect our organization, for if we yielded then an attack would be made elsewhere and all organized labor would be dragged down. Therefore we believe this is a fight in which all laboring men are participants.'

President Shaffer closed the interview by saying: "We hope that every workman and sympathizer with us in this struggle will aid us financially and morally. We ask this in the name of Labor, and because we believe the cause justifies it."

Secretary Williams stated that a call for funds was being sent out to every city, town, and village in the country. More money than ever before is pouring into the treasury of the organization. "More is needed, however," he said. "It is our desire that needy ones shall be cared for and the families of the men engaged in the battle shall not want for the necessities of life. Our own people will not want, but there are others besides the skilled workmen who must be cared for. Many offers of financial aid are received from many organizations. Much will be needed for the struggle will be a long and bitter one. There are many at work who are fearful of their families suffering. If these are assured of support there will be no trouble in winning this strike. The Trust thinks we must have their work or starve. We want to show them that we will not starve."

While waiting in the headquarters for President Shaffer, who was engaged when I entered, I fell into conversation with one of "the boys." They were quietly enthusiastic, and did not hesitate to express their views. The news from Chicago and Milwaukee had not discouraged them. One young fellow told me his story. "I have worked in one mill all my life," he said, "and now it's like home to me. I know every inch of it. There are other men who helped to start it, years ago, before I was born, and we all love it. I tell you it was tough to come out and leave the old plant, but we're union men first of all, and when that order came from President Shaffer calling upon us as union men to join the strike—why, we made up our minds in a second. Our rights as workmen are dearer to us than any old mill or the profits of the trust."

I endorsed the sentiment with all my heart.

W. M.

### MAYOR STANDS TO HIS POSITION.

(Special correspondence to The Worker.)

McKEESPORT, August 12.—I interviewed Mayor Black this morning. He was somewhat reticent at first, no doubt because of the way he has been misrepresented, but he gradually warmed up and talked freely. I showed him the supposed interview published in the New York "Evening Post" of August 7, in which he is quoted as making bad grammatical errors and several ridiculous statements.

"I never gave out such an interview," he said. "Any sensible man would know I never talked like that. Those papers have lied fearfully about me."

I asked him what his plans were regarding the protection of imported non-union labor.

"I said that I would not allow the police to be used to protect the Trust property to a greater extent than other people's. The police are not here to do picket duty for the Trust. They are supposed to see that the peace is preserved. This is what I intend they shall do, and no more. Violations of law will not be tolerated on either side."

I suggested that strikers appeared to me to be orderly and good-natured. "They are," he replied. "The boys are all right. We have good people here. As long as they are left alone they will not bother anybody. I was

(Continued on page 4.)

## "LAW AND ORDER" IS NOW AN EMPTY PHRASE.

Two recent incidents in the labor world have stirred the capitalist press to comment. The comment is most instructive.

The first is the refusal of the Mayor of McKeesport to give special police protection to the Steel Trust in its battle with the workers, and his declaration that he considered imported scabs as "suspicious characters."

Nothing could be better justified by the facts as observed in a hundred strikes than this decision of Mayor Black. It is a well-known fact that while strikes may last for weeks without any disorder, the appearance of armed forces is almost always the signal for disturbance. The inference is easy to make. It is an equally well-known fact that the men whom corporations arm and import to break strikes are almost invariably recruited from the "toughest" class and are dangerous to the peace of the community.

But Mayor Black's action has called down upon him the slurs, the sneers, the denunciations of capitalist papers of every sort. They talk loudly of "law and order" and describe Mayor Black as a blatant demagogue who is wantonly sacrificing public duty to a desire for popularity.

The other incident was the kidnapping of eighteen leaders of the Spanish cigarmakers' union in Tampa, Florida, by an organized mob of "respectable citizens."

A strike has been on for some time in Tampa, and these respectable have become exasperated by the courage and patience of the workers. No disorderly conduct is charged against the strikers, but they were "injuring the business interests of the town." They

were strictly within their legal rights, so the respectable citizens threw law and order to the winds and, not satisfied with kidnapping the leaders, forcibly closed the soup houses which sympathizers had established for the help of the strikers and issued a proclamation threatening violent treatment of any "labor agitators" who should further thwart their greed for profits.

Few of the capitalist papers have commented editorially upon this incident. But some of the loudest howlers for "law and order" in McKeesport—club law and order secured by terror—have gone out of their way to excuse and indirectly to praise the respectable lynchers of Tampa.

Now we do not care much about the loyalty of either proceeding. Charles Sumner well said: "Anything for human rights is constitutional." As a matter of fact, Mayor Black's course has been entirely lawful and the course of the Tampa business men entirely lawless, and the conduct of the capitalist press in denouncing Mayor Black and praising the Tampa rioters only shows their hypocrisy, their contempt for all law that does not guard capitalist profits.

For us, we condemn the Tampa respectables, not so much because they have violated law as because they have wronged the working class; and we praise Mayor Black, regardless of the legality of his action, because he has been true to the working class.

That is the one test we apply to the public conduct of any man: Is it in the interest of our class? That is the only test to apply to-day. Let all workmen recognize that and act upon it, and the emancipation of Labor will not be far off.

## BETWEEN THE DEVIL AND THE DEEP SEA.

A reader of The Worker in Tacoma, Wash., writes us as follows:

"In your comment on the strike at the Sprague Electrical Works you say: 'They' (the oppressed employees) can vote for the party which proposes that the working people themselves shall own the factories and other means of production and thus be their own masters. They can vote for the party of the working class, the Socialist Party.'

"Possibly the workers can do this down in your neck of the woods," but out here, where the bosses are up to date, all this is nicely forestalled by an order to the workers instructing them to remain away from the polls if they desire continued employment. If you don't like this, help your self, for our masters have nothing to arbitrate."

There's a problem. So long as the workmen do not vote for their own interests the powers of government remain in the hands of the capitalist. The capitalist is afraid his employees will vote for their own emancipation, so he forbids them to vote at all, under penalty of discharge. And our workingman friend naturally asks: "What are we going to do about it?"

It is not a pleasant problem to face; but it must be faced, for such things happen in other places besides Tacoma. There is only one thing to be done about it. If you do not wish to be forced into the deep sea of abject slavery, you must boldly grapple with the devil on the other side. You must take him by the horns and at least make a fight for life and freedom.

It is not an easy thing to disobey the command of an employer, especially if that employer be a rich and powerful corporation. We know that. It takes courage for a workman to exercise his lawful right as a citizen. We know that. But there are times when prudence ceases to be a virtue, and this is such a case.

The only thing for a self-respecting workman to do in such a case is to GO STRAIGHT TO THE POLLS ON THE MORNING OF ELECTION DAY, AND CAST HIS SOCIALIST BALLOT, NO MATTER THOUGH ROCKEFELLER OR SATAN HIMSELF

### THEY DO NOT WANT

CARNEGIE'S CHARITY.

An Easton, Pa., dispatch says: "If the Central Labor Union of this city can prevent it, the fifty thousand dollar Carnegie free library will not be built in Easton. At the meeting of the Central Labor Union, which is composed of twenty-five distinct unions, a resolution was adopted denouncing Andrew Carnegie as a foe to labor and protesting against the school board using the money he has donated for the erection of the library. The Central Labor Union will use its influence to prevent union men of all trades visiting the building."

SELF-FORBID IT, and to persuade as many of his fellows as he can to follow his example. It is a case of "be damned if you do and be damned if you don't." It is better to be damned as a brave man than to be damned as a slave.

We do not know how the workingmen of Tacoma feel about it; but their comrades over in the Cour d'Alene have set them a fine example of organized and courageous resistance to tyranny. But the miners of the Cour d'Alene were whipped, you say? Yes, for the time. But a few more victories like that will spell defeat and destruction for the capitalist class. The Idaho miners would have been whipped much, worse and much earlier if they had not resisted. They are whipped, for the time; but they are ready to fight again, and they are still fighting—and the bosses are afraid in the day of their triumph.

As a matter of fact, it never pays to cringe. The capitalist is a bully. Issing a bully, he is a coward at heart. Now, before him and he will press the yoke harder on your neck. Defy him to his face and he will respect you and yield through fear what he would never yield through justice or generosity. THE MAN WHO IS AFRAID OF HIS BOSS IS ALWAYS THE MAN UPON WHOM THE BOSS WILL HEAR MORE INSULT AND OPPRESSION.

There came once a great crisis in the history of France. In that day the voice of Danton was heard, thundering out the words: "WE MUST DARE, AND AGAIN DARE, AND ALWAYS DARE, AND FRANCE IS SAVED."

There came a great crisis in the history of the American colonies. In that day the words of Patrick Henry were heard through the land: "I KNOW NOT WHAT OTHER MEN MAY CHOOSE; BUT AS FOR ME, GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH."

History attests the wisdom of Danton and Patrick Henry. And the working class to-day needs the men who will dare, and again dare, and always dare, the men who will stand for liberty at any cost.

### RICHMOND CONVENTION.

The Social Democratic aldermanic convention for the First Second, Third, and Fourth Wards of the Borough of Richmond will be held at the Labor Lyceum, 1007 street, Stapleton, S. L., on Saturday, August 17, at 8:30 p. m. All Socialists should attend.

—Socialism is becoming more popular with the masses day by day, as they can plainly see that it is the only hope they have of remedying the present evils practiced on them by the brazen capitalist class, who are slowly but surely sucking their life blood, and impeding all American institutions.—Oklahoma Socialist.



## The Worker.

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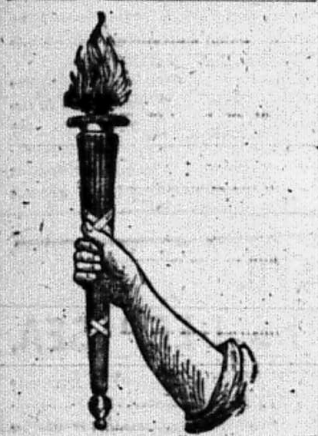


## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)..... 2,068  
In 1892 (Presidential)..... 13,331  
In 1896 (Presidential)..... 21,137  
In 1898..... 33,133  
In 1899 (Presidential)..... 38,564  
In 1898:  
S. L. P. .... 82,204  
S. D. P. .... 9,545  
In 1900 (Presidential):  
S. D. P. .... 96,918  
S. L. P. .... 33,450

## NEW YORK CITY TICKET.

For Mayor—BENJAMIN HANFORD.  
For Controller—MORRIS BROWN.  
For President of the Board of Aldermen—HENRY STAHLE.



## THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

The necessity of publishing in this issue the rather lengthy but very satisfactory report of the Provisional National Executive Committee has compelled us to postpone for a week the promised publication of Gorki's story, "On the Steppes."

There is one virtue in slanders; it helps to reveal the slandersers.

It's easy to learn where profits come from when workmen go on strike.

Socialism is the best cure for the workmen's faith in old party politics.

The real fruits of the steel workers' strike will show in the next election returns.

If education is the great need, The Worker can fill it. Do you know a better educator?

The organized capitalists are agreed; that organized workmen are a nuisance to individual liberty.

The chief interest working people have in automobiles is in keeping from being run over by them.

It is only during a strike that the fetters of capitalism are anxious to see idle workmen get work.

Idle capitalists cannot be blamed for arguing against a system that would cause everybody to go to work.

The unity convention was a success, but after all, it depends upon Socialists everywhere to make its work effective.

Presumably Mr. Bryan is too busy repairing fences in his Democratic pasture to answer Wilshire's challenge.

American civilization, according to General MacArthur, is making great progress in the Philippines. The Philippines have our sympathy.

From the size of the latest Standard Oil dividend, one can readily understand why capitalists are opposed to dividing up with everybody.

Even the capitalist papers haven't dared to say that the settlement of the Schley-Sampson controversy will raise the wages or shorten the hours of the working class.

Democratic and Republican politicians in New Jersey held a carefully joint calm before the other day. They were getting in line to back the claims

who will vote for them next November.

The newspapers have gone into hysterics over the occasional violence offered to scabs imported by the bosses to take the places of striking machinists, steel workers, weavers, or other workers. But none of them see anything very dangerous to "law and order" in the deliberate conspiracy in Tampa, Fla., by which some eighteen leading members of the Resistance Organizers' Union were kidnapped and spirited away, no one knows where, and a "proclamation" posted threatening all labor agitators with lynching. All this, being in the interests of capital, can be passed over with a smile. Workingmen may learn a lesson from the contrast.

## THE CALL OF DUTY.

We are having a good deal of jubilation and mutual congratulation within our ranks, just now, over the result of the Indianapolis Convention. This is all right and proper. We have good cause for gladness.

But let us not think that because this is a season of rejoicing it is also to be a holiday season. Let us not think that because we have settled the "unity question" we have done our work. The exact opposite is the fact. It was worth while to work for unity, simply because unity would equip us so much better for our legitimate work of fighting for Socialism. Unless we bear this thought in mind and carry it out in action, unity will not have been worth working for.

Moreover, unless the party does its full duty in the class struggle it will inevitably find itself involved in new internal struggles. "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." The only way to maintain unity, to complete and justify the work of the Indianapolis Convention, and to cement the bonds of comradeship there formed, is for the whole party, from the National Executive Committee down to the smallest local or subdivision, to put forth its whole energy in the work of organization and propaganda.

There is plenty to be done. The N. E. C. should at once be supplied with funds, so that it may send out speakers and distribute literature. Many states and cities have campaigns on hand which call for vigorous action. The party press is daily being improved in quality, and it is the business of the party to extend its circulation. Never was there a better time to work for Socialism than now, with unity accomplished and with an interest in the labor question aroused by the great battles of trusts and unions.

The last excuse for inactivity is removed. The Socialist who still sulks in his tent or dawdles by the wayside is unworthy of the name.

"A New Sympathizer" asks us what the red flag typifies. The red flag has long been recognized as typical of revolt and more especially of the revolt of the toiling masses. It is commonly asserted that the color red is taken to represent the idea of international brotherhood, as the red blood flows in the veins of men of every nation and of every race. Whether or not this was the original meaning it is perhaps difficult to say. But at least the red flag has now come to have a definite meaning—to typify the revolutionary movement of the workers of the world, regardless of creed or race, against the exploiting class and for the establishment of universal brotherhood. That is, it is everywhere recognized as the emblem of International Socialism.

## HE OUGHT TO BE A SOCIALIST.

It is a pleasure to be able to give unequalled praise to a public official who was not elected by our own party. We hasten to take advantage of the opportunity.

Mayor Black of McKeesport, Pa., has shown himself to be a brave and honorable man, a man who feels his responsibility to his brothers of the working class and is not afraid to do his duty.

His declaration that he would not give special police protection to the Steel Trust in importing scabs to crush the resistance of the workmen of McKeesport sets a standard of official conduct that every Socialist should heartily and openly endorse. He declares—that is the simple truth, and what repeated experience has proven—that the scabs imported in this strike are suspicious characters; and he says he, as mayor of McKeesport, will treat them as such. The bold position thus taken puts Mayor Black in pleasing contrast with the Van Wycks, Albrittons, Carter Harrisons, Tom L. Johnsons, Phelps, and other capitalist lackeys in the city halls of larger centers, who either openly take the side of the bosses when a strike comes on or else give them substantial aid while fooling the workers with hollow words of "sympathy" and offers of "arbitration."

The newspapers have been cursing Mayor Black roundly. He should be proud of that. They say he uses very bad grammar. Very likely it is a lie, but it does not matter much anyhow. Plenty of rascals use perfect grammar. Benedict Arnold's grammar was probably better than that of half the true men he betrayed.

Mayor Black is called a Republican—meaner's pity. But he has not acted as a Republican, and that re-

deems him. The Republican party will not support him and the Democratic party could not welcome him. We predict that such a man can have no political home outside the Socialist Party. Very likely Mayor Black does not know much about Socialism. Very likely he thinks it a dangerous thing. But he has acted as a Socialist—as a man who has learned class-consciousness, not out of books, but in the ranks of the working class in its daily struggles.

A New York paper, commenting on an article by Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, says: "It undertakes to make out a case for remaining in New York during the summer, a thesis which, no matter how ably handled, revolts the human understanding." But these capitalist editors find nothing revolting to the human understanding in the economic system which compels the majority of the people not only to remain in the city through the summer, but to live in suffocating dens called tenement houses. That is all right. The people who live in the tenements do not count. They are only working people.

It is pleasant to know that young Mr. Rockefeller is to have a nice little home given him by his thoughtful papa. The house will be of granite and marble, and modelled after a castle in the North of England. It will be a modest affair, costing only \$1,000,000. The stable will cost but \$250,000. Furnishings and equipments will probably not exceed the cost of the buildings, for young Mr. Rockefeller, following in the footsteps of his father, is a great believer in industry and frugality. The mansion will be set in the midst of a little plot of two thousand acres in Westchester County. "The estate will contain a great game and fish preserve, an artificial lake, waterfalls, gardens, and many miles of fine roadway, and will form one of the largest estates along the Hudson," say the newspapers. How the men who do the work for the Standard Oil Company and all the thousand and one other industries it controls should rejoice in this evidence of their prosperity!

The Social Democratic Party is an organization of working people. While the old parties all their campaign funds with contributions from capitalist corporations and blackmail levied upon lawbreakers, the Social Democratic Party depends upon the voluntary contributions of the working class.

Follow workers, we appeal to you for funds wherewith to carry on the campaign of the Social Democratic Party, the campaign of our class against the forces of organized capitalism.

Send in your contributions, large or small, as early and as often as possible. Every penny will help in fighting the battles of our class.

## MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.

Contributions may be sent to the Organizer of Local New York, Julius Gerber, 64 E. Fourth street, or to the office of The Worker, 184 William street. All contributions will be acknowledged in The Worker and the "Volkszeitung."

The fund is opened with—  
Found..... \$1.09

## THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE.

In the Daily Struggles of the Working Class is the Great Regenerating Force of Society.

Comrade Caroline H. Pemberton, the author of "The Chastity Girl," now running as a serial in the "International Socialist Review," writes us as follows: "Your review of Ferguson's 'Religion of Democracy' expresses views that have been uppermost in my own mind for some time. I refer chiefly to your conclusion that 'The germ of the religion of the future is to be found in the daily life of large portions of the working class.'

"I do not know of anything in history more tragically hostile than the struggles of this class with capitalism. It is not only their moral courage, which, indeed, is extraordinary—that so impresses me; it is the fact that their sentiment of solidarity—their touching confidence in the idea of human brotherhood—has not filtered down to them from a superior and cultured class, but has been evolved from their own inner consciousness in the face of fierce opposition and under exactly opposite teachings from the classes above them.

"While the heroes of the business world were engaged in fighting at each other's throats in deadly competition, their humble workmen were passing from hand to hand and mouth to mouth the gospel of self-sacrifice and brotherly love—each standing for all and all standing for the right of each—a principle of action that still animates and confronts the capitalist. Its moral power, however, is lost on the capitalists; and the fact that they are dealing with a religious principle rather than a rule of self-interest, seems not to have impressed them.

"I think no true Socialist is likely to follow the capitalist into this mistaken attitude toward the working classes and their organizations. I feel that any man who views with indifference or contempt the laboring man's desperate though often ineffective struggles, has indeed missed the meaning of the most prophetic movement in the world's history.

"It is true that we who call ourselves Socialists believe that these terrible conflicts between capital and labor are bound to fall from the very nature of the contest; it is true that we urge more radical measures and deplore what seems to be a short-sighted, ineffectual policy. But a close inspection of the labor movement reveals to us that the field is being rapidly prepared for the truth of Socialism, and that no set of people are as likely to welcome its coming and to understand its message as those who now stand shoulder to shoulder under the scab, the backslider, and blood-stained banner of the labor union.

"Socialism will voice no far strange cry to these people. It will be to them as the joyful recognition of the dear familiar face of a friend whose name they have not known before. What was once a dumb longing—a nameless hankering—blindly groping for articulate expression, will now be a distinct, shining message, framed in speech and action; a religion of deep moral power and spiritual beauty ennobling a wonderful philosophy of political economy—the broken system of liberty with the wings of victory restored—all this and more will Socialism mean to the laboring man, who, looking into his own heart, will say in answering surprise to his brother: 'ALL THESE THINGS HAVE I ALWAYS BELIEVED!'

"Socialism and Labor Politics." This pamphlet will have a great sale. Order it now.

## ALL MUST AID IN THE WORK.

The Socialist Campaign is the Campaign of the Working Class and Every Workingman Should Do His Part.

To the Workmen of Greater New York:

The Social Democratic Party again enters the field as the party of the working class. While the Republican and Democratic parties make pretenses of representing all classes and carry on a sham battle over questions of "economy" and "reform," seeking to divert the attention and divide the votes of the workers, in order that they may continue to govern the city in the interest of the capitalists and of the professional politicians, the Social Democratic Party alone stands openly and honestly as the political representative of the class interests of the workers. The Social Democratic Party is organized to conduct on the political field the same class struggle which the labor organizations carry on in the shop, the struggle of exploited labor against capitalist oppression.

The platform of the Social Democratic Party is based solely on the needs of the working class and on the advancement of the ultimate and of immediate interests its candidates are pledged. We call upon every workingman in the city to read our national and municipal platforms and to decide for himself whether he does not owe it his support.

Benford Hanford, a member of Typographical Union No. 6, is our candidate for Mayor. Morris Brown, a member of Cigar Makers' Union No. 14, is our candidate for Controller. Henry Stahl, a member of Clerks' Union No. 90, is our candidate for President of the Board of Aldermen. These men have proven themselves faithful representatives of the working class by their records in the Socialist movement and in the trade unions.

The Social Democratic Party is an organization of working people. While the old parties all their campaign funds with contributions from capitalist corporations and blackmail levied upon lawbreakers, the Social Democratic Party depends upon the voluntary contributions of the working class.

Follow workers, we appeal to you for funds wherewith to carry on the campaign of the Social Democratic Party, the campaign of our class against the forces of organized capitalism.

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## INTERNATIONAL TRUST.

American Window Glass Company Planning to Control the Industry the World Over.

A representative of American capitalists is in Belgium, buying up glass factories. Several companies, it is reported, have already decided to sell. The Pittsburgh "Times" says: "Another vast industrial combination, one of the greatest that has ever been planned, is evidently under way. Two prominent Pittsburghers are taking a great part in the consummation of the project that has for its object the placing in power of the corporation the control of the world's supply of window glass.

"The proposed combination is to take in all of the window glass manufacturers of the world, and if effected the business will be conducted from Pittsburgh, as the nucleus of the organization is the American Window Glass Company of this city. This company practically controls the window glass business of the United States, and the only factories in Europe that amount to anything are located in Belgium.

"A combination of these, judging from the item from Brussels, is now under way, and as one of the men who is accredited with engineering the deal is one of Pittsburgh's leading financiers, one who has participated successfully in previous deals of a like nature, it is to be assumed that the present one will be consummated."

It is evidently time for workmen to cease talking about the evil effects of foreign labor and looking to the Republican party for "protection," now that the men who take profits from their labor are simultaneously extracting profit from the labor of employees in Europe. Capital is international, and so must the labor movement be.

## OHIO TROLLEY SYNDICATE.

The Lake Shore Electric Railway Company of Cleveland is incorporated, with a capital of \$4,500,000, for the purpose of operating a line from Cleveland to Toledo, through Cuyahoga, Lorain, Huron, Erie, Sandusky, Ottawa, Wood, and Lucas counties.

The incorporation is said to be the first legal step in the plan to merge all of the various Everett-Moore electric lines into one big company. The Lake Shore Electric Railway Company is a consolidation of the Toledo, Fremont, and Northern, Lorain and Cleveland, Sandusky and Huron, and Sandusky, Norwalk and Southern roads, all Everett-Moore properties. A stretch of track four miles long is now under construction at Huron, and when this is completed, about October 1, the company will have a line from Cleveland to Toledo. The syndicate will also have the Toledo-Detroit line completed about the same time, so that cars can be run from Cleveland to Detroit.

## TO BALTIMORE SOCIALISTS.

A meeting of Baltimore Social Democrats will be held in the Labor Lyceum, Monday evening, August 19. All present party members and all former members who have been inactive on account of party troubles are requested to be on hand and prepared for work.

## SOCIALIST ECONOMICS.

Being an Attempt to Present the Main Principles of Scientific Socialism in Popular Language.

## VIII.—THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

The French Revolution and all the great transformation of political institutions that went with it failed utterly to bring relief to the toiling masses of the people. The only result of that revolution was to destroy the power of absolute monarchs and feudal lords, and of the established church, and to put all power into the hands of the rising capitalist class. The men who had formerly toiled and drudged for a living and maintained the nobles and priests in leisure and luxury, continued to toil and drudge for a living and to maintain the capitalists in leisure and luxury. The great revolution was found to have been merely a struggle between the young capitalist class and the feudal class, in which the workers fought the battles and bore the burden of the revolution. That revolution was, however, a step in advance, because it brought the class struggle to its final phase. It put an end to the personal servitude or subordination of the worker and established legal and political equality, thus eventually making it plain that the subjection of the workers depends, not on legal forms, but on economic facts. It gave full scope to the development of capitalist private property. In other words, it made possible a defining of class lines between the producers and the consumers, and a clear realization of the problem involved—the abolition of private property in the means of production as the cause of the poverty of the workers. A century has been required to complete this drawing of class lines and this realization of the social problem. But the process began very soon after the revolution and showed itself in what we call the "labor movement."

The labor movement has appeared in two forms so very different that it is necessary to speak of the revolutionary—pure and simple trade unionism and revolutionary Socialism. By "pure and simple" trade unionism we designate the policy of labor organizations which do not recognize a sharp class antagonism between the capitalists as a body and the workers as a body and which, therefore, do not at least fully recognize the solidarity of the whole working class; but which, on the contrary, admitting the right of the capitalist to appropriate a part of the product of labor, simply strive to increase the workmen's share in his own product without at all attacking the foundation of the wage system; and which, further, depend entirely upon the strike, the boycott, the label, and similar purely economic weapons, rejecting the idea that the workingmen, as a class, should use their political power for the overthrow of capitalism.

The pure and simple form has prevailed in England and the United States until within the last few years; but it is now rapidly giving way in both countries to the Socialist movement, which had already grown up in continental Europe.

In England, until recent times, the election of public officers has been in the hands of large property owners. By the acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884, the franchise has been extended so that it is now almost as general as in the United States. But before 1832 the working people had no chance for political action. When, in the early part of this century, they began to awake to the slavery under which they suffered and to rebel against it, there was but one course of action for them to pursue. That was to organize themselves into unions without any political character, simply for the purpose of demanding that their employers should increase wages or reduce hours and backing the demand, if necessary, by a strike. The government at first treated such organizations as conspiracies and punished all who were convicted of joining the unions. But it soon became evident that such action would provoke armed insurrection. So, in 1827, the parliament repealed the conspiracy laws, and gave the workers a right to form unions.

Thus it came about that English unionism at the beginning had nothing to do with politics. But it might be expected that after the reform bill of 1832, which extended the suffrage somewhat, the unions would have carried the labor question into politics. This did not happen for two reasons: First, the reform bill of 1832 did not enfranchise many of the wage workers; they had to wait thirty-five years before any considerable proportion of them got the ballot; second, in the period between 1832 and 1867, a great deal of legislation for the protection of labor was passed by capitalist parties. This needs explanation. There existed at that time in England, two sections of the capitalist class—the great land owners and the great manufacturers. The great land owners controlled parliament and made laws in their own interest, often laws hostile to the manufacturers. So the manufacturers, by strenuous efforts, got the reform bill of 1832 passed. They were then, by their wealth and by the help of the newly admitted voters, able to control parliament most of the time. In 1840 they abolished the corn laws, which were tariff laws devised to keep the price of grain up, for the benefit of the land owners. The repeal was a living easier, and thus helped the manufacturers who had to pay wages. The land owners got their revenge by using their influence in parliament to favor the factory acts—a set of laws limiting child and woman labor, providing for mine and factory inspection, and the like.

Thus the working people profited for a time by the freedom between the two sets of capitalists. So long as that balance lasted there was no demand for a labor party. Thus the unions got thoroughly wedded to their old system of pure and simple unionism. American unionism grew up under the influence of the English unions. And although there existed here also

## GILDING THE CHAINS.

A textile corporation in South Carolina has built a "model mill," run by electricity, and a "model village," with free vaudeville theaters and concerts. The doing of this is much exploited by the capitalist press, which publishes most wonderful and detailed accounts of the workrooms, the cottages, etc., and incidentally the greater the cooperation aspects to get out of the unworkable. The articles, for all the world, read like some of the old-time, before-the-war stories in defense of slavery, which used to recite what a kind master Colonel James or Major Black was; what pleasant, white-washed quarters were furnished the slaves, and also how one of two of the hands were kindly deputed to "sing or play" for the delight and contentment of the others. The slave owners find it pays to gild the chains; the slaves will do more work; they are less liable to revolt, and in the end a bigger profit comes to the astute human spiders who have discovered how to make an increased number of meals off a fly before the latter gives up the ghost, and also that a little gilt paint is cheaper than glue or purchased lawbreakers. It might be remarked in passing that it is a safer proposition than even a Sinitz sure-thing game to bet that the South Carolina beetles, for all of their gilded cages, will receive no more than did the blackbirds in their humble whitewashed one—the merest to eat the seedling to weed, and a place to grow, reserved vines to keep up new seedlings for their owner as the season. Only that and nothing more—Uncle Sam, in Socialist Seattle.

## A campaign sale of Socialist literature.

Such reasons for leaving out politics from the unions as existed in England, yet the same pure and simple form was adopted. The fact that in America there was plenty of land, as an outlet for surplus labor prevented the labor question from becoming a pressing one until some years after the Civil War. It was largely for this reason that the unions continued in their comparatively ineffective pure and simple form.

On the continent of Europe, however, no such conditions existed early in the century as prevailed here and in England. There the labor question was necessarily a political question from the first. In the revolutionary movements of 1830 and of 1848 the working class took an active part. And the Paris Commune of 1871 was distinctly a revolt of labor. Of these historical events we may say something at a later time. For the present, it is enough to say that during the last thirty-five years the labor movement throughout Europe has become identical with the political Socialist movement. The unions are practically all Socialist and the Socialists are all unionists or union sympathizers. And a comparison of the history of unionism in the two continents during that period, taking into account the different circumstances, will show how much more effective is Socialist than pure and simple trade unionism.

The development of capitalism in England and America, then, brought about conditions similar to those of continental Europe. And the unions of these countries are being forced by the logic of events to accept the teachings of their French and German comrades, to recognize the solidarity of the whole working class and the irrepressible conflict between capital and labor and to combine independent political action with economic action in the union.

## THE M. NKEY AND THE PARROT.

A toothless old monkey, who was very fond of nuts, sat desponding one evening at the mouth of a cave, bewailing his inevitable starvation that loomed before him, when, being the very verge of suicide, he heard a devil or groan than his own behind him. Turning to the cause of it, he beheld, all limp and bedraggled, a once powerful and handsome young parrot in the last stages of dyspepsia. Recalling some of the tricks of mankind he gravely approached the recumbent figure. "What do my eyes behold?" gasped he. "It is, yes, it is my long lost Polly!" Then, gently taking her wrist between his fingers, he whispered, "Polly, don't you know me?" "No," sighed the bird. "Ah," said the monkey, as he brushed the unbidden tear from his hairy cheek. "This will kill me if it lasts. What! not know me! Why I'm your poor old pop, your little deary."

"You don't say so!" exclaimed the astonished little heap of feathers. "Well, I never—who would have thought it?" "Ah, who?" echoed the artful monkey. "After all those years of searching to find you thus and here?" "But no more of this!" he said, rousing himself. "I'm a father's duty lies before me. I shall be your physician, your guide, philosopher and friend." "You are too good," exclaimed the grateful Polly. "Nothing can be too good for you—not even me," exclaimed the blushing monkey. "But wait here for my return."

In a short time he reappeared, pulling a large parrot cage, which he had stolen down the hill. "Get in, my child," quoth he. "After a little persuasion, the parrot entered those fatal precincts, and from that moment the real sorrows of her life began."

The monkey, arming himself with a stout rattan, and a large bag of nuts, which lay in great profusion all around, caused his victim meekly to crack every one of them and drop the kernel, while the capitalistic monkey speedily devoured. The parrot, having got nothing but blows and the remainder, was then compelled with a cheerful countenance to say, "For what we have received, may the law make us truly thankful," to which the monkey, his face buried in a stovepipe hat, would respond "Thank you." For the many years of that bird's captivity she continued to be thankful that way, and to sing, "My Country 'Tis of Thee," and also to praise the beneficent and hallowed partnership of capital and labor. "It was his capital that got the cage," she would cry, and every man has a right to do what he likes with his own. Our interests are identical, and there are no classes in America.

such reasons for leaving out politics from the unions as existed in England, yet the same pure and simple form was adopted. The fact that in America there was plenty of land, as an outlet for surplus labor prevented the labor question from becoming a pressing one until some years after the Civil War. It was largely for this reason that the unions continued in their comparatively ineffective pure and simple form.

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## THE CITY STREETS.

A City of Palaces! Yes, that's true; a city of palaces built for trade. Look down this street—what a splendid show of the wealth of the world is spread for sale!

The carving and cornice in gaudy style, the massive show of the polished brass, and the wealth of the world is spread for sale!

Why the treasures included by those ponderous doors are richer than the treasures of a fairy tale.

Pass on to the next, it is still the same, another Aladdin, the same scene repeats. The silks are unrolled and the jewels flame for leagues and leagues of the city streets.

Now turn away from the teeming town and pass to the homes of the merchant kings. Wide squares where the stately porches of the houses are like the wings of the fountain slugs.

Look up at the lights in that brilliant room with its chandelier of a hundred flames! See the carpeted stairs where the ladies come to speak of what's new in the latest of famous names.

For whom are the jewels and silks, behold! Art, the Nature in color and gold and the gracious presence of every turn. So the winters fly past in a joyous rout, and the summer brings carriages and cool retreats.

There are civilized wonders we're finding out, we walk through the beautiful city streets.

A City of Palaces!—Hush! not quite; a city where palaces are, is best: No more the rich die out of sight; let us take what is pleasant, and leave the rest.

The men of the city who travel and write, whose fame and credit are known abroad.

The people who move in the ranks of the cultured women whom all people love, the hands of the workers who stand here, and the other half million are dear to all.

And a good well-being is eternally dear to all counts so much more on the books of the city.

The others have use in their place, no doubt; but why speak of a class one never sees?

They are gloomy things to be talked about, those common lives of the city streets.

Well, then, if you will, let us look at both: the splendid and the common side of the city.

The gentleman's suite with the bar-room with the sumptuous square with the fountain slugs.

Look across you now; 'tis another sphere, of thin-skinned women and grimy men. There are ever ten thousand bunched here, where a hundred would be found in a better place.

Take care of that child; here, look at her face, a baby who carries a baby brother; they are early helpers in this poor place, and the infant must often cure the mother.

Come up those stairs where the little ones went; five flights they groped and climbed in the dark.

There are dozens of homes on the steep ascent, and houses that are filled with children.

Did you hear that laugh, with its mainly tones, and the joyous ring of the baby voice?











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## STRIKE GAINING IN STRENGTH.

### So Far, the Amalgamated Association's Gains Surpass Those of the Steel Trust.

#### Western Steel Workers Joining the Movement—No Pretext Given for Use of Force Against Strikers—Is It to Become a Decisive Trial of Endurance?—Radical Spirit Growing Among Strikers.

The last week has been marked by strenuous efforts on both sides in the great steel strike, and both sides claim to have made gains. Even upon the reports of the capitalist press, it must be admitted that the strikers' gains have been the greater. Last Friday the Joliet men voted unanimously to go out, and on the following day the Milwaukee men followed their example. Considerable numbers of men have quit individually at South Chicago, and hope is still entertained of tying up the works there. The McKeesport tie-up has been completed, some additional mills at Pittsburgh have been closed, and it is claimed that great progress in organization has been made in the Carnegie mills at Duquesne and elsewhere, preparatory to a further strike. Large numbers of men have been discharged in these mills for joining the union.

On the other hand, the Trust has succeeded in opening several mills which were at first closed—in Pittsburg, Cleveland, and Monessen. But it is admitted that these mills are very inadequately manned and are being run merely as a demonstration of strength, rather than for revenue. There is much talk of sympathetic strikers on the part of structural iron workers, who may refuse to handle material bought from the Trust during the strike, of sheet iron workers, who may refuse to work on tin plate furnished by the Trust, and of bricklayers employed about the mills, who, it is admitted, could complete the tie-up.

The newspapers are making the most of every slight advantage which has occurred at Monessen and Wellsville to prejudice the public mind against the strikers. Even such papers as the New York "World," which poses as a friend of labor, have taken a hand in this. The really remarkable thing is the self-restraint displayed by the strikers under very trying circumstances. There is talk already of the governor of Pennsylvania having dispatched a military force to the scene, to answer the call of the company, with the utmost promptness, and there is little doubt that on the slightest pretext the old tricks of the capitalist government will be resorted to.

An officer of the Steel Trust is reported as saying, last Friday: "Well, it seems to be settling down to a long drawn out fight, and I expect we can win at that sort of game." This is of course the danger that the United States Steel Corporation will find it worth while, in order to break up the Amalgamated Association, to follow the slow and expensive process of starving the men out. Against this it is to be considered that a large part of the Trust's present and prospective market is in foreign countries, and that even the interruption of English and German competitors, it is as yet impossible for anyone outside of the Trust to say whether that body is determined to "fight it out on this line if it takes all summer" or whether the threat is a more or less complete bluff.

The sentiment of the men, as observed by the special correspondent of the Worker, is growing more and more radical. Independent political action is being talked of with general approval and socialism, which has heretofore been practically unknown to them, is commanding more and more attention. The power of such a body as the Amalgamated Association, once it becomes inspired with the Socialist ideal, would be tremendous. Their hundred thousand votes would be unitedly and intelligently in the interest of their class, would be a formidable weapon, and even in the purely economic struggle, by trade union methods, they would gain immensely in strength. That is why every judicious Socialist must wish the Association success in this fight and why the Socialist Party ought to do everything in its power to contemplate introducing an ordinance in the council providing for the issue of bonds to the amount of \$500,000, to be used to build sewers and other public improvements. He told me he did not introduce the measure because, when all the requirements were fulfilled, three months or more would have passed, and the strike would probably be over by that time, and the strikers would get no relief from it—the real purpose of the bill.

Again, Mr. Wampler is not a Socialist, but from what I hear he ought to be one. He should learn that

warfare between the two factions in the city government. Notwithstanding the strong anti-trust feeling there does not seem to be any definite idea as to what should be done with the trusts generally, and this one in particular. The people seem to be fighting blindly a power which they know is dragging them to destruction. There is no cohesiveness in their resistance to this irresistible force that draws them to itself and that sucks up their vitality. There is no exaggeration in saying that the people of McKeesport are struggling in the tentacles of an octopus of their own making. There are very few previous have the workers met in the United States. The herein confessed weakness of the trade unions in the class battle consists in the fact that while holding the forces of capitalism in check on the industrial field, they (the unions) are at a vital disadvantage owing to the complete mastery and oppressive use of the political powers by the capitalist class. In vain have these facts been heretofore urged upon our brethren in the trade unions. Notwithstanding our supplications for a hearing, we have received a deaf ear, and by none more so than by our unfortunate brethren in the Amalgamated Association.

What is needed in McKeesport is education of the right kind. At no time previous have the workers manifested such a spirit of solidarity or such a desire to read and learn as now. It will not be hard to have them learn that the people must own the trusts before there can be permanent relief. Private ownership of trusts, of all industry must be abolished and ownership by the people must take its place. They must learn that without a central motive their voting for anti-trust tickets will result in nothing. When they learned that Socialism is that it is not the horrible scheme the opponents to Socialism would have them believe, they will vote for Socialist workmen upon the Socialist Party ticket, and for none other.

I have spoken before of the sentiment existing here in favor of independent voting. It manifested itself last night at a big mass meeting in the opera house. Every allusion made by the speakers to independent political action and to the necessity of electing workmen to office was loudly cheered. If that sentiment is carefully nurtured and well directed the working class of McKeesport will soon be voting for Socialism.

W. M.

## AT THE STORM CENTER.

### S. L. P. Does Us a Service by Displaying Its Methods—A Wave of Organization in McKeesport.

(Special correspondence to The Worker.)  
McKEESPORT, Pa., Aug. 18.—I have met, with some difficulty in my work of becoming acquainted with the steel strikers here through the miscomprehension in their minds regarding the Socialist parties. Many have confused me with the agitators, or rather "strike breakers," of the Socialist Labor Party, which has earned justly its reputation for its tactics toward the trade unions, in and out of trouble. To make matters worse, many workers here have believed that the Socialist Labor Party was the ally of the trade unions, and they had voted in the past for that ticket in that belief. Our organization, the Socialist Party, was supposed to occupy the position that the Socialist Labor Party does. I do not know that those connected locally with the latter party are responsible for this misconception, but that it exists I can bear testimony. This has compelled me to explain our position to those who have been previously misled.

However all has come to me in this task from no other source than the Socialist Labor Party itself. Last night a meeting was held in Shaw's Grove, about a mile from the city, which was extensively advertised and which was attended by about 300 people, a large number of them boys. The subject under discussion was "What can be won by a strike," a title which explains itself when the S. L. P. attitude is considered. The principal speakers were from Pittsburgh, the notorious Schuler being one of them. From what I can learn, one of the speakers said he did not believe in strikes, but this time he was glad to see that the strikers were demanding their independence. He was a local man, which probably explains his difference of opinion with the S. L. P. bosses. Schuler, I understand, did very well until he denounced Shaffer as a traitor and an enemy of the workers. From what I can learn, with which the speakers have probably agreed, the utterance has caused some heat among the local strikers and has served to distinguish the Socialist Labor Party from our own, a service for which we can be grateful.

For myself, since my mission has become clearly understood, I can only say that I have met with the utmost courtesy from the local strikers, and through class-conscious political action, in the folds of the great international Socialist movement. It is eminently proper in this connection to call the attention of the strikers to the fact that ELECTIONS ARE IMMINENT in localities affected by the strike; that the struggle may be a prolonged one, and that the only way to prevent the use of the power of government against the workers is to elect Socialist representatives to the governing bodies. It is necessary to ORGANIZE into the SOCIALIST PARTY, and through

## A LETTER OF APPEAL AND ADVICE.

### With Regard to the Strike of the Steel Workers of the Country.

Addressed by the National Committee of the Socialist Party to All Socialists and Trade Unionists—Duty of All Workingmen to Stand Together in the Class War.

To the State, Territorial and Local Organizations, composing the Socialist Party.  
Comrades: Your attention is hereby directed to a call for financial aid, issued on Monday, August 9, 1901, by the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of the United States. The language of this call is of special interest to Socialists, inasmuch as the very opening sentence states that the "United States Steel Corporation is now waging a WAR against organized labor."

In these words the Amalgamated Association unconsciously recognizes and indirectly indorses the political position of the Socialist Party on the "class struggle." This appeal also states that the Steel Trust is "fighting against the right of workmen to combine," a "blow not alone directed at the Amalgamated, but at organized labor in general, the accomplishment of which would affect every organized body in the United States." The herein confessed weakness of the trade unions in the class battle consists in the fact that while holding the forces of capitalism in check on the industrial field, they (the unions) are at a vital disadvantage owing to the complete mastery and oppressive use of the political powers by the capitalist class. In vain have these facts been heretofore urged upon our brethren in the trade unions. Notwithstanding our supplications for a hearing, we have received a deaf ear, and by none more so than by our unfortunate brethren in the Amalgamated Association.

L. E. HILDEBRAND,  
G. A. HOENIG,  
W. H. BAIRD,  
M. BALJARD DUNN,  
E. VAL PUTNAM,  
National Secretary of the Socialist Party.  
LEON GREENBAUM,  
National Secretary.  
St. Louis, Mo., Aug. 15, 1901.

## THE CALL FOR AID.

### Appeal of the Amalgamated Association for Help in its Battle with Steel Trust.

To Members of Organized Labor.—Brethren—As you are undoubtedly aware the United States Steel Corporation is now waging a war against organized labor by making the Amalgamated Association the subject on which to begin operations. At our last convention it was unanimously decided to ask the United States Steel Corporation, when settling their annual scales with the Amalgamated Association, that they sign or recognize the scale of the A. A. in all their mills. When the latter was brought before the board of directors, the request was peremptorily refused. After the holding of several conferences the demand of our organization was modified so as to take in only the mills of three of their constituent companies, viz: The American Sheet Steel Company, American Tin Plate Company, and the American Steel Hoop Company, where local lodges had been formed, and where the men were very desirous of being union men, and are now out on strike for recognition.

In the conferences which were held by representatives of the United States Steel Company and of the A. A., the representatives of the United States Steel Company's only arguments were that they did not desire the Amalgamated Association to become too powerful, and that they should hold the balance of power. Later conferences were held with the heads of the United States Steel Company, who submitted a proposition that we only sign for the mills signed last year, with the exception of the sheet mills in Saltburg and Scotdale, which were signed for this year previously. Their proposition was, of course, refused, and that the Amalgamated Association would remain in a quiescent state, while they were expanding and adding to their non-union possession.

They are waging a fight for the extermination of the Amalgamated Association and of the rights of workmen to combine, a principle which they have demonstrated to the people of the United States that they desire for themselves, and so peremptorily refuse to grant us. This is not alone depicted at the Amalgamated Association, but at organized labor in general, and should they succeed in defeating the A. A., it will effect every organized body in the United States.

To succeed in this struggle, it will be necessary to seek the aid of every organized body as well as the general public, whose sympathies we have with us in the present struggle. To this end we ask that you give us your moral and financial aid. A liberal response will materially assist us in conducting a victorious campaign for a principle which is the unalienable right of every American freeman.

If you desire to aid the Amalgamated Association in the present struggle, especially all money should be forwarded to John Williams, secretary-treasurer, Bismarck, Black, Pittsburg, Pa. Fraternally yours,  
T. J. SHAFER, President,  
JOHN WILLIAMS, Secretary-Treas.  
M. F. TIGHE, Assistant Secretary.  
BEN L. DAVIS, Journal Manager.  
Pittsburg, Pa., August 9, 1901.

Byron is following the example of Hoxe, Towne, and others of his supporters in becoming—trying to be some—an oil magnate.

## IN NEW ZEALAND.

### Comrade LaMonte Writes of Politics and Conditions of Labor.

#### The Much Praised Radical Legislation Devised Simply to Protect Small Farmers and of Little Value to Wage Workers—Personal Observation Supports Socialist Theory.

Many comrades from Massachusetts west to Kansas will personally remember our former active agitator and writer, Robert Rives LaMonte, and still more know his good work for the cause. All will be interested in extracts from a letter written by him from Rangiora, New Zealand, which has just reached us by a month's journey over sea and land.

Comrade LaMonte has now been for some months in New Zealand, at Wellington and elsewhere. He reports himself in good health, but not too well satisfied with the country to cherish a resolve to "return to America, and give a hand in the movement some day."

In view of the widespread talk about "practical Socialism in New Zealand," which Henry D. Lloyd and others have indulged in of late, Comrade LaMonte's account of social conditions there will be interesting. As the "Appeal to Reason," which has sung the praises of New Zealand quite freely, assigned his sojourning there as a sufficient reason for not carrying out his original plan of sending a special correspondent to investigate, we presume that his report will command the attention even of those who have been wont to look to the other side of the world for a model Socialist movement.

On this point Comrade LaMonte writes: "As far as I can make out, the radical movement here (what Lloyd calls the 'Revolution of 1890') was a class struggle between the small farmers and the big land-owners. The small farmers at first needed the support of the city workers; hence the labor program, compulsory arbitration, and the great consideration still shown by the government to trade unions."

"But the city worker is relatively of infinitely small importance in this grazing and agricultural colony; and now that Dick Seddon, the Liberal Bryan and Croker in one, has a majority so big as to be unwieldy, I look to see the city worker given the 'go-by' here. The abandonment to the arbitration law which Lloyd calls the 'Revolution of 1890' is now railroad through is intended to make it possible to compel unions and workmen to obey the rulings of the Arbitration Court and abide by its verdicts, so that 'compulsion' may not be such a glorious thing for labor even here long."

"The most amusing thing about the situation here is that all New Zealand has gone daff with jingoism, militarism, imperialism, etc. Over the South African war and Seddon, as head of the government, has kept the bells blowing this hell-fire and so this 'advanced, radical, step-at-a-time, almost-a-Socialist' hand and glove with Joe Chamberlain and the Conservative leaders 'at one.'"

There is no Socialistic feeling here; and, indeed, the proletarians are probably not a majority here, as yet, so that agitation would be difficult. We must await the economic development. The country is new, with a cruder, rarer, more 'strike-one-in-the-eye' newness than even on prairies in the West.

"But yet, with all the work of developing a new country to be done, forest or 'bush,' as they call it to be felled, fields to be cleared of stumps, and roads and railroads to be built—there are large numbers of workless men (not tramps, but decent workmen), phoning along the roads, carrying their 'wags' (all their property, usually little more than a pair of blankets) on their backs, and looking for work. This is astounding when you consider that there are only some three-quarters of a million people (half the population of New Jersey) spread over an area much more than double that of the state of New York."

"The government labor department does not do half the things Lloyd's book said it did. It confines itself almost exclusively to furnishing men to the railway department for construction work; and if a man is not an experienced pick-and-shovel hand, and often if he is not married, the department will do nothing for him. The ordinary man out of a job has to go to the private employment agencies here as elsewhere."

"Flax mills give work to many of the 'swaggers.' New Zealand flax is a gigantic fax, something like our cotton, but from six to ten feet high, growing all over the swampy ground with fifteen or twenty miles of the sea. The 'mills' are nothing but open sheds, where they make it into a fiber something like manila. The men generally sleep in tents and are fed at the mill. The 'swaggers' have to be put through almost constantly in these open sheds, with a morning and evening temperature of about 30 degrees Fahrenheit and a noon temperature of from fifty to 60 degrees. I am informed by the flax workers that few washers last long, that they get holds on their chests; that most mills have to get a new washer every four months. And of this 'practical Socialist' government, with all its factory inspectors, 'never interfered!'"

"Another straw that shows how the land blows: Where I first boarded in Wellington the house was full of tramp companies and insurance 'impudent' clerks. They were all working overtime, some till eleven or twelve at night, and getting no extra pay. 'I told me their grievances and I asked them why they did not form a

## WHY DO WE SUPPORT THE STEEL STRIKE?

We have been asked two questions in regard to our position on the steel strike, both of which deserve reply. No doubt the majority of the Socialists of the country would answer the questions just as we shall, without waiting for our opinion. But it is worth while to take them up here, that our position may be understood by workmen outside the party.

One correspondent asks us: "Are we justified in upholding the tactics of practical opposition to trade development? Are we right in encouraging strikes, on a large or small scale, seeing that it retards the progress of the main tide of practical socialistic growth by opposing the march of concentration of capital?"

The other reminds us that President Shaffer has until recently been an active supporter of the Republican party and that the majority of the members of the Amalgamated Association vote the Republican ticket, and asks: "How can we support these men in a strike when, at the ballot-box, they oppose us and support Morgan's party?"

Let us take the questions in order. It is true that we, as Socialists, welcome the trustrification of capital, because it prepares the way for the socialization of capital. But we do not love the trust for its own sake. The trust is inevitable. It is folly, therefore, to attempt to prevent trustrification, as Bryan would have us do.

The trust may be a worse master than the thousand independent capitalists who preceded the trust. It may be or may not be. But sooner or later the trust comes, in spite of all Populist protest. And the sooner the trust comes and completes its work of organizing industry, the sooner will the working people make up their minds to make it a public trust and the more easily they can do it.

That is why we oppose the anti-trust agitation. But does it follow that we should wish the trust success in its 'battle against its employees'? By no means. The trust is not a good thing in itself—except for the capitalists in the trust. For the other people it is a bad thing in itself. It will become a good thing for the whole people only when it becomes the property of the whole people.

And who are to carry on the battle to make it the property of the whole people? Who but the working class? No others can or will.

It is therefore necessary to have a strong, organized, aggressive, self-reliant, working class, in order that the work of the trust, now so injurious to those outside, may be turned into a benefit for all. And it is the duty of the Socialist to do all in his power to strengthen the working class, to organize it, to make it aggressive, to inspire it with resolution, so that it may the sooner carry out its mission of de-throning the capitalists and setting up the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Never think that the trust system will spontaneously grow into Socialism, without the efforts of the working class. It must be conquered before it will yield us the blessings in its power.

We do not wish the middle class to succeed in any fight against the trust, as the Bryanites do, for that would be to put us back and begin the process over again.

We do wish to see the working class succeed in every such fight, both of which deserve reply. No doubt the majority of the Socialists of the country would answer the questions just as we shall, without waiting for our opinion. But it is worth while to take them up here, that our position may be understood by workmen outside the party.

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Let us take the questions in order. It is true that we, as Socialists, welcome the trustrification of capital, because it prepares the way for the socialization of capital. But we do not love the trust for its own sake. The trust is inevitable. It is folly, therefore, to attempt to prevent trustrification, as Bryan would have us do.

The trust may be a worse master than the thousand independent capitalists who preceded the trust. It may be or may not be. But sooner or later the trust comes, in spite of all Populist protest. And the sooner the trust comes and completes its work of organizing industry, the sooner will the working people make up their minds to make it a public trust and the more easily they can do it.

That is why we oppose the anti-trust agitation. But does it follow that we should wish the trust success in its 'battle against its employees'? By no means. The trust is not a good thing in itself—except for the capitalists in the trust. For the other people it is a bad thing in itself. It will become a good thing for the whole people only when it becomes the property of the whole people.

And who are to carry on the battle to make it the property of the whole people? Who but the working class? No others can or will.

It is therefore necessary to have a strong, organized, aggressive, self-reliant, working class, in order that the work of the trust, now so injurious to those outside, may be turned into a benefit for all. And it is the duty of the Socialist to do all in his power to strengthen the working class, to organize it, to make it aggressive, to inspire it with resolution, so that it may the sooner carry out its mission of de-throning the capitalists and setting up the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Never think that the trust system will spontaneously grow into Socialism, without the efforts of the working class. It must be conquered before it will yield us the blessings in its power.

We do not wish the middle class to succeed in any fight against the trust, as the Bryanites do, for that would be to put us back and begin the process over again.

We do wish to see the working class succeed in every such fight, both of which deserve reply. No doubt the majority of the Socialists of the country would answer the questions just as we shall, without waiting for our opinion. But it is worth while to take them up here, that our position may be understood by workmen outside the party.

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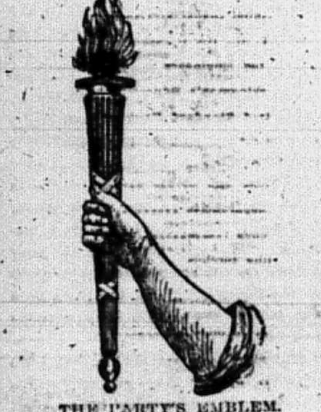
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## SOCIALIST VOTES IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) ..... 2,068  
In 1890 ..... 13,381  
In 1892 (Presidential) ..... 21,127  
In 1894 ..... 33,133  
In 1896 (Presidential) ..... 36,564  
In 1898:  
S. L. P. ..... 82,804  
S. D. P. ..... 9,545  
In 1900 (Presidential):  
S. D. P. ..... 96,918  
S. L. P. ..... 33,450

## NEW YORK CITY TICKET.

For Mayor—BENJAMIN HANFORD.  
For Controller—MORRIS BROWN.  
For President of the Board of Alder-  
men—HENRY STAHL.



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

Socialists think the workshops of the world should belong to the workers of the world.

A man in Chicago has two hearts. Can't he be persuaded upon to divide up with J. Pierpont Morgan?

The steel strikers have given the capitalist press fresh cause for complaint. They have refused to provide sensations by breaking the peace.

Platt says the reformers are fakirs. The reformers know that Platt is a machine boss. Yet Platt and the reformers are willing to work together. Why?

The Steel Trust threatens to move tied-up mills in order to avoid labor agitation. If that's the game, the moving of mills will be a continuous performance.

Governor Thomas G. Jones of Alabama is opposed to lynching. Tom's taste lies rather in the direction of seeing workmen shot, as was shown in 1894.

The Democratic state convention of Pennsylvania was too much engrossed in denouncing the evils of Republicanism to find time to mention the Steel Trust's attack upon labor.

There was a great howl when one millionaire's son was kidnapped. Eighteen strikers are kidnapped and not one of the capitalist papers raises a protest. Queer, isn't it?

Every comrade in New York City who is willing to speak for the party in the present campaign is requested to communicate at once with the organizer, Julius Gerber, 64 E. Fourth street. The party needs the services of all.

Our "prosperity and full-dinner pail" administration has again shown its insincerity by refusing to pay bricklayers in the navy-yards the union scale of wages. A good many bricklayers are already Socialists. This should concern more.

Does anyone expect to see the officials of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company brought to account for the lives lost through their criminal economy? Whoever expects that will be disappointed. Observe: The officials of the B. R. T. are capitalists; the two men killed and most of the injured were wage-workers. That makes the difference.

The reformers are so busy getting together harmless ammunition for their sham battle with Tammany that they

will not have time even to think about using their influence to prevent such criminal disasters as that of the Coney Island line last Saturday. A Socialist administration would prosecute the guilty capitalists instead of persecuting the poor women who have fallen victims of capitalism.

## WHAT WILL YOU DO WITH YOUR CITY?

The concentration of the population into large cities goes steadily on. In 1890 there were 28 cities of 100,000 or more people; now there are 38. Then there were 58 between 50,000 and 100,000; now there are 78. Then there were 124 between 25,000 and 50,000; now there are 161. In 1850 only 12.5 per cent. of the people lived in cities; in 1860 the proportion rose to 16.1 per cent.; in 1870, to 20.9 per cent.; in 1880, to 22.6 per cent.; in 1890, to 29.2 per cent.; and according to the census of 1900, no less than 33.1 per cent., practically one-third of the population, lived in cities of 5,000 people or more.

In the face of such a steady progress as this, extending over half a century, the advice of the comfortable philanthropists, that the poor people should leave their tenement dens and go to the country, becomes supremely ridiculous. It is probable that many individuals make a mistake in going to the cities or in leaving them, as the case may be. But it is simply inconceivable that the whole population, during fifty consecutive years, should have steadily followed this course of concentration unless economic forces impelled them to it. We are becoming a nation of city dwellers, and we shall become more so as the years go by, unless economic conditions are greatly changed. The forces which have driven us into the cities keep us in the cities, and we must make the best of it.

Along with this growth of cities has come a parallel growth in the importance of municipal questions. Not only are a large proportion of the working people in the cities now than ten or thirty or fifty years ago, but they are worse housed than those who were then in the cities. The increase of consumption and the frightful infant death-rate in the tenement districts are among the fruits of this unavoidable concentration.

It is easy for those who live on Fifth Avenue and spend their summers at Newport to advise the working people to go to the country. It is impossible for the working people to follow their advice. And the comfortable philanthropists, if they realized what it means, would not wish the workers to take such advice. Fifth Avenue lives on the misery of the East Side. Its costly garments are paid for by those who go in rags on Hester street; its sumptuous tables are spread by those who go hungry on Eldridge or Forsyth; its stately mansions do not exist without the dismal tenements of Cherry Hill; even its fresh air implies the pestilential vapors that breed disease wherever the working people find shelter.

Fifth Avenue will not trouble itself to mend these things. Fifth Avenue knows its business. It talks reform—even tenement house reform—to get votes; but it laughs in its sleeve at the wretched workers whom it robs and lies to. Fifth Avenue's babies are healthy; what matter if tenement babies die like flies? The system which leaves the tenement baby without even a decent coffin clothes Fifth Avenue's baby in fine linen and hires bereaved mothers to tend it while Fifth Avenue's ladies go to dance.

It is the tenement fathers who must act, if they care to save their children from this curse. It is they and their alone who can do it or who will. While Fifth Avenue boudoirs and Fifth Avenue reformers fight for office and the added wealth that office brings, careless alike of their own manhood or of the lives of the toiling masses, the Socialist movement opens to the toilers a vision of justice, of freedom, of health, of comfort, of decency now denied them.

A Socialist administration elected in this city this fall, even with all the power of state and nation in the hands of the enemies of the people, would accomplish more good in one term than all the preaching and philanthropic platitudes from Astor and Howland down to Gerry and Comstock, could accomplish in ten thousand years.

Read the national and municipal platforms of the Social Democratic Party, workmen of New York. If you do not know the records of the Social Democratic candidates—Hanford and Brown and Stahl—beat them up; you will find them honorably written in the history of the labor movement of this city. Study the propositions of the Social Democratic Party; and study its methods, too—see how it is guided by the will of the rank and file, not by the whim or interest of leaders. Then choose.

This city which your hands have built—you have the power to leave it a den of heartless robbers and a prison house of hungry slaves. You have the power to make it the abode of free men and free women, working and enjoying the fruit of their labor, while their children learn and play. Which will you do?

The shirt waist manufacturers of New York City probably reach the profoundest depth of petty meanness yet

reached by the profit-grabbing class. In some of the factories the girls are charged twelve cents a week for using the elevator. Of course they are "free" to climb six or eight flights of stairs twice every day if they choose. May the striking shirt waist workers win, be our wish, and teach these contemptible buffies a lesson. And may then fathers and brothers have the manliness to vote against a system that subjects women to such outrage. A Socialist city government would soon find a way to put a stop to such impositions. Just put Ben Hanford in the mayor's chair, and see.

Two persons killed and twenty-three injured on a Coney Island trolley car. Why? It is admitted that the track arrangement at Kensington Junction has long been considered unsafe by practical railroad men. Why did the Democratic authorities of the city and the Republican authorities of the state allow the dangerous arrangement to be maintained? Why? It's simple: The Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company is a rich corporation. The Republican and Democratic parties depend on rich corporations for their campaign funds. Therefore the B. R. T. is allowed to endanger the lives of thousands of people every day. Life does not count against profits, and will not until the workingmen vote their own party into power and put an end to the capitalist system.

## SCIENCE AND IDEALS.

A writer in "Advance" begins his article on "Social Ideals" with the words: "I know it is not strictly scientific to have ideals, but I frankly confess that I cannot help it." No doubt that is what Artemus Ward used to call "a goak." But unfortunately there are not a few among us who really believe that "It is not scientific to have ideals." According to their temperament and their surroundings, they decide, therefore, either to abjure science or to deny their ideals.

As a matter of fact, this is a most absurd position to take. The study of science ought to lead anyone to recognize the power of ideals and their perfectly legitimate place in social movements. It ought also, of course, to show anyone the limitations and the dangers of idealism.

What is an ideal? It is the picture which we form in our minds of a state to be attained, an end to be reached—or, at least, to be striven for—an object to which our efforts are to be directed. The very fact of conscious effort, of intention, implies the holding of ideals. Our animal ancestors had the power of forming ideals in but a very slight degree, if at all. As a savage, man's ideals were crude and vague. All through the ages, just in proportion as he learned to understand the world around him and the world within—that is, just in proportion as science has grown—his ideals have become loftier and more definite and have exerted a more powerful influence on his conduct. In one application of it, that is simply to say that society is steadily becoming self-conscious.

There is always, as Spencer remarks, "a soul of truth in things erroneous." There is a kernel of truth—or, at least, a half-truth—in the doctrine we have had so violently preached at us, that "It is unscientific to have ideals." If we forget that each of us is but a part of his class and a part of society, if we forget that man is but a part of the world in which he lives, if we forget that man's conscious life is but a part of his being and his ethical and intellectual life but a small part of his conscious existence, if we forget that man's brains are affected by their stomachs, if we forget that their ideas are the product of their experiences—if, therefore, we fancy that we can make the world over on any plan evolved out of our inner consciousness, regardless of social and other natural conditions and tendencies—then, assuredly, we are not acting in accord with the teachings of science. Our ideals must be tested and amended by reference to the tendencies of the real world, else they will mislead us sadly. The mere ideologist is a rather futile and troublesome person.

But if we bear in mind this limitation of the power of ideals, if we guard against the danger of walking into the pit while star-gazing, then we cannot do better than to hold to our ideals, to guard them jealously, even religiously, to be proud of them and to rejoice in working for them.

"Hitch your wagon to a star," said Emerson. Only be sure you have the right star.

President Greaser of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company is convinced that the motorman was responsible for the fatal accident on the Coney Island line. Of course, that's the way to settle it. The motorman was killed, so he can't protest. It's highly probable that he was tired of life, being an employee of the B. R. T., and chose this method of committing suicide. It would never do to hit that President Greaser and the other capitalists of the company are murderers, and that motorman Sirovich was one of their victims. Yet some people will be "cranky" enough to make such a charge.

There is an "anti-trust law" on the statute books of the United States. P.

C. Knox, formerly counsel for the Carnegie Steel Company, is attorney-general of the United States, and it is his duty to enforce that law, or try to enforce it. Being asked for information on the subject by certain trustful anti-trustists, Mr. Knox avers that he does not know the men concerned in the Steel Trust, and "has never heard of any agreement between them and the constituent members (companies) of the Steel Corporation." Mr. Knox breaks all records as a cool, thoroughgoing, unflinching, monumental liar. And the majority of the workmen of that company voted last year for the man who has chosen Knox to neglect the enforcement of the laws! Do they like it? No.

## A GOOD SUGGESTION.

In another column we publish a letter from Comrade Kerrigan of Texas, calling for action upon Comrade Simons' suggestion of an annual National Socialist Conference, somewhat upon the general plan of the reform conferences held at Buffalo and Detroit.

His idea appeals to us as an excellent one! A great need of our movement is some institution which will make possible a closer personal cohesion among the comrades of different parts of the country. Especially do we feel the need in the United States, because the country is so large and the conditions—geographical, racial, social, political, and industrial—are so widely different in the various sections. Socialists from New England, from the Central states, from the South, from the Rocky Mountains, from the Pacific Coast, should have some means of meeting, exchanging ideas on questions of import to the party, giving each other the benefit of their varying experience, and—as is often necessary—learning to know each other and disabusing their minds of prejudices and misunderstandings.

The need is satisfied to a very slight extent by sending out organizers for tours through the whole country. It is our opinion, indeed, that great as is the value of agitation work done, the greatest benefit derived from such tours is in this exchange of personal influence. But this is not enough.

Our national conventions are always overloaded with work so that there is little time for personal intercourse. Moreover, they are called upon to take definite action, and cannot discuss the various questions in the free and full way that is desirable. Still more than this is needed.

It is to be hoped that the National Executive Committee will be able to arrange for such a series of national conferences, to begin next summer. They should be entirely unofficial and yet distinctly Socialist gatherings, the objects being two-fold: The forming of a closer acquaintance among the Socialists of the land, and the serious discussion of such questions as may be occupying the minds of the comrades. For instance, there is the question of "immediate demands." This question has been discussed in the party press, but in a desultory and superficial way. It was discussed very earnestly at the convention, but, of necessity, hastily and incompletely. There is yet much to be said before these taking the two or more sides of the question will thoroughly understand each other. Suppose these were taken as one of the topics for such a Socialist Conference. The arrangements committee could select two or three of the best advocates on each side, who should prepare careful statements of their position. They would have months for preparation. Their papers would assuredly be listened to with the greatest attention and there would then be opportunity for questions, for comments, for arguments, without the animosity and the mutual misunderstanding which commonly accompanies either a controversy in print or a convention debate under the influence of haste and the necessity of prompt action.

The economic position of the farmers, the position to be taken toward them by the party, and the methods of agitation to be used among them, furnish another question which could profitably be discussed at such a conference. The same question is another, and many others will suggest themselves at once or will arise from time to time.

By all means, let us have such a conference arranged for next summer, and let it become a permanent institution of our party.

Professors of political economy who defend the capitalist system say that the capitalist is entitled to profits as "wages of risk." In one of the Steel Trust's mills at Youngstown, Ohio, last Sunday, ten tons of molten metal exploded, killing three workmen and injuring eleven others, eight of them fatally. The professors should explain why the workmen, who take such fearful risks of life, are not entitled to the profits. Think what that one incident means: Eleven lives lost and three more probably ruined; fourteen families deprived of their only means of support. And unless it can be positively proven to the satisfaction of a trusted judge that the employers were directly responsible for the accident, the Steel Trust has no further concern in the matter. Since the workmen take all the risks and bear all the burdens, is it not about time they

made up their minds to take all the profits, instead of giving the major portion of it to Rockefeller, Morgan, Carnegie and their friends?

The Paterson board of aldermen, at the request of the trade unions, has amended the city ordinances so as to legalize picketing. The courts have decided the other way and the manufacturers, it is reported, laugh at the new ordinance, and say the state law is good enough for them when they decide to proceed further against the strikers. Now it is in order for the strikers to vote the Socialist state ticket this fall and oust those Judges. Governor Vail would be a workman's governor.

## THE CHOICE BEFORE THE POPULISTS.

We reprint elsewhere a brief comment on the Indianapolis Convention by the "Southern Mercury," a Populist paper, published at Dallas, Texas, and edited by Milton Parker. The "Mercury" seems to be of the opinion that our convention did nothing that the Populists would not endorse and declares that, "upon this ground, Populists and Socialists can act together and work together." We suspect that the "Mercury" has failed to grasp the situation, that it does not appreciate the revolutionary spirit which dominated the Indianapolis Convention.

But if the "Mercury" speaks with authority, if it be true that, upon the ground taken at Indianapolis, Populists and Socialists can act together and work together, there remains nothing for the Populists to do but to enroll themselves as members of the Socialist Party. Surely nothing can be gained by maintaining two party organizations, if they have a common end in view. All that can be accomplished by such separate organization is a waste of energy, a division of the vote, and the maintaining of old prejudices.

Perhaps the "Mercury" will ask: "But why should we join you? Why should not join us, instead?" And the answer is that the Populist Party is as the "Mercury" must be: this time know—doomed to die sooner or later. Better die a voluntary death now, by merging itself in a strong and growing movement, than go on to a lingering and painful end. The Populists themselves are discussing, in the columns of the "Mercury" and other papers of their party, whether it is worth while to keep up their organization. The very fact that such a question can be raised among them proves the party to be near its fall. No one hears a Socialist discussing the advisability of keeping up the Socialist Party.

The fact is, Populism—never an altogether healthy infant, but yet strong and precocious—received its death-blow seven years ago in the fusion process. It never recovered from that shock and it never will. The efforts of leaders—some of them able and honest, undoubtedly—have, from time to time, galvanized it into the appearance of life, and may do so again. But it is only an appearance. The life is not there. The moral enthusiasm of the People's Party of 1890 has never revived. That spirit of resolution, of devotion, and of hope—the characteristic of a living movement—has passed into the Socialist movement, there to abide so long as the Socialist Party remains true to its rule of "No compromise."

The Populists are evidently not agreed among themselves. Their platform of 1900 is a compromise between opposite tendencies within their ranks. And the loss of votes was the legitimate result of that compromise. The question is one for each Populist to decide for himself. Either he is a Socialist or he is not. If he is not, there is no reason why he should stay outside the Bryan Democracy. If he is, he belongs in the Socialist Party, in the party that is not afraid to call itself by its true name, in the party which is free from all records of fusion, in the party which is growing instead of waning, because there and there alone he can do the best work for the cause.

The action of Local Hudson County in expelling Morris Eichmann for accepting the endorsement of a capitalist party while running on a Socialist ticket is cause for congratulation. The case is a painful one, and the comrades have been unwilling to take extreme measures if they could be avoided. But it was seen that Eichmann's offense was one that threatened the very foundation of party discipline and the organization did its duty. There ought to be no doubt that the general vote of the branches will emphatically endorse the action taken last Sunday.

A reformed missionary—big pardon, returned missionary, we meant to say—who has been spreading the gospel for eighteen years in Persia, is now lecturing on "True Philanthropy." She said in a New York church last Sunday night: "The Christian religion will eventually triumph, but not before a bloody war has been fought." Nice follower of the meek and lowly Jesus, isn't she? And she's not the only one—oh, dear, no! Capitalism makes Christianity its pretext for leveling war on "heathen" people wherever it wants to force its commerce upon them, or steal their land or their gold mines, or get cheap labor to exploit.

## SOCIALIST ECONOMICS.

Being an Attempt to Present the Main Principles of Scientific Socialism in Popular Language.

### IX.—WHAT IS REVOLUTION?

When we tell our fellow-workers that there is no hope for them but in revolution, many of our hearers are frightened. They jump to the conclusion that we advocate the use of torch and bomb. And our "respectable" opponents, who know better, do their best to foster this misunderstanding in order to keep up the prejudice against us. It is amusing to note that among the people who denounce Socialism because it is revolutionary are many who proudly trace their own ancestry back to the heroes of 76 and boast of their own revolutionary blood. It seems that, in the estimation of these gentlemen, revolution is a very beautiful thing in the past and a very terrible thing in the present. More correctly we might say that they approve of the revolution which has put them in power and dread a revolution that would dislodge them.

Since these people have so long had the ear of the American people and have succeeded in establishing such a deep-seated prejudice against revolution, it is necessary for us to devote some space to explaining the meaning of the word.

The word revolution, to begin with, has or should have absolutely nothing to do with the use of force or violence. Some of the great revolutions of history have proceeded without the use of violent methods. And, on the other hand, some of the most violent and turbulent movements have been, not revolutionary, but strictly reactionary in their character. The bloodiest pages of the world's history are not those which record the risings of oppressed classes against their oppressors, nor those which record the movements which heralded the future. They are the pages that tell how the oppressors crushed those risings of their serfs, those which tell of the struggles of doomed classes against their inevitable fall.

In the second place, there is absolutely no contradiction between the ideas of evolution and revolution. If the word evolution means anything at all, it signifies the necessary and irresistible process by which everything in the world—material and intellectual—is developed. And if the word revolution means anything at all it signifies one of the great steps in that evolution, one of the processes by which evolution goes on, one of the great crises in which the quieter evolutionary processes from time to time lead up. The people who cry: "Let us have evolution, not revolution," are generally those who have but the most superficial understanding of either word. The opposite of revolution, let it be understood, is not evolution but reaction. The character that distinguishes any social movement as revolutionary is not its suddenness and violence, but its inevitableness and its completeness. Every reactionary tendency, every resistance to the natural course of social development, is doomed to failure. And for this reason it is that reactionary movements are so commonly violent and bloody. Let us give a few examples:

One of the most violent and turbulent movements of history was the Peasants' Revolt of the early sixteenth century in Germany. Yet this movement was essentially a reactionary one. The principle upon which all social institutions in the Middle Ages were founded was ownership of land. Only those who owned land had any part in the government of the state; to them all obedience, all honor was due. But during the century preceding the Peasants' Revolt certain new elements had appeared in society. For various reasons, which cannot be explained here, for lack of space, the greater nobles had grasped all power in the German empire, excluding the smaller proprietors—knights and peasants alike. The old feudal idea of reciprocal rights and duties of land-owners and land-users were giving away before the coming of commercialism. Against these changes the peasants rose in revolt. They burned the castles of the great lords, killed many of the lords when they could catch them, and were put down with a barbarity which outdid the savagery of their own revolt. And for what was it that these peasants rebelled? Was it in furtherance of the necessary development of the social system? No, it was to demand a return to the condition of earlier times. They demanded a re-establishment of the old principle of feudalism, of the principle which based all rights, all authority, all honor, on the ownership of land under the feudal form. The Peasants' Revolt failed because it was not a revolutionary but a reactionary movement. Much as we must sympathize with the oppressed peasants, driven to desperation by the hardships incident to the change from feudalism to capitalism, we must recognize that it was well for civilization, well for the world, that it failed. If it could have succeeded, it would only have postponed for a little time the necessary coming of the capitalist system, a stage through which society had to pass in its evolution.

In the next century came a great political movement in England. The government of England was up to the middle of the seventeenth century in the hands of practically absolute monarchs and was administered in the interest of the great nobles and gentry. The Puritan Revolution, which began in 1640, dethroned the king in 1649, and established the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, was essentially a revolt of the rising commercial and manufacturing class against semi-feudal absolutism. In 1689 that revolution seemed to have failed and absolutism was re-established. But by the peaceful revolution of 1689, the work of 1640 was vindicated, and made that time the capitalist class had ruled supreme in England. This Puritan movement of the seventeenth century, far more violent than that of the German peasants in the sixteenth, was nevertheless, truly revolutionary. For it was a movement in advance, for the abolition of an old and outgrown system and for the establishment of the system which naturally grew out of it.

In the same way the continental which, in 1789 and the following years, overthrew feudal monarchy in France and throughout western Europe, was a truly revolutionary movement. Like the Puritan Revolution in England, the French Revolution expressed the determination of the economically dominant class, that it should be likewise the politically dominant class.

The Paris Commune of 1871, again, was a truly revolutionary event. The violence, the cruelty, the brutality, in 1871, was on the side of the reactionaries, who crushed the Commune. And conditions had so changed between 1789 and 1871, that the party which in 1789 was revolutionary was in 1871 reactionary. A new class had appeared in society—the proletariat, and the old feudal class had disappeared. The class which in 1789 rebelled against feudal rule had by the success of the great revolution made itself the ruling class. Full of the enthusiasm of revolt as it had been in 1789, it no longer gained power than it changed its coat and loudly condemned revolution as the deadly enemy of civilization. So in 1871 it played the part which the feudal nobles would willingly have played eighty years earlier. It was now the turn of the working people to revolt, to smash reaction, to fight for the overthrow of an existing society, to help to usher in the new age.

Reaction triumphed in 1871—for the time. But the revolution was not crushed, as revolution never can be permanently crushed. The Commune of 1871 were slaughtered by thousands, but their spirit still lives, not in thousands, but in millions of proletarian breasts. The Commune was but the first ruddy streak in the east that heralded the coming day, the day of a new dawn. It is again bursting forth in yet greater brightness. The whole horizon is low red with the dawn. The Social Revolution, so long dreamed of, so long dreaded by masters, so long hoped for by the oppressed, is fast approaching its crisis. Whether that crisis is to be passed in peace no man can tell. The masters—the doomed masters—have it in their power to decide. For us, we go steadily on, glad of peace if we may have it, ready for battle if it is forced upon us, existing in the confidence of victory assured.

### CONVENTION COMMENT.

#### Southern Mercury (Populist).

The Socialist convention at Indianapolis has done exactly what the "Mercury" hoped it would do. It declared for the unconditional co-operation of commonwealth and holds this up as its aim. In the meanwhile, it does not ignore "immediate demands," but, on the contrary, it pursues the ideal with progressive steps. Populists here in this. Then, again, the convention declared for state autonomy, which means that reformers in every state shall adopt for themselves a platform to meet their existing environment, without regard to the platforms of other states. A national convention will frame a national platform on which all can unite. The National Executive Committee is also restrained within safe limits. Such has been the unvarying contention of the "Mercury" from the beginning. Upon this ground, Populists and Socialists can act together and work together.

#### Cleveland Citizen.

The unity convention at Indianapolis last week, from the standpoint of attendance and accomplished results, was thoroughly satisfactory. To-day the Socialists of the United States are united. At least 12,000 members and a thousand men are gathered under the banner of the new, combined party.

The Annals Press, ever hostile to the working class, sent out some of the most glaring falsehoods that could have been conceived, thanks to the Indianapolis "Sentinel" and a perverted DeLeonite on its reportorial staff. At no time during the proceedings of the convention was there the slightest doubt of amalgamation. The patches to the effect that Debs was repudiated, that trades unions were not endorsed, etc., were pure rot. The new party starts but under most auspicious circumstances. The middle class reform parties, which have confused the workers with cleverly worded platforms and far-fetched theories, and the old Socialist Labor Party, which has disgraced Socialism by aiding capitalists in attacking trade unions, have been completely repudiated by the laboring class and are rapidly disintegrating, thus clearing the way for a splendid movement against capitalism.

#### The Brauer-Zettung.

Well done! It took time, but it was accomplished. And it was better it took a longer time, till the two factions came together, it was better for the later progress and for the existence of the life of one united class struggle party of the American proletariat. It was a necessity that first by inner friction the sharp, factual antagonisms were ground off, that clear understanding was established as regards the future attitude of the new united party towards all questions confronting the working class, and that the path was cleared from the doubts and the misgivings which had accumulated in the years of friction between the two factions.

We, and, with us, all brewery workers, who already stand on the foundation of the class struggle, cheer the accomplished consolidation with full enthusiasm. We know that now the work can be carried on with all energy; we ourselves can now go before our members and teach them Socialism in its powerful glory, without the existence of the life of one united class struggle party of the American proletariat. And also the Socialist Labor Party, which did not accept the invitation to the unity convention, will, with the development of events come out from its separate corner and labor with the other class-conscious proletarians of this country at the sacred work for the ultimate emancipation of the oppressed. And now, comrades, cheer with the new united party, become comrades and share cheer in this struggle, in which all forces are now united, and your share of duty is to do away with the system of oppression and slavery, of falsehood and deceit, of corruption and hatred, and establish instead a society where everyone will enjoy the full product of his labor, and where pure freedom and love, equality and fraternity will reign forever.

## Current Literature.

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column are available by ordering through the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

EDWARD CARPENTER: PORT AND PROPHET. By Ernest Crosby, author of "The Path of the People." Philadelphia: The Carpenters Press, 1901. 12mo., paper, pp. 50. With portrait.

Mr. Crosby is an enthusiastic admirer of Edward Carpenter, and while he says some true things about his idol, he leaves some other true things that are equally obvious, and that would seem, in an estimate like the present, to be equally important—very much unsaid. The sketch is, however, for the most part judicious and sympathetic, except in the paragraphs that speak of Carpenter's ideas on sex. The poet is characterized as a prophet with a sense of humor, and he is distinguished from Whitman in the fact of his having a clearer conception of those things in "Democracy" of which they both sing; but this greater advance on the intellectual plane implies much more than Mr. Crosby seems to appreciate. He defends the form of verse Whitman and Carpenter employed, but a better justification is found in Carpenter's essay on Wagner, Millet, and Whitman, in the part that treats of the relation between Wagner and Beethoven.

"Freedom and Joy in the life universal" we are told, constitute the message of Edward Carpenter. But ideas of the meaning of freedom and of life universal vary so much—to say nothing of the joy. Most of our admirers are carried away with the essay on "Civilization: Its Cause and Cure," and the "disease" germ and the "return to Nature" have turned many a good head; yet I dare say that half at least of those admirers would repudiate Carpenter if they read all of his writings, and succeeded in unifying them. So much of his work appeals to the elemental in our natures that many are carried away with the first idea they catch, and the single idea is always in danger of becoming a "flea" idea.

Carpenter is, in a way, dangerous reading for people of extreme emotional temperament. He himself has had sufficient intellectual discipline to be able to preserve his own mental balance, but this much can hardly be said of most Whitman and Carpenter enthusiasts.

Edward Carpenter is always interesting and suggestive, and very often stimulating; and every earnest contribution to knowledge of the man or to an understanding of his philosophy must be welcome. This brochure is well calculated to arouse the interest in the poet and his work and should therefore receive wide circulation, for in spite of his friends, Carpenter carries a true gospel for the day.

R. E. B.

In another place our readers will find announced "The Comrade," an illustrated Socialist monthly, that will make its appearance September 15, 1901. This new magazine will be a valuable addition to the Socialist publications already in existence. It is to cover a field that has heretofore been entirely neglected. It will be the first Socialist magazine in the English language wherein the writings of Socialist authors will be supplemented by the drawings of Socialist artists. The contents will be made up of stories, poems, satires, biographical sketches, descriptive matter, and cartoons, and a wealth of illustrations. The list of contributions announced by The Comrade Publishing Company is very promising. We will the following from the prospectus:

"It has been remarked from time to time by various friends of the movement, that in spite of the fact that Socialists have achieved the proud distinction in all parts of literature and art we have as yet no paper of our own. The new magazine will be the great mass of the world's glories which we scarcely know of the great masterpieces of painting, song, and story that have been created by men and women who have worked and are working for the great cause of Socialism and love to call the poorest and downmost by that sweetest of all names: their benefactor—'Comrade.' We have been disappointed by many people to undertake the task of publishing such a paper, and, fully realizing all that is involved in such an undertaking, we have decided to respond to the demand: trusting to our comrades everywhere for support. Therefore we announce 'The Comrade'—the Journal of the Socialist spirit."

The price of "The Comrade" will be \$1 a year or 10 cents a copy. The board of editors will announce next week. The business management will be in the hands of Comrade O. Wagner, until lately manager of The Worker, the "Volkszeitung," and the Socialist Literature Company.

"Advance" of San Francisco contemporary, has begun the publication of a translation by Kasper Bauer of Karl Kautsky's book "Karl Marx's Economic Teachings" ("Karl Kautsky







## Trades' and Societies' Calendar

Standing advertisements of Trade Union and other societies will be inserted on this heading at the rate of \$1 per line annum.

BRANCH 2, S. E. 15, 14th and 15th A.  
(formerly Sociological Science Club), meets  
second and fourth Thursday evenings  
each month at the Workingmen's Edu-  
cational Club, 1300 Third avenue.

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**CARL SAHM CLUB (MUSICIAN UNION). Meetings every Tuesday at 8 a. m., at 64 East 4th Street, New York. Labor Lyceum. Business Secretaries: Fred.**

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day at 8 p. m.—District V. meets at East 157th Street, every Saturday at m.—District VII. meets every Saturday evening at 1432 Second Avenue.—Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at Paulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second Avenue, at 8 p. m.

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## IN THE STEEL FIELD.

### The Correspondent of The Worker Sketches Conditions and Events in Wellsville and in McKeesport.

The week has passed with no startling developments in the steel strike. There is renewed talk of settlement, but there is as yet little to indicate that the trust is inclined to grant more than at the start.

What is, from the standpoint of the capitalist newspapers, the most sensational feature of the week, and from our standpoint, the most instructive, is the contrasted action of the mayors of Wellsville and McKeesport. As told by our correspondent, the mayor of Wellsville, in his capacity to help the trust, has sworn in and armed the imported scabs; the mayor of McKeesport, in sympathy with the working class, to which he belongs, has sworn in strikers as deputies. What makes the contrast instructive is, that in Wellsville considerable disorder results, while in McKeesport there is no hint of violence or lawlessness.

## CAUSE OF DISORDER.

### Wellsville's Capitalistic Mayor Arms Imported Scabs and Invests Them with Police Power.

(Special correspondence to The Worker.)  
WELLSVILLE, O., Aug. 28.—For several days the daily papers have been publishing lurid dispatches from Wellsville, and I can only say here to-day, after a stay of forty-eight hours, I can truthfully say that the only desperate looking characters visible to me are the misnamed "guardsians of the peace," and the non-unionists who go to work through the streets with big revolvers in their pockets.  
Wellsville stands on the banks of the Ohio River, and has about 8,000 inhabitants. Four miles further up the river is East Liverpool, the center of the pottery industry, and a strongly organized city. At one point on the trolley route between the two places one catches a view of the Ohio valley which can hardly be surpassed for exquisite beauty. Across the winding river is West Virginia, where the undulating hills, covered with green foliage, blend into the blue distance. It is saddening to turn from the contemplation of such a scene to the consideration of the conditions which obtain among the human beings who labor here.

The story of the Wellsville strike is a long one, but its very length necessitates its relation, so repetitive is it with examples of capitalist cupidity, political perfidy and working class heroism and suffering. I trust that those who read it will take the lesson it conveys well home and make good use of it.  
The Wellsville sheet-iron mill of the American Sheet Steel Company employs, in ordinary times, from 450 to 500 men, of whom 155 were skilled and eligible to membership in the Amalgamated Association. To-day a total of 55 men are trying to run the plant. The plant has been established twenty-four years, and because, with the other works of the company, a part of the steel trust early this year. It was started by W. DeWee Wood of McKeesport, and his son-in-law, Persifer F. Smith is now the district manager.  
During the twenty-four years of its existence efforts were made by the Amalgamated Association to unionize the plant, but only failure resulted. Up to three years ago the mill was run as an "open shop," where both union and non-union men could work. Three years ago, however, a union was formed with forty-two members, some of whom were immediately discharged. A strike was ordered and was lost. Since then the mill has been on the blacklist as a "black-shop" plant.

It was a cardinal rule with W. DeWee Wood that none of his mills should be unionized. He had two sons, one of whom he had named after him, and his will contained two clauses, one that his mills should never enter the trust, the other that they should never be under the jurisdiction of a union. The company was forced into the trust and one clause was broken. The strikers were aware of the other clause and were broken also.

Persifer F. Smith, the district mill manager, has always been opposed to organized labor. He is known as an arbitrary and stubborn man. He it was who represented the trust at the first conference held between the Amalgamated Association and the Steel Trust. His conduct at that conference was so unsatisfactory and irritating that the Amalgamated officials became disgusted and distrustful. Of all men, he was the one who should not have represented the trust if it desired a settlement of the pending question and it was probably because the trust did not desire such a settlement that Mr. Smith was selected. At that conference he claimed that the Association was coercing the Wellsville mill men to join the union, which they did not wish to do.

WHERE COERCION COMES IN.  
At this very time George Evans, Jr., district organizer, was in Wellsville attempting to form a lodge of the Association. He succeeded in doing so, starting a lodge on Friday, July 15, with thirteen members. Next day twelve of these members were discharged, with their pay to date. On the following Tuesday another conference between the trust and the Association was to be held. Evans wired to President Shaffer notifying him of the union men's discharge. Shaffer notified the Trust that the Association would not hold any further conferences until the Wellsville men were reinstated in the mill. The company replied that the men would be given positions as soon as same were open, as new men had been given the discharged men's places. That was not satisfactory to the Association, and the

## "ORGANIZED SCABBERY."

### The Machine Trades and Professions Association Is One of Its Forms.

Cloaked Under the Deceptive Phrase of "Harmony of Capital and Labor," a Systematic Attack on Labor Organizations Is Under Way—Radical and Aggressive Policy of Unionism Needed to Meet the Danger.

We referred last week to the longing of the Rochester "Post-Express" for a "new labor organization, whose platform should be: 'Freedom of Contract; No Dictation; The Right to Work.' Which, as we remarked, being interpreted, means: 'Servility to the Capitalist; No Independent Thinking; the Duty of Starving for the Masters' Profit.' What the "Post-Express" wants is an American Federation of Scabs, to fight and cripple the trade unions in the interest of the possessing class.

The class line is now too clearly drawn and both capitalists and workmen are too class-conscious for such a plan to succeed in more than a very limited degree. But something of the sort is being tried and workmen who care anything for the rights and welfare of the class should be on their guard. The special correspondence of the New York "Evening Post" gives an account of an organization formed in Columbus, Ohio, under the title of "The Machine Trades and Professions Association." Some extracts may interest the readers of The Worker:

"The skilled mechanics and the manufacturers of Columbus are banded together under the solemn promise that they will not employ any scabs, and no strikes at the plants which they control or at which they work. They are pledged to submit every difference which cannot be settled by informal, friendly discussion to arbitrators, representatives of the two classes, and to abide by the decision. The membership of the organization, which is known as the Machine Trades and Professions Association, includes as honorary members the superintendents of all the important manufacturing plants of Columbus, and as active members, two hundred men whose hands are skilled in the actual work of manufacturing or maintaining machinery of various sorts. Associate and Junior members, younger men, double the total membership. To give the men a commercial rating, all of the active members are workmen who can earn from \$5 to \$25 a day at the bench."

UNION MEN EXCLUDED.  
"It is the aim of the members to MAKE THE ORGANIZATION A NATIONAL ONE, and branches are now being formed in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and other cities. NO MAN WHO IS A MEMBER OF ANY ORGANIZATION WHICH SANCTIONS STRIKES, LOCKOUTS, OR BOYCOTTS, UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, IS ELIGIBLE TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE MACHINE TRADES AND PROFESSIONS ASSOCIATION, although a man who has once been implicated in such trouble is eligible, provided he is thoroughly convinced of the error of his ways."

"The agreement signed in Columbus last September is PERPETUAL AND BINDING between thirty manufacturing establishments and the workmen, who are members of the Machine Trades and Professions Association. The agreement provides that every reasonable effort shall be made by employer and employee to effect a satisfactory adjustment of disputes. It is only after these efforts fail that either party shall have the right to ask its reference to a committee of arbitration, which shall consist of the presidents of the Metal Manufacturers' Association and the Machine Trades and Professions Association, or their representatives, and two other representatives of their respective associations, appointed by their presidents. The finding of the committee by a majority vote shall be final as regards the case at issue."

PART OF ORGANIZED ATTACK ON UNIONS.  
It is significant that this organization takes its rise in the state of Ohio and in the machine industry, and that it was formed just a few months before the opening, particularly in that state and in that trade, of a fierce and well organized attack upon the trade unions by the associated employers. We are not informed by what methods the agreement to arbitrate all difficulties is made binding upon the men, whether by the withholding of a part of their wages, or by some other means. As for the other side, it is easy to see that no such agreement can be made binding upon the employer. It is quite feasible, by a forfeit of back wages, for instance, to compel workmen to give thirty days' notice of their intention to quit—which is simply sufficient to forestall a strike. But obviously no agreement can prevent a manufacturer from shutting down "for repairs" or "for lack of orders"—the pretexts which are commonly given for a lockout.

While, according to the statement made, all trade union members are excluded from this organization, it appears that firms belonging to the Metal Manufacturers' Association are not barred—at least, that association is recognized as one of the powers in arbitration proceedings.  
DECEPTIVE "HARMONY."  
Thus, under the deceptive phrase of "harmony between capital and labor," the men who enter this association are

## INSTRUCTIVE STATISTICS

### Drawn from Recent Reports of the Inter-state Commerce Commission.

Profits of Railway Capitalists vs. Lives of Railway Workers—Concentration of Ownership, and Increase of Exploitation—Some Appalling Figures—What's to Be Done?

The comparison of the report of the Inter-state Commerce Commission for the year ending June 30, 1901, on the railway statistics of the country, with the corresponding reports for 1898 and 1899 is most instructive.  
The first thing that strikes the careful reader is the evidence of the concentration of wealth. Comparing the profits for 1898 with that for 1901, we find that, although the railway property had been increased by 6,900 miles of track, by 1,420 locomotives, by 124,064 cars, and by other equipment in proportion, yet THE NUMBER OF CORPORATIONS OWNING THIS VASTLY INCREASED PROPERTY NOT ONLY HAD NOT INCREASED, BUT HAD POSITIVELY DIMINISHED. In 1898 there were 2,047 companies; in 1901, with an immense increase of property, there were only 2,023 companies.

INCREASED RATE OF EXPLOITATION.  
Even more significant is a comparison of the increase in the number of employees with the increase in the amount of dividends paid out of the profits of their labor. Between 1898 and 1899 the number of employees increased 6 per cent., but the amount of dividends increased 15 per cent. Between 1899 and 1901 the number of employees increased 10 per cent., but the amount of dividends increased 26 per cent. In 1898 the average employee contributed \$110 to the payment of dividends; in 1901 he contributed \$119; in 1901 he contributed \$137.

This, of course, represents only a small part of the exploitation of the workers. The amount paid out in interest, rents, exorbitant salaries to high officers, and "kickbacks and slushings" taken together, is much greater than that paid in dividends. But the same proportion would hold for all forms of capitalist appropriation of the workers' product. The point is that the TRIP AMOUNT TURNED OVER BY EACH EMPLOYER INTO THE HANDS OF THE CAPITALISTS IS STEADILY INCREASING. IN 3 YEARS IT INCREASED 25 PER CENT.  
It is unfortunate that the reports do not show the amounts paid out in wages. But it is safe to say that they have not increased in any such proportion as the dividends. Dividends per employee increased 25 per cent. in three years. Wages may have advanced, but in no such proportion.

A FRIGHTFUL DEATH LIST.  
A third point of interest is the figures of employees killed and injured at their work. These figures are truly appalling. AND THEY GROW WORSE AND WORSE FROM YEAR TO YEAR.  
In 1898, there were 1,958 employees killed and 31,761 injured. In 1899, the figures rose to 2,210 killed and 34,923 injured. In 1901 they reached the frightful total of 2,550 killed and 39,643 injured.  
A part of this increase is, of course, accounted for by the increase in the total number of persons employed. But after making allowance for this, we still find that the ratio of the number killed and injured to the number employed was steadily increasing.

From 1898 to 1899 the total number of employees was increased 6 per cent.; the number killed was increased 13 per cent., and the number injured 10 per cent. From 1899 to 1901 the number of employees was increased 10 per cent.; the number killed was increased 15 per cent., and the number injured 14 per cent.  
To put it another way: In 1898, out of every 28 employees, one was injured; and out of every 447, one was killed. In 1899, out of every 27, one was injured; and out of every 420, one was killed. In 1901, out of every 26, one was injured; and out of every 201, one was killed. AND OUT OF EVERY 399, ONE WAS KILLED.

EMPLOYEES' LIABILITIES.  
Second, Pending the establishment of Socialism, the Socialist Party advocates the ESTABLISHMENT OF EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY LAWS. Socialists in congress could fight for a national employers' liability law which would make every capitalist financially responsible for accidents occurring to working people in his employ. Such a law as that, rightly framed and enforced, would bring down the railway workers' death list very quickly. It would touch the capitalists' bank accounts—their only convenience.  
But we shall not have such a law until the workers elect Socialists to enact it.

WORKMEN'S PENSIONS.  
Third, The Socialist Party declares that workmen who are injured or lose their health in the performance of productive labor are more deserving of pensions than those who have only served to destroy life and property in war. The Socialist Party, therefore, pending the establishment of Socialism, declares in favor of PENSIONS FOR AGED, SICK AND DISABLED WORKMEN AND THE WIDOWS AND ORPHANS OF THOSE WHO HAVE LOST THEIR LIVES IN THE INDUSTRIAL BATTLE.  
Inasmuch as railroadings is an especially profitable occupation for the capitalists and an especially hazardous one for the workers, it would be entirely proper to levy a special tax on the railroads to create a pension fund for the benefit of railway workers. But no Republican or Democratic congress will consider such a plan as that.

THE REASON OF IT.  
The reason for this surprising contrast is easily seen. It is a comparatively costly business for a railway company to kill passengers; but employees may be slaughtered with practically no cost. THE LAW HOLDS THE COMPANY, AS A COMMON CARRIER, STRICTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SAFETY OF PASSENGERS AND EVEN OF FREIGHT; BUT IT RENDEERS THE COMPANY, AS AN EMPLOYER, ALMOST ENTIRELY FREE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE LIVES OF EMPLOYEES. The law declares that the employee, by the "free con-

## THEY ARE TEACHING US TO THINK.

### The employees of the W. B. Conkey Company, printers and publishers of Hammond, Ind., have all gone on strike. The pressmen were already out and the issuance of an injunction against them by Judge Baker decided the electrotypes, bookbinders and others, formerly unorganized, to join the unions and go out with their fellow workmen.

That is a spirited and manly reply to the judge's action. But let those same men not forget to add a more crushing rebuke by casting Socialist ballots, for candidates who will use the power of the law on the side of the working class.  
But there is already another chapter of the Conkey story. The firm has sued James A. Russell, formerly employed by them, for damages to the amount of \$25,000, on the charge that he spread discontent among the other workmen and was thereby largely instrumental in causing the strike.

THIS IS GOOD. Nothing could be better for the cause of labor than that the capitalists should go swiftly on from one wild step to another in their frantic effort to hold the working class in bondage.  
"Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."  
The capitalists are already drunk with pride and power. They are going quickly to their fall.  
You will see a workman for "spreading discontent," gentlemen—you will hunt him down to ruin if you can. Very well. But there are few of you and very many of us. Where you silence one preacher of unrest, your own action will sow the seeds of discontent in ten thousand bosoms.  
There are very few of you and very many of us. Each of us has a vote; each of you has only one. Each of us has a pair of strong hands to defend that vote; each of you has no more.

There are very few of you and very many of us. And we are beginning to think, gentlemen. You are teaching us. We shall learn, and learn quickly.

## YORK NOMINATES.

### Socialists of York County, Pa., Have a Full Ticket in the Field.

The Socialists of York County, Pennsylvania, have put a full ticket in the field. The candidates are:  
For Sheriff—W. J. Kohler.  
For Register—Jacob Hoffman.  
For Director of the Poor—Geo. Kerr.  
For Surveyor—Henry Pfeiffer.  
For Clerk of Commissioners—J. W. Keller.  
Harry Bradley was chosen county chairman; Henry Pfeiffer, recording secretary; Harvey Shay, financial secretary and treasurer; Max Glass, organizer. Contributions to the campaign fund should be sent to Harvey Shay, 5 Green street, York.  
Headquarters will be at Codorus Hall, Market Square, York, where meetings will be held every Sunday afternoon.

On Saturday evening, Sept. 7, H. Gaylord Wilshire will speak at Centre Square, on the subject, "Let the Nation Own the Trusts!"  
IN LUZERNE COUNTY.  
The comrades of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, are "hustling," these days. Comrade Geo. H. Goebel of Newark, N. J., has been engaged to speak as follows:  
Wilkes Barre, Mische's Hall, South street, near Canal, Saturday evening, August 31.  
Nanticoke, James' Hall, Market street, near Main, Sunday, Sept. 1, at 10 a. m.  
Luzerne, Jones' Hall, Main street, Sunday, Sept. 1, at 7:30 p. m.

Comrade Goebel will also be present at the meeting of Local Luzerne County, at 487 S. Grant street; Wilkes Barre, Sunday, Sept. 1, at 3 p. m. Every comrade in the county is expected to attend.  
Nomination blanks for county and state officers are now in the hands of the organizer, John Crawford, 245 Stanton street, Wilkes Barre. Comrades should at once get blanks and complete signatures.  
Contributions to campaign fund are: F. Schade, Sr., and E. Schmalzried, \$1 each; J. G. Roth, M. Mooney, and R. Helmsberger, 50 cents each; A. Guttenberger, Nym Seward, Jos. Schneider, Stephen Crawford, John Gerlach, and Nicholas Hugert, 10 cents each; total, \$4.10.

MEETINGS IN THE BRONX.  
Social Democratic meetings have been arranged as follows for the month of September:  
Tuesday, Sept. 3, at One Hundred and Forty-eighth street and Willis avenue; Max Hayes and Miss Johanna Dahme will speak.  
Saturday, Sept. 7, at One Hundred and Forty-fifth street and Brook avenue; also at One Hundred and Forty-eighth street and Willis avenue.  
Saturday, Sept. 14, at One Hundred and Forty-eighth street and Willis avenue; also at One Hundred and Forty-third street and Alexander avenue.  
Saturday, Sept. 21, at One Hundred and Forty-eighth street and Willis avenue; Comrade Hanford, our candidate for mayor; Comrade Herion, and others will speak.

Wednesday, Sept. 25, at One Hundred and Thirty-eighth street and Willis avenue.  
Saturday, Sept. 28, at One Hundred and Fifty-sixth street and Convent street; also at One Hundred and Forty-eighth street and Willis avenue.  
All workmen in the Bronx are invited to attend these meetings and all Socialists are called on to turn out and help make them successful.

THE PARTY NAME.  
To All Readers of This Paper in the State of New York:—The party which this paper represents, heretofore known as the Social Democratic Party, decided at its recent convention in Indianapolis to assume the name of SOCIALIST PARTY. The provisions of the election laws of this state are such, however, that it has been found advisable to retain the old name in the state of New York through the present campaign. Our ticket will be found on the official ballot under the name of SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY and under the party emblem of the ARM AND TORCH. That is the ticket for workmen to vote.

## HOW SOCIALISM GROWS.

### Two Remarkable Events Showing the Spread of Socialist Thought in the Trade Unions.

Too late for us to tell the whole story in this paper, we receive the news of two most important actions of trade union bodies, showing how rapidly and how widely Socialist thought is now spreading in the ranks of organized labor.  
The State Trades and Labor Council of Montana met a week ago, and one of its most important acts was the creation of a standing committee whose duty it is to further the political and economic education of the workers of the state. The program which is laid down is to guide them in the choice of literature to be distributed in Socialist literature in the strictest sense.

Last Sunday the United Labor League, the central body of organized labor in Philadelphia, received the report of a committee appointed at the time of the algonquin trolley franchise grab. Our comrade, Fred Long, wrote the report—and that is sufficient assurance that it was a sound and uncompromising statement of the Socialist position. "Not a Republican, not a Democrat, not a 'reformer' ventured to raise his voice against the position taken, for all recognized—however unwilling some might be—that it was irreparable."

The United Labor League of Philadelphia goes on record for Socialism and the active Socialists will see that the declaration is not a dead letter.  
IN ROCHESTER.  
Open-air meetings will be held by the Social Democrats of Rochester as follows:  
Tuesday, Sept. 3, 8 p. m., on Conkey avenue, near Avenue B, No. 8 School; Gad Martindale, candidate for mayor, Frank A. Sieverman, candidate for alderman in the Seventeenth Ward, and James P. Carey of Haverhill will speak.  
Friday, Sept. 6, 8 p. m., at Ritz Bowling Alley, corner Edward and Alphonse streets. Comrades Swain, Sieverman, and Bach will speak.  
A mass-meeting will also be held Friday evening, Sept. 6, in Germania Hall, to be addressed by Comrades Swain, Sieverman, and Carey.

## BLOW AT ENGLISH TRADE UNIONS.

### The decision of the House of Lords in the Taff Vale Railway case comes as a very timely rejoinder to the resolution of the parliamentary committee of the Trades Union Congress, to which we referred the other week, protesting against the abrogation of the powers of the House of Lords as a court of appeal. In the case in question, the original decision in the action brought against the A. S. R. S. by the railway company was given by Mr. Justice Farwell, who granted an injunction against the union. The society appealed against this decision, and the decision was unanimously reversed by the court of appeal. Now the House of Lords has reversed the decision of the court of appeal and upheld the decision of Justice Farwell. Perhaps the parliamentary committee will not have quite so much cause to thank God for a House of Lords after all, and may feel inclined to go back on its former resolution. The decision, as it stands, is certainly a serious matter for trade unions, as their funds will now be liable to be attached for any act of their officers performed in the execution of their duty, for which anyone may choose to proceed against them. It is not surprising that such a decision has been arrived at, the wonder is that some attempt has not been made long before this to make the union financially responsible for the acts of its officers; and it is difficult to see how the unions are to escape from this responsibility now that it has been thrust upon them. We certainly cannot take Mr. Bell's optimistic view of the matter, and should say that it is the duty of trade unions to agitate for fresh legislation, either to free them from so serious a responsibility, or to exempt them from a superior status to that which they at present occupy. In the meantime, the decision of the House of Lords should induce circumspection, and a proper sense of responsibility on the part of every trade union official.

London Justice.



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S. D. P. . . . . 96,918  
S. L. P. . . . . 33,450

## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential). . . . . 2,009  
In 1890 (Presidential). . . . . 13,331  
In 1892 (Presidential). . . . . 21,197  
In 1894 (Presidential). . . . . 35,133  
In 1896 (Presidential). . . . . 36,564  
In 1898 (Presidential). . . . . 82,204  
In 1900 (Presidential). . . . . 9,545

S. D. P. . . . . 96,918  
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## NEW YORK CITY TICKET.

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For President of the Board of Aldermen—HENRY STAHL.

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revolvers on union men, as happened in New York City last week, and are fined \$5 each. How beautiful is even-handed justice!

"A strike is an act of war." True. And so long as capitalism lasts, the two classes will continue in a state of war. There would be no steel strike now if the working class had supported the Socialist ticket last fall. The steel mills would be the property of the people. The men would have been working six hours a day or less and their wives and families would be enjoying comfort and freedom instead of facing the prospect of want.

The statistical report on railways of the United States shows that seven hundred and fifty persons were killed during the last year and 1,350 injured at grade crossings. Socialist state and municipal administrations would not allow any grade crossings, but would compel the companies to raise or lower their tracks at their own expense. Republican and Democratic administrations always consider capitalist profits more sacred than human lives.

## DON'T BE AN OSTRICH.

A certain Rochester man in kindness to him we will not mention his name to whom The Worker was sent, gratis, by the Socialist organization in that city, has gone to the trouble to wrap up the first copy he got (no doubt without reading a word), put a stamp on it, and send it back, first writing on the margin: "You need not send any more papers to my address. The nucleus of your party is made up of a lot of disgruntled politicians who want office and the spoils."

We almost feel that we ought to reimburse this man for his trouble and expense, because he has given us so much amusement and furnished us with such an excellent text for an editorial.

Our text is: "Don't be an ostrich." If travelers do not lie, the ostrich is a very silly bird. When pursued by the hunters, it buries its head in the sand, firmly believing that, because it cannot see the hunters, the hunters cannot see it. But its great, clumsy body remains in sight, though its foolish eyes are hidden, and the hunters calmly approach, blind its legs and wings, and pull out its plumes to adorn the ladies' Easter bonnets.

There are some men who ought to be provided with wings and plumes and turned loose on the desert. They would make excellent ostriches. Our friend in Rochester seems to be one of them. These people know there is something wrong. They are always growling and whining and "kicking." But they are so scantily equipped with brains that they are constitutionally incapable of thinking anything except what their grandfathers thought before them. They refuse to "hear the other side." They are afraid of a new idea. They perversely bury their silly heads in the sands of ignorance, and then they are surprised that the capitalists come up and pluck them bare.

We are not going to spend any more time on this ostrich in Rochester. His head is probably impervious to a new thought unless introduced by the surgical operation called trepanning—and that's too expensive. When he sees workmen leaving the Democratic and Republican parties on account of their hostility to the interests of labor, and degrading their leisure and their scanty savings to a labor party that as yet has no reward to offer its servants except the consciousness of duty well performed—he can't understand that. It's a new idea. It shocks him. It scares him. So he refuses to read a word about it. He hides his head and waits to be plucked.

But there are nine hundred and ninety-nine workmen in Rochester receiving this paper on the same terms it was offered to him, and none of them have refused it. In fact, they seem delighted to get it, as is shown by the number of paid subscriptions coming in. It is encouraging to find that out of a thousand workmen taken at random there is only one ostrich. It promises well for the future of Rochester.

So all we have to say to any man who gets this paper for the first time is: Don't be an ostrich. If you feel any momentary impulse to bury your head in the sand, resist it. Make it a rule to hear all sides of all questions. Never be afraid to face the truth—or to face error. If it is truth you want to know it. If it is error you want to recognize it and combat it.

Don't be an ostrich. The ostrich always gets the worst of it.

Several Democratic papers in the South—among them the Mobile "Register" and the Macon "Telegraph"—are agitating against the re-enactment of the Chinese exclusion law. They voice the demand of Southern capitalists for cheap and servile labor and find that the negroes are becoming too intelligent and independent. Workingmen who are accustomed to think of the Democratic party as the "friend of labor" will please think about this proposition.

Republican and Democratic congresses, legislatures, and city councils appropriate public moneys to pay bounties, subsidies, and bonuses to capitalist enterprises of all sorts in order to "foster infant industry" and

"promote prosperity." Socialist legislative bodies would, pending the establishment of Socialism, match this old party legislation by appropriating public moneys when needed to provide food, clothing, and shelter for striking and locked-out workmen. Don't you think it is time this was done, just to strike a fair balance? If so, vote the Socialist ticket.

## AS TO CERTAIN DUTIES OF NEW YORK COMRADES.

Every meeting of our General Committee in this city brings complaints that in this or that district arrangements for open-air meetings have fallen through by the fault of this or that comrade. Sometimes the Organizer is charged with neglecting to send speakers; sometimes the speakers are charged with failure to keep their engagements or to come on time; sometimes the district committee is charged with neglecting to get out the platform, banner, literature, and other necessary paraphernalia of a successful meeting. It is generally almost impossible, among the charges, and counter-charges, to fix the responsibility. But it is time that this sort of thing came to an end. If our work is to be successfully carried out each comrade must resolve, not only to do his duty, but to do more than his duty, if need be—and each must keep his good resolution.

In the first place, notification of the meeting must be made in time. If the Organizer is to supply speakers he must be definitely notified of time and place by the proper officers of the district organizations, at least a week in advance. Our speakers are comparatively few; most of them are busy workmen; most of them, too, are called on to perform other duties for the party—to attend meetings of their districts, of various committees, etc. Their engagements are generally made for some days ahead and they cannot break engagements already made in order to fill new ones.

Second, the district must see to it that a sufficiently large committee of willing and faithful comrades is in charge of the meetings. Their duty is to notify the Organizer to send speakers, to notify the police, to get the platform and banner out in time, to provide a chairman, and always to have leaflets for distribution and copies of The Worker for sale at the meeting.

Third, the speakers must keep their engagements. Each speaker can easily let the Organizer know how often and on what nights of the week he may be called on. Then, when called, he should understand that it is his duty to obey—that failure to do so is a breach of faith of which any Socialist or any man should be ashamed. If there is, as sometimes happens, a really good excuse for failure, it is the speaker's duty at least to send a card to the Organizer at once, explaining the matter. The City Executive should not hesitate to drop from the list of speakers any who abuse their confidence in this matter, and to report such action, with the reason for it, to the party. We want to know on whom we may depend.

All this is the simple duty of the various persons concerned. But sometimes it is necessary for us to do more than the letter of the law proscribes. If, for good or bad reason, the speakers fail to appear on time, that does not excuse the district for letting the meeting go. In every district there are men who, though they may not be trained speakers, are perfectly able to get upon the platform and explain why our party is in the field, what it proposes to do, and who are our candidates, and to call attention to the literature which other comrades will distribute to the crowd. Many of our comrades would be surprised to find how well they can speak, if they would only get up the "nerve" to try.

On the other hand, if the speaker finds that the district committee has failed to make proper arrangements—has failed to get a banner or to supply literature, for instance—that does not absolve him from his duty. He is there to speak and it is his duty to speak if he has to use a soap-box for a platform and act as chairman and sergeant-at-arms, too. After having done his part, he will have plenty of time to call others to account for failing to do theirs.

Let us have more work and less recrimination, comrades. Let us inspire others by our good example, instead of waiting for them to do their duty before we will do ours.

It is now nine months since the fatal explosion caused by the lawless greed of the Tarrant capitalists, and yet they have not even been brought to trial. The delay is easily explained. The murderers are capitalists and the victims were only working people. It is not the business of a Democratic district attorney to push such cases. If a striker, maddened by poverty and injustice, had caused that fire, even though not a single life had been lost, it would hardly have taken nine days to land him in the penitentiary.

If you can only afford 10 cents for the campaign fund at present, send that 10 cents at once. But don't make it 10 cents if you can afford 25; and don't make it 25 if you can afford a dollar. The Campaign Committee is already getting out a hundred thousand copies of a pamphlet containing

the national and city platforms, with other matter. Very soon it will be ready to issue a hundred thousand copies of another leaflet—perhaps others in like numbers. Meetings, large and small are to be arranged, speakers and organizers set at work, and other things done which will make votes and which must be paid for. Money is needed now. Send it in.

## SOLUTION OF THE LABOR PROBLEM.

We have received from a reader—an active and experienced trade unionist, by the way—the following letter, which we think worthy of more prominence than a place in the correspondence columns would give it and with every word of which we heartily agree. Here it is:

"The recent action of some of the McKeesport steel workers' locals, in recommending that the strikers and their friends withdraw their savings from the banks, in order to hamper the Steel Trust in securing cash for its stock exchange operations, is commendable in the capitalist press. A resolution adopted by the convention of the A. F. of L. in 1895 is quoted, recommending that the trade unions organize as joint-stock corporations, limited, the charters for such unions to be confined to the function of an employment agency at first, as the essential reason for their existence." According to the writer, John Arncliffe, the stand taken by Mr. Morgan in the present steel workers' strike can only be met by organizing strikers as a capital stock corporation.

AGAINST THE STEEL TRUST, by opposing forces having antagonistic interests, but on a strictly BUSINESS BASIS, each striving to obtain the best possible terms for itself. "The prospect of a trade union bound by legal limitations as a stock corporation to a limited line of action as an employment agency must be very alluring to capitalist writers. As a solution of the labor problem, it ranks with the production of the famous Great Wall. As a laughter producer, 'Array organized labor as a capital stock corporation against the Steel Trust, array dimes against double eagles,' it surely good. But the joint-stock corporation scheme offers great possibilities for government interference and confiscation of funds and resources in case of strike, and herein lies the danger—if the working class were not deterred by sad experience with such 'business' schemes from ever forming such a corporation."

In all probability the two suggestions here discussed—the first of which, we regret to say, President Shafter approves—will not be taken seriously by any considerable number of trade unionists. But the fact that such foolish suggestions can still be advanced proves that the rank and file, as well as the leaders, of the trade unions are far from realizing the full seriousness of the problem they are grappling with.

For the working people to try to cripple the Steel Trust by withdrawing their money from the savings banks, would be nearly as wise as for a lot of boys to try to sink a man-of-war by shooting paper wads out of pop-guns.

There are something like a hundred thousand steel workers interested in this strike. A few thousand of them are comparatively well paid workers, and might possibly have an average of \$1,000 each in the savings banks. The great majority probably have not one-tenth of that amount. And the workmen of other trades, who sympathize with and are willing to help the steel strikers, are, in general, much poorer than they.

The average wages of the working people of the United States, we believe, something less than \$900 a year. How many are there who have \$900 in the savings bank—enough, that is, to support them without work, for one year, in their customary way of living? The very fact that, when a strike is declared in any trade, financial aid has to be called for, not at the end of a year, but within the first month, if not the first week, proves that the average cash savings of the working people are but a small part of a year's wages.

The steel strikers can probably count upon assistance, in varying amounts, from a million workmen. But it is almost certain that if every one of them were to follow the suggestion of withdrawing his savings from the banks, the total amount withdrawn would not be \$100,000,000—one-tenth of the capital stock of the Steel Trust!

The withdrawal of \$100,000,000 within thirty or sixty days—notice being required by the banks—would, of course, cause considerable disturbance of business. It would not hit the Steel Trust, however any harder than it would hit other large corporations, and it would not hit the large corporations nearly so hard as the small ones. It might drive a few thousand small manufacturers into bankruptcy and cause a few scores of large manufacturers to close their works for the time—thus throwing large numbers of workmen out of employment. That would be the sum of its effects.

As to the Steel Trust, it is necessary to remember that its potential strength is not represented by its capitalization alone. Mr. Carnegie is still interested in it, and Carnegie alone can command more ready money than any hundred thousand workmen. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil are interested in it—and Standard Oil interests, as shown in these columns a few months ago, besides being able to pay over \$40,000,000 a year in cash dividends, virtually control some two hundred and twenty-five other companies, all profitable concerns, including the

## Mosquito Bites

By PETER E. BURROWS

THE SALT THAT LOST ITS SAVOR.—None of the great dailies, which between them almost make up the sum total of public reading on current events, are expected now even to tell the truth about the steel strike. If that truth should improve the case of the strikers before the bar of public reason. Every day the readers buy and the readers read and go their way simply mistrusting and shrugging their shoulders at their daily teachers. Malignant, stupid, blind, the herdings keep grinding out half-yard editorials of judicially phrased hypocrisy; but the people read on and forget. Here are the elements of a frightful pessimism. The suburban press is a case of the salt that lost its savor.

PERFORMING MONKEYS.—The bilious American reads the columns of iniquity recorded of New York's police. He hears the rhetoric of the Mooses and the Jeromes and the Dixons concerning sin, sin, sin. He languidly remembers that we are approaching the time of election when "moral monkeys" get on branches and throw righteously rotten coconuts at one another. But he does not believe. It is the regular monkey show.

A TRUE INDIVIDUALIST.—Harry Scott of Fairbairn, Minn., left the following will: "I direct that my administrators gather up all of my cash and in the presence of witnesses burn it. I will nothing but ashes remain." Of course, had there been any way of destroying the ashes, the testator would have provided for their destruction. This probably is the most sincere will to come to probate in America during the year. It is thoroughly honest and expresses the genuine desire of the private property spirit that now rules in human affairs. If only a thousand millionaires were as true to themselves as this man, the crematorium would prove to be excellent schools for Socialism.

A BEAUTIFUL EXAMPLE.—It may not be known to the world at large, but of fellows are some of the workmen in Wheeling, W. Va. High-souled, unselfish, and heroic, they are devoted to the interest of other people's property that they are resolved to lay down their lives in its defense. (Laugh here, please!) and have formed themselves into a military company to act independently of the government against their own trade unions and to shoot down anybody who looks at it. He wanted to touch property. But it is not that after this regiment is formed no government will want to be without such a good thing, and so they will probably be annexed to a regular army.

Sugar Trust, the Tobacco Trust, the Western Union Express Company, sixty-nine railroad companies, and the New York Life Insurance Company.

It is time the working people realized the close organization of the class they are compelled to fight and its overwhelming financial power. Any proposal to carry on the labor movement on "business methods"—whether by the threat of withdrawing savings from the banks or by organizing employment agencies or rival manufacturing companies or in any other way on a capitalist basis—is, in this stage of the game simply ridiculous and only throws suspicion upon the men who advocate such futile schemes.

If the trade unions are to serve their purpose they must be fighting organizations—not looking for a fight, perhaps, but certainly not trying to avoid it, and, once engaged in a battle, never deterred by fear of "public opinion" from taking radical measures.

Above all, instead of proposing to give up the legitimate methods of unionism and go back to the methods of individualistic "business," the working people must take a forward step by adding the class-conscious ballot to the strike and boycott in their equipment for battle.

As usual, the capitalists are resorting to misrepresentation to get men to take the strikers' place. A Pittsburgh dispatch says: "John Stenrod, a rougher, from Richmond, Va., who claimed that he was a member of the party of strike breakers, brought to Monaca on Sunday by 'Alabama Joe' Carter, was at strike headquarters today. He said that Carter had entirely misrepresented the facts to him, and that he had slipped out of the works the first time a chance presented itself. He says that fourteen men left Richmond; that five deserted en route, and that three left when he did."

## OBSERVE THE DIFFERENCE.

To All New Readers of This Paper.—Please observe that the party which this paper represents is the body which, at its recent convention in Indianapolis, adopted the name of Socialist Party, but which, for campaign purposes is known in the state of New York as the Socialist Democratic Party. It has absolutely no connection with the Socialist Labor Party, so unfavorably known among workmen for its antagonism to the trade union movement. This paper, in accordance with the policy of the Socialist Party, supports the principle of trade unionism, but calls upon the trade unionists not to neglect the use of their political power at the ballot-box for the emancipation of the working class.

Read Harrison's "Class War in Idaho." Very timely in this period of autumn. Socialist Literature Company, 154 William Street, New York. Price, 5 cents.

corps of hoodoo deputies or the state militia. Gentlemen of the road who are out of shirts and shoe leather, why not take a hint and organize a regiment for the protection of property?

SENTIMENTALISM IN THE SOCIAL COMMONWEALTH.—Those who fear the power of sentiment in Socialism must be comforted by its gradual disappearance under capitalism. The strife between the sexes for land in the newly opened region against Lawton is a case in point, and leaves nothing for anti-sentimentalism to achieve. There the gentlemen and ladies are into each other's wool for fair and are by common consent postponing all pretense of gallantry or sentiment until the skinning is over. Our environments may always be trusted to take care of our sentiments.

FOR A CHANGE OF AIR the Ramapo Water Company has gone to the Adirondacks. A survey of that region has been ordered by the gentlemen up state, chiefly those who are interested in cleaning the city hall of its present occupants. The same old public spirit, the same old morality and virtue, which even on this earth seems to have the gift of everlasting life, is bound to sell us our water at 500 per cent. profit, or to have some franchise to sell to us when Socialism comes. The party leaders on both sides desire to keep the Adirondack-Ramapo union out of politics until all things are ready for the franchise.

SMOTHERING HIM WITH A BOLLSTER.—A notable circumstance of the present steel strike is the diligence with which the Trust officials are preserving silence. Word seems to have been passed around the whole circle of conspirators against labor unions that "mum's the word; and less writing up of a strike has not been done in the newspapers for years. They all want to let Morgan smother the striker with a bolster, without noise.

HARD TO FIND.—General Miles evidently wants to recruit our army from foreign countries, since he requires for soldiering a sort of man not to be found at home. He wants the following: Men that fully understand the character of our government; Men that realize the benefits and prerogatives granted by our constitution; Men familiar with our brilliant achievements recorded in the history of our body; Men having self-respect, self-reliance, and resourcefulness. The country must indeed be getting poor if the government can buy men of these attainments and qualities at 50 cents a day.

## ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF ENGLISH S. D. F.

Of the Birmingham Conference of the English S. D. F., "Justice" says: "It was in many respects one of the most critical in the history of our body, as we have had developed and brought to the light of day an attack on the whole policy of the S. D. F. and 'Justice,' which has long been in preparation by a few who wish to sidetrack the Socialist movement in this country into the impossibilities which seven years ago led to the formation of THE WORKER GALLEY 10 . . . 10 and, later, to the collapse of the Socialist League. This was the plan and, in his last speech, the outspoken intention of Comrade Yates, of Leith, and those who acted with him. Notwithstanding the pretense of frankness and the disclaiming of any other motive than the good of the movement, it is quite clear that the policy pursued was a wrecking policy and the delegates did quite right in supporting the old policy of our party and in rejecting one after the other the proposals emanating from the small knot of impostors."

For some time past a small but active minority in the S. D. F. has been violently attacking the present policy of the party, alleging that "a wave of moderation" has swept over the Socialist parties of the whole world, and more particularly the English S. D. F. This minority seems to have been working in close conjunction with the DeLeonite faction in the United States and has freely echoed the characteristic language of that faction, and not yet gone the full length in copying its tactics of destruction. The result of the Conference debates showed this minority to be much weaker than might have been supposed from the stir it has made, and it would appear that the Executive Council and the editor of "Justice" have given it far more respectful attention than it has deserved.

Dan Irving of the Burnley branch presided over the Conference, with W. J. Stimpfords of Birmingham as vice-chairman. The financial report, which was adopted, showed receipts during the year of £1,462, expenditure of £1,295 and a cash balance on hand of £167; the statement of liabilities and assets showed a surplus of liabilities to the amount of about £27.

A number of changes were made in the rules (or, as we should say, the constitution) of the party. The General Council was abolished, district councils meeting quarterly and having, by their combined vote, control over the Executive, being established in its place.

Under the order of "general policy," the following propositions were adopted:—That the motion of the French branch, the others on the motion of the Executive: "All suggested candidates for public bodies or for the Executive Council of the S. D. F. shall be required to furnish satisfactory answers to a list of test questions which shall be drafted by the Executive Council."

"All candidates shall run upon a Socialist Democratic program drawn up independently of any non-Socialist organization, and candidates and election addresses must be submitted either to the Executive Council of districts or to the Executive Council of the S. D. F. (where such body exists), and no public announcement shall be made until the candidate has been officially endorsed."

"Delegates to a parliamentary election a canvasser shall first be taken and the result submitted to the Executive Council, who shall advise thereon. A



## SOCIALIST ECONOMICS.

Being an Attempt to Present the Main Principles of Scientific Socialism in Popular Language.

### X.—THE COMING REVOLUTION.

We have said, in the preceding article, that revolution is not rightly to be defined as a violent and bloody movement, since some revolutions have been peaceful and many violent movements have not been revolutionary. We have further set forth that revolution, far from being opposed to evolution, is simply one of the evolutionary processes. Revolution may be defined as a radical change in the economic basis upon which society rests. And, in the last analysis, this history is made up of the records of the class struggle under its successive terms—it may be defined as a change in the essential relations of social classes.

When the primitive form of society, in which all were equal and were bound together by the ties of actual or imaginary kinship, gave way to the form that prevailed in ancient Greece, where a part of the people were masters and the others were chattel slaves, a revolution had been accomplished.

Another great revolution took place when the slave society of the Greek and Roman world broke down before the attacks of the northern barbarians, and there rose upon its ruins a society in which a part of the people were feudal lords and the others were serfs, bound to the soil. A third general transformation of society occurred when the feudal system broke down and gave place to a form of society in which all men were nominally free, but in which a part of the people, by owning the means of production, are able to exploit and to rule the propertyless masses.

Each of these revolutions came on, not as a result of the conspiracies of discontented persons, but because some great leader conceived the idea of the revolution and taught the people to work to it, not because, in the course of social evolution, such a change had become inevitable. No one fully realized its meaning until it was well under way. In the first two cases, none understood it till centuries after it was accomplished. Revolutions, it will be understood, are not made; they grow. And the attempt to check the revolutionary movement is as hopeless as the attempt to make one where it did not naturally arise.

The time for another radical and world-wide change in the social system is now rapidly approaching. The signs of change are to be seen, not so much in the growth of discontent and in the prevalent theories of social reconstruction, as in the rapid development of the internal contradictions of capitalist society. The revolution is coming, not so much because men have conceived the idea of socialism and are determined to carry it out, as because capitalism is becoming impossible.

In the first place, capitalism is founded upon a system of free competition between individuals. Wherever capitalism appears all legal and customary restrictions of competition are swept away. But the development of capitalism is now destroying this competition, without which it cannot live. Free competition means failure of the weaker competitors; ultimately that means monopoly—not legal, but actual and irresistible.

And in creating trusts and monopolies, capitalism has taught us how the Socialist commonwealth can organize and administer production and distribution. Again, capitalism gives rise to overproduction. By increasing improved methods and machinery, it increases the product of labor. But by keeping wages down it limits the purchasing power of the people. Thus, in every capitalist country, a surplus accumulates which can be sold only if a new market can be opened. Hence the wars in India, the Philippines, in South Africa, in China. But these markets will soon all be taken up. And India, China, and Japan, and the rest of the world, are beginning to compete with them. When the markets are all taken, the crisis—heretofore periodical—will become permanent. Then will come the end.

And moreover, capitalism, by separating the people into opposed classes of idlers and workers, teaches the latter the lesson of solidarity. When they learn that less, they will have the strength to apply it.

Whether the change will come peacefully or not we cannot pretend to forecast. Lassaie has well said:

"The Social Revolution is bound to come. It will come either in full panoply of law, and surrounded with all the blessings of peace, provided the people have the wisdom to take it by the hand and introduce it by peaceful means, or it will break in upon us unexpectantly, amidst all the convulsions of violence, with wild disheveled looks, and shod in iron sandals. Come it must, in the one way or in the other. When I withdraw myself from the turmoil of the day and dive into history, I hear distinctly its approaching tread."

Come as it may, our part is to prepare for its coming, to help it on its way.

Only one thing remains to be said: We have reason to believe that this revolution is the last. Every revolution in the past has been the result of a new class of would-be exploiters against the old masters. But this is the rising of the exploited against all exploitation. When the proletarian triumphs, there will be left no subject to revolt against. Class society will have lived through its term, and, for the first time in written history, "liberty, fraternity, and equality" will be realized, the "brotherhood of man" will become possible.

### COME TO THE GARDEN PARTY.

The garden party arranged by the Socialist Educational League at 312 E. Fifty-second street for last Saturday, August 31, if the weather was doesn't play another scurvy trick on us, a good time is assured. Admission free.

## PARTY NOTES.

By decision of the General Committee, every subdivision in Local New York is requested to send in the Organizational Report to the Organizational Committee for the purpose of the strike fund.

The campaign committee of the 29th A. D. Brooklyn, is getting down to work. Comrade Kling is chairman; S. S. Dock, secretary; Wm. Spahr, treasurer. The campaign will be opened with a mass meeting Wednesday evening at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, with Max Hayes as the principal speaker. Headquarters will be at Koch's Hall, corner Hamburg Avenue and Harrison Street. The committee will meet there every Sunday at 9 a. m.

At the last meeting of the General Committee the case against Froehlich, accused of sabbing, was concluded by a vote suspending him from the party until such time as the union should again recognize him.

Regular meetings of the Social Democratic organizations of the Bronx, are held on the first and third Thursday evenings of the month at the W. E. A. clubhouse, 3300 Third Avenue. Every Socialist in the Bronx should attend the next meeting and join the organization.

The Harlem Agitation Committee held another most successful open-air meeting at Fort George last Sunday afternoon. Comrades Fraser, Noppel, Miss Johanna Daffin, Elmer, Wm. Harvath, in succession, held the closest attention of the audience. Mrs. Fraser took care of the literature. Miss Daffin's speech was a most interesting feature of the meeting, and the comrades hope she will continue in the work.

The campaign committee of the Bronx is working hard. An excellent propaganda meeting was held at One Hundred and Forty-eighth Street, and Willis Avenue last Saturday. Meetings have been arranged for the month of September, as elsewhere announced, and all comrades in the Bronx are called on to lend a hand in making them successful.

Five striking iron workers' unions in Seattle, Wash.—machinists, boiler-makers, iron molders, pattern makers, and helpers—joined in calling a mass meeting of trade unionists to discuss the labor situation and the advisability of supporting the Socialist Party. Speakers of all parties were invited, but only the Socialists dared to "show up." Thousands of workmen attended the meeting and listened attentively to the speakers. The Republican, Democratic, and "capitalist" papers of the city united in lying about the meeting, but the people know the truth, for all that.

At the last meeting of the Washington state committee of the Socialist Party chapters were granted to four new locals with 43 charter members.

Comrade Strobel of Newark spoke at the Farmers' Alliance picnic of Hunterdon County, New Jersey, last week, taking as his subject, "Direct Legislation for the Socialist Standpoint." He made a good impression. At the picnic, representatives of the Republican, Democratic, Populist, and Prohibition parties were given an hour each. Comrade Strobel spoke for the S. P., and our correspondent says it was "the hit of the day." Arrangements were promptly made to have the two speakers address a meeting at Chimney Rock, on August 28.

The winter excursion of Local Hudson County was a grand success, and a good means of advertising the party all along the coast, as a large sign on either side of the boat announced the party's name to the crowds on the shores and to the passing boats.

Every Socialist organization in New York should make use of the little pamphlet published by the State Committee, "Why Workingmen of New York Should Join the Social Democratic Party." If your organization is small send in 50 cents for a hundred copies; if it is large, send \$5 for a thousand. See that every comrade always carries a few in his pocket to give out to inquirers. Order from H. Reich, 154 William Street. As the price barely covers the cost of publication, cash must accompany all orders.

## The Economic Struggle.

Th. recently organized Pipe Makers' Union in New York City took in about one hundred members at its second meeting.

Trouble on the Columbus "Press-Post" is renewed. The reporters, who are members of the Newsworkers' Union, struck and the printers, pressmen, and stereotypers supported them.

The machinists' strike at Watertown is declared off. It is reported as a complete failure. All the more reason for the workmen of Watertown to work and vote for Socialism.

Bricklayers employed in the navy yard at Washington struck for the union scale.

Upon petition of the State Federation of Labor, the Connecticut legislature has authorized a state employment bureau having branches in all the large cities of the state. With capitalist officials in power, the scheme offers tremendous possibilities for blacklisting and for supplying scabs in time of strike. With a working class party in power it would be quite a different thing.

Arrests of striking iron molders in Chicago have begun.

According to a report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics on strikes and wage difficulties in that state in 1900, the strikers were wholly or par-

tially in about half of the difficulties chronicled. Of the 190 strikes and lockouts, 28.6 per cent. terminated successfully for the employees, 5.29 per cent. succeeded partially, 13.23 per cent. were compromised, 7.41 per cent. were satisfactorily adjusted, 30.13 per cent. failed, 2.12 per cent. were pending at the close of the year, and in 4.76 per cent. of the cases the result was not stated. The winners of the strikes, however, were at the expense of much time lost, many of the strikers continuing for some time to be out of work. The largest number of strikes occurred in May, and the smallest in November, when the cold of winter threatened. Among the industries the most and most successful strikes occurred in the boot and shoe manufacture and cotton goods experienced the largest number of strikes. Causes of the difficulties were various. Ten were occasioned by questions relating to hours of labor, 28 hours a week, and wages taken together, and 90 related to wages alone.

Ethelbert Stewart of Chicago, secretary of the Economical Food Bureau, who is gathering statistics for the government along the lines of cheap food for wage earners, declares that the poor are facing a crisis that may alter their mode of life, and force them to adopt substituting potatoes, turnips, and such vegetables as cabbage and beans. Rice, he says, is bound to become more and more popular, for its price does not vary much, and its qualities are the same as those of potatoes.

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A railroad brotherhood, entitled the Order of Railway Clerks of America, has been formed. All clerks employed in railroad offices are eligible to membership.

## SOCIALISM AND TUBERCULOSIS.

High Authorities Say That Conditions of Poverty, Forced Upon the Workers Under Capitalism, Are the Greatest Obstacle in Battle Against Consumption.

The following article was written for London "Justice" by Comrade A. S. Headingley, who is recognized in England and elsewhere as an authority upon hygiene in general and in particular upon the many medical questions connected with consumption. His remarks are worthy of consideration:

"During the last week of July, 1890, the International Socialist and Workers' Congress met in the Queen's Hall, London. During the last week of July, 1901, the International Congress on Tuberculosis met in the Queen's Hall, London. Many of the delegates who attended the first congress were self-taught men, the majority had had to learn their lessons by some sort of manual labor. The second congress was attended by many of the most highly taught and celebrated scientists of the world. These leading physicians and bacteriologists had set themselves the task of discussing the best means of preventing the spread of tuberculosis; or, in common parlance, of consumption. It is a subject that might very well figure on the agenda of a Socialist congress, for we need to prove that it is an economic rather than a medical question. But it was not inscribed on the agenda of the Socialist congress of 1890; nevertheless, we did incidentally solve the problem at our congress. The scientists have debated most learnedly, but they have solved nothing at all. Indeed, they were very careful to state that they could not solve the difficulty. They said that the cause of tuberculosis was a central committee for the establishment of sanatoria for the care of consumptives had about 5,500 beds, would treat about 20,000 patients per annum and cure some 20 per cent. even of those who had the bacilli. But he immediately added that this did not meet the difficulty, for, according to the German Imperial office of health, there are 224,000 persons in Germany every fifteen years who die of tuberculosis, and that the number of deaths is increasing. Neither Prof. Koch nor any one else could hold out the slightest hope that sufficient accommodation could be provided in Germany, or in any other country, for the proper isolation and treatment of consumptive patients.

"The originality of the congress, the one great revelation made at the congress, was the description of the disease by which Professor Koch showed that he had utterly failed to convey human tuberculosis to cattle and smaller animals. From this he concluded that human beings could not contract tuberculosis from animals. If this theory be confirmed, then the only way phthisis is contracted is by breathing the diseased sputum of consumptive patients who live about in the dust and are brought to the lungs by the breath. Where there is plenty of room, air, and good nursing care can be taken to remove the sputum, so that it shall not infect anyone else; and among the well-to-do classes the spread of the disease is thus checked.

"But, inquires Professor Koch, 'How is it with people of very small means? Every medical man who has often entered the dwellings of the poor—and can speak on this point from my own experience—knows how and in the lot of consumptives and their families there. The whole family have to live in one or two small, ill-ventilated rooms. The patient is left without the nursing he needs, because the able-bodied members of the family must go to their work. How can the necessary cleanliness be secured under such circumstances? How is such a helpless patient to remove his sputum so that it may do no harm? But let us go a step further, and picture the conditions of a poor consumptive's dwelling at night. The whole family sleep crowded together in one small room. How-

ever cautious he may be, the untoward conditions of the world make it so that he cannot escape the infection. His whole family are infected. They live out and awaken in the minds of those who do not know the infectiousness of tuberculosis the opinion that it is hereditary, whereas its transmission in the cases of question was due solely to the sputum of infected persons, which do not strike people so much because the consequences do not appear at once, but generally only after a lapse of years."

"The Dean of the Paris Faculty of Medicine, Professor Bourquard, said: 'The danger is in the sputum, which contains thousands of contagious germs.' But there is spitting and spitting. Thrown into dry and well lighted surroundings, exposed to the rays of the sun, it will soon lose its dangerous properties. But if it remains in damp and dark surroundings, it will maintain its activity for a long time. Thus it is that tuberculosis claims more victims from gloomy, ill-ventilated, dark dwellings. There it is. The whole problem in a nutshell. Gives roomy, healthy dwellings, good clothes, and good food, and this most fatal of all diseases could be stamped out with comparative ease."

"The Congress on Tuberculosis had but one course to follow. All they need to have done was to look up the resolutions carried in the same hall five years ago by the Socialist congress. The Socialists alone had shown how poverty is to be abolished; and till poverty is abolished tuberculosis will continue to bring men and women promiscuously to the grave. This fact is proclaimed by the highest scientific authorities. The solution of this as an economic question, Professor Koch knows full well that at Hamburg, during the great cholera epidemic of 1832, in the wealthy district of Harvestehude, where the average annual income is 3,155.5 marks per head, the death rate from cholera amounted to 4.48 per 1,000 of the population. But in the district of Billwerder, where the average annual income amounted to only 1,070.9 marks per head, the death rate from cholera was 24.16 per 1,000 of the population. Yet both these districts are within the town of Hamburg and in both districts the same contaminated water was drunk. We see here very clearly the difference that money makes in the incidence of cholera; and the scientists at the congress on tuberculosis told us the same thing in regard to consumption. It is not in the face of such facts, even us that a sanitary reformer need be coming out way, otherwise his science is but mockery and hypocrisy."

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ILLINOIS STATE COMMITTEE—Sec. R. A. Morris, 314 E. Indiana Street, Chicago. Meets on 1st and 3rd Fridays in the month, at 60 North Clark Street.

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NOTICE—For technical reasons, the Party's correspondence should be sent to this office by Tuesday, 9 p. m.

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## KINGS COUNTY.

Primaries of the Social Democratic Party of Kings County, to elect delegates to the county, borough, judicial, and assembly districts, will be held on Saturday, August 31, between 7:30 and 9:30 p. m., at the following places:

First A. D., 124 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Second A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Third A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Fourth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Fifth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Sixth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Seventh A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Eighth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Ninth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Tenth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Eleventh A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Twelfth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Thirteenth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Fourteenth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Fifteenth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Sixteenth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Seventeenth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Eighteenth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Nineteenth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Twentieth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Twenty-first A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Twenty-second A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Twenty-third A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Twenty-fourth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Twenty-fifth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Twenty-sixth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Twenty-seventh A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Twenty-eighth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Twenty-ninth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Thirtieth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Thirty-first A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Thirty-second A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Thirty-third A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

Thirty-fourth A. D., 314 1/2 Street, at Hotel.

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## STEEL STRIKE.

(Continued from page 1.)

ing a telling point and he stamped them as "rowdies."

A few days ago several non-unionists became obnoxious by making faces at some strikers. This was resented and an altercation ensued. The non-unionists drew revolvers and a scuffle took place. Four strikers were arrested, but avoided trial before Dennis by pleading guilty before a justice of the peace. They were fined \$2 and costs. But Dennis was determined to have his authority recognized. Two of the strikers were rearrested at his orders and brought before him. After upbraiding them for ignoring him, and then going through the formality of a trial, he sentenced them to jail for three days. In the course of which the strikers produced evidence clearing them of any attempt at violence. Dennis imposed a fine to the legal limit—\$10 and costs for one, O'Connor, and \$20 and costs for the other, Kleibridge. The Association paid the fines.

As time goes on, the plot thickens, as the dime novelists say. On Monday last the sheriff of Columbiana County, one Noragon, a Republican, appeared in Wellsville, accompanied by Mayor Dennis, and under the protection of a posse of men, he proceeded to assist that gentleman in the task of strike-breaking. He made a mistake right off, however. He deputized a man named Warren to help him. Warren is a member of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and was deputized before he realized what was wanted of him. When he did he announced that "he had something else to do besides protecting scabs and to do from the mill. Mr. Warren has lost his job as deputy."

## SCABS AS DEPUTIES.

But with the calling in of the sheriff, Mayor Dennis had not completed his work against the strikers. His latest act has aroused more feeling than any previous one, and added to his already shameful record. On Tuesday last he swore in thirty-one of the non-unionists working at the mill as deputies, which invests them with the power of carrying weapons. Dennis gives as his reason for this that he swore in the men "so that they could protect the trust property and themselves." Another reason not stated by him was to prevent the non-unionists from being arrested for carrying concealed weapons. This explains why one can see strikers being going to and from their work with revolvers sticking out of their hip pockets.

Yesterday a committee of union men from Lisbon, twelve miles away, arrived here to investigate the real state of affairs. They interviewed the mayor about his appointment of non-unionists as deputies. He told them "if your Association would stop paying the fines imposed on law-breakers and let them go to work for sixty or ninety days, no union object would be committed." The only union men committed so far are to be held at the door of the legal authorities themselves.

From all this it will be understood that the steel strikers of Wellsville have had, and are still having, a hard time of it. Like their brothers at Monaca, they have not a single armed battle with the trust to fight. They have all the business men and the local and county authorities combined against them. And their labor has supported the business men and made the trust possible, while their votes have placed the authorities in power, and among them all they have not one friend. They have received no financial assistance locally. They are being supported by the unions at East Liverpool and the national strike fund.

After two weeks in the field, I want to emphasize the necessity of every worker in their fight. They are battling against odds, and they need help. Give them what you can, be it large or small. This is a time when all those who sympathize with the working class, AND SOCIALISTS ESPECIALLY, should prove their words by their deeds. Answer the call of our National Executive and answer it well.

Last week, the "Iron Worker" of Monaca, with its Republican bosses aiding the trust to defeat labor.

Now you have read the story of Wellsville, with its Democratic mayor, aiding the trust to defeat labor.

Workmen of America, you have the ballot. You have always voted the Republican and Democratic tickets. When will you vote the ticket of your class—the Socialist Party?

W. M.

## MEKEESPORT DEPUTIES.

Mayor Black Swears in Strikers to Preserve the Peace—And They Do It.

(Special correspondence to The Worker.)

MEKEESPORT, Pa., Aug. 27.—I came over here today for a brief visit. The city was as quiet as a convent. I left last Wednesday. The only subject of conversation among the men on the streets was the failure to start up the Denimier mill last night. On Saturday the National Tube Works men resolved their pay a week earlier than usual. At night the superintendent of the Denimier mill went around among the strikers and tried to influence them to return to work last night. At three o'clock this morning he went home disgraced. Not a man had appeared for work.

A report had become general that Mayor Black had appointed a number of special policemen upon the request of the Denimier mill officials, who had represented that they needed workmen for the men expected to go to work last night. Upon inquiry I found that Mayor Black had appointed twenty-five special policemen, but that they were not used until something had occurred to justify it. I was informed that Mr. Black did this to forestall a demand for county deputies, as he was expected to refuse to appoint special policemen, and this would be taken as an excuse to invoke county aid.

Evidently the trust officials are becoming nervous because the strikers have so far maintained such good order. I learned that one of the officials, accompanied by a leading banker, had called upon Mayor Black a few days ago, for the purpose of learning what protection he would give men who went to work, and to prevent















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**THE WORKER FAIR**

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# The Worker

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 15, 1901.

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## MASSACHUSETTS NOMINATES.

**George H. Wrenn Heads the State Ticket of the United Party.**

Well Attended Convention at Boston—Two Days' Sessions—Vote to Change Name to "Socialist Party."

Here is the state ticket for which the United Socialists of Massachusetts will fight this fall:  
For Governor—George H. Wrenn of Springfield.  
For Lieutenant-Governor—Charles W. White of Winchester.  
For Secretary of State—Alonso H. Dennett of Middleboro.  
For State Treasurer—Wendell P. Bosworth of Brockton.  
For Attorney-General—Clarence E. Spelman of Westfield.  
For Auditor—James J. McVey of Boston.

The state convention was held in Paine Memorial Hall, Boston, last Sunday and Monday. The nominations being made on the latter day. There were in all 148 delegates present. Comrade Wrenn presided over the first day's session, while Comrade Carey was in the chair on Monday.

Considerable discussion was had on the question of "immediate demands," but they were finally retained. A resolution was passed to petition for the change of the official party to "Socialist Party."

G. H. Wrenn, the candidate for governor, is a clear-headed man. He is this year 51 years old. He has been president of the Springfield Central Labor Union for five years, and has several times been delegate to the state branch of the American Federation of Labor. C. W. White, the candidate for lieutenant-governor, is an electrician by trade. A full report of the convention will be given next week, having reached us too late to be put in type for this issue.

## IOWA SOCIALISTS ARE AT WORK.

Hold State Convention at Des Moines—Endorse Acts of Unity Convention and Nominate Full Ticket.

The state convention of the Socialist Party of Iowa, was held in Des Moines on Thursday, Sept. 5. The following ticket was nominated:

For Governor—James Baxter of Hiteville.

For Lieutenant-Governor—W. A. Jacobs of Davenport.

For Judge of the Supreme Court—A. F. Thompson of Centerville.

For Railway Commissioner—H. O. Middlebrook of Rock Rapids.

For Superintendent of Public Instruction—E. E. Stevens of Burlington.

The convention unanimously endorsed the acts of the Unity Convention at Indianapolis, and adopted a platform pledging the Socialists of Iowa to uncompromising support of the principles of Socialism as there set forth and to vigorous work for the cause until the capitalist system shall be destroyed and the Co-operative Commonwealth erected in its place.

## FULL TICKET IN SAN FRANCISCO.

6,000 Party Enters the Field for the Fall Campaign, and Will Be Heard from on November 5.

The Socialists of San Francisco have nominated a full ticket for the coming election and will be heard from on November 5. The ticket is as follows:

For Mayor—Charles E. Ames.

For Auditor—N. C. Anderson.

For Treasurer—Oscar Selfert.

For Tax Collector—Ludwig Berg.

For Recorder—Elliott Rouch.

For Coroner—N. J. Schultz.

For City and County Attorney—Cameroon H. King.

For District Attorney—W. G. Shepard.

For County Clerk—Scott Anderson.

For Sheriff—John Messer.

A full list of candidates was also chosen for the board of supervisors, seventeen in number.

Of the twenty-eight candidates, all but two are trade union members, which goes to show that the Socialist Party means what it says when it declares that the trade union battle for the present defense and improvement of labor's condition and the political battle for Socialism should be carried on simultaneously and harmoniously by the working class.

A large increase in the Socialist vote is sure to result from the efforts of our San Francisco comrades. The line will be clearly drawn between the Republican party, representing the interests of the capitalists, and the Socialist Party, standing for the workingmen who have been forced to brave the hardships of a general strike in defense of their organizations. It remains for the workingmen of San Francisco to say how large the vote shall be, how emphatic the rebuke to the capitalist administration.

**NOTICE.**

The delegates to the New York County and Manhattan Borough Conventions to be held at the Labor Lyceum Saturday evening, Sept. 14, are requested to come early, in order that the business may be finished promptly, as the General Committee will meet immediately afterward and has important business to transact.

**BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.**

## CAREY AT ROCHESTER.

Massachusetts Socialist Chosen as Labor Day Orator.

Large and Attentive Audience Attends His Remarks—Changed Conditions Demand Intelligent Action on the Part of America's Working People, He Says.

Comrade James F. Carey, one of the two Socialist members of the Massachusetts legislature, was the orator at the Labor Day celebration of the organized workmen of Rochester, N. Y., which was held at New Haven, near the city. A large audience listened attentively to Comrade Carey's remarks and punctuated them with hearty applause. He said in part:

"Mr. Chairman, Men and Women of the Labor Movement:  
"I feel myself somewhat handicapped at the outset, owing to a certain illness which I saw in one of the daily papers here concerning my official title, inadvertently referring to me as Congressman Carey. I am not a congressman here, but I would like to have the letters M. C. after my name. I wouldn't like to, because they mean to me, not Member of Congress, but 'Misplaced Confidence.'"

"It is hard to estimate the value of a man, but the railroads have done it for us. A friend of mine once told, in speaking of the railroads, that a free-born American citizen can travel from Boston to San Francisco at a cost of \$80; now the railroads will carry a hog weighing 150 pounds that same distance for \$6; so that the difference between a hog and an American citizen is \$74 in favor of the hog; then the railroads will carry a congressman for nothing, so the difference between a congressman and a hog is just \$6. Now do you wonder that when a paper calls me 'congressman' I do not like it?"

**INTELLIGENT ACTION NEEDED.**

"Now laying all jokes aside, we are here for a more serious purpose. We are here in the name of Labor, in the name of the organized working class of this city. There are times when we should demand our rights to the consideration of the serious aspects of human life, and to-day, upon this day dedicated to you, the workers of this city, of this state, of this nation, you the oppressed ones of the earth, you the bearers of the burdens of civilization, a civilization that you share as the hungry dog—you have much to think of. You may agree with me or not, but you may call me what you like, but it is your duty to listen to those who in the name of Labor seek to create that intelligence which properly used will mean the emancipation of the working class of society.

"In order that you may understand the duty that devolves upon you, the workers of Rochester, it is first necessary that you understand that since the days of our fathers, since the days when the Mayflower landed at Plymouth Rock, a change has come over the dreams of the American people, and that change demands on your part action consistent with it. Because of that change there is such a thing as the organized labor movement. Now what is this change? It may be to some of you words that you may not care to hear, but nevertheless some day, soon or later, the truth of that change will be thrust upon your ears; some day it will be received gladly by all of you, when the circumstances press upon you as they will and force you to see the logic of the statement that, in the name of the labor movement, and in the name of the working class, the uncrowned king, the king who wanders like a pauper, the king who builds the palaces and does not live in them, the king who clothes his daughters in silk, the king who dresses his sons in the presence of plenty—I say in the presence of that uncrowned king, dreaming away in his want of knowledge, in the name of that working class, I say to you that the change that has taken place since the first of the white man pressed the sands of this continent, that change demands of you that you THINK with all of the brain that you possess, and when you have thought, then ACT in accordance with the conclusions that you may reach.

**NOW CONDITIONS HAVE CHANGED.**

"The time was in this republic when the means by which the people produced their food and clothing and shelter, in the days of the early republic, in the days of our fathers, were in the possession of each family. Each family was properly speaking independent. There were no tramps or millionaires. There was no need of some people asking others for work. There were no trusts. The tools of production were simple and inexpensive. But the power of human genius applied itself to those simple tools, and they grew like a living thing. As the handloom by successive steps became the improved Northrup loom, and as the piece of broken glass which the shoemaker used for scraping the bottom of the sole became transformed into a buffing machine, these tools became more and more complex and by degrees they passed out of the possession of the people and into the hands of a small class that is constantly growing smaller. This class has now become the arbiters of the destiny of those who have formerly owned the tools. The people have become divided into two classes—THOSE WHO OWN THE FACTORY AND THOSE WHO OWN NOTHING BUT THEIR LABOR-POWER.

"As the workers confronted the men who owned the factory, the looms, the mills, etc., they recognized that those

## LYING ABOUT THE STRIKERS.

President Shaffer the Victim of Venal Capitalist Journalism.

The Old Game of the Capitalists, to Discredit Leaders in Time of Strikes by Fabricated Statements and Fake Interviews—The Highly Moral Times and the Scab Sun Join in the Game.

PITTSBURG, Sept. 4.—The custom of the daily press in misrepresenting, distorting, and falsifying news regarding the labor movement is an old story to many of us. Socialists understand that in the press the capitalist class possesses its greatest power for perpetuating its domination and that one of the functions of modern journalism is the retelling of half-truths that will do more injury to the working class cause than the telling of whole lies. We appreciate this power because we know how the people are deceived by its exercise and we have felt it in our work.

"The mass of workmen have not understood it, but are learning fast. It is altogether probable that by the time the steel strike is over the strikers and their leaders will appreciate to what an extent the capitalists will go to maintain their supremacy, and of what vast importance it is to have a press which will be wholly free from capitalist influence and devoted solely to the interests of the working class."

These remarks are preliminary to another interview which I have held with President Shaffer of the A. A. relating to two articles which appeared recently in the New York "Times" and "Sun" respectively.

"The 'Times' published a long and circumstantial story, evidently concocted with the utmost care to make it appear credible, to the effect that the 'A. A. Workers' Protected from Free Press' had agreed to pay off against the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers and particularly against President Shaffer.

The article closed with the following paragraphs, alleged to be taken from an official statement of the Tin Plate Workers' Association:

"Two years ago, while we were discussing state points with W. H. Graham, vice-president of the American Tin Plate Company, that gentleman showed a communication from President Shaffer, which was sent in reply to a statement by Mr. Graham that if he granted certain wage advances to the Amalgamated members employed in the hot mills of the company, he would have to grant an advance also to the tin house men, as the union of the tin house men would undoubtedly demand it. Shaffer replied:

"The tin house employees are not entitled to recognition in this discussion. They are not skilled men, and should not be organized."

President Shaffer said: "This article was originally published in an Anderson, Indiana, paper and is a complete lie. I did not write to Graham on the subject and I certainly never used the expression credited to me. I wrote to the vice-president of the Tin Plate Workers, contradicting this article and I received a reply from him thanking me for writing to him."

"My relations with the Tin Plate Workers' Association are most cordial. At the Kansas City convention of the American Federation of Labor, President Gompers delegated me to represent the A. F. of L. at the first convention of the tin plate workers, which was held shortly after at Columbus, Ind. There the national organization was formed under my direction and I reported my work to the A. F. of L. convention in December. While the Tin Plate Workers' convention was in session at Columbus the delegates were received by the governor and I was selected by them to make the answering address."

"A more complete lie than this whole article was never published. I believe that all labor, skilled and unskilled, should be organized."

President Shaffer was even more emphatic in his repudiation of an alleged interview with him published in the New York "Sun," one portion of which ran as follows:

"How long do you think this strike will last?"

"Till both sides come to their senses."

"That is rather a remarkable statement. Are you willing to say that the Amalgamated Association has made any mistakes in this matter?"

"My people know what I think about that," replied Shaffer, darkly. "I think the manufacturers know, too. They get my reports right along. If they can't get them in any other way they have the reports stolen."

"How do you think a settlement can be reached?"

"Why on terms satisfactory and honorable to both sides. After the fight has gone on for a while and feeling has become less bitter I think a settlement will not be difficult."

"Do you think it will be easier to reach a settlement two months from now after the Steel Corporation has lost considerable money, the strikers have lost their wages and in cases where the mills have reopened non-union jobs have been offered?"

"Shaffer's reply was that reasons would have been learned, and he went on to say that he still hoped for arbitration."

In regard to this characteristic "Sun" report, President Shaffer said:

"The 'Sun' reporter visited my house and stated that his paper had been given the manufacturers' side of the strike and now desired to give our side. With that understanding we became engaged in a conversation which re-

## THREE TEXTS FROM THE STEEL STRIKE.

The main question is this, whether we will run the shops or permit our men to run them.—Warner Arms of the Steel Trust.

Here the issue is squarely presented by the capitalist. His mere statement of the question, he no doubt thinks, will prejudice the public in favor of the trust. He thinks that the idea of the men "running" the shops is so preposterous that it will meet with ready condemnation. The Socialist Party believe that the men should "run," or, to improve on Mr. Arms' expression, own the shops. What do you think about it, you men who work in the shops?

You made the shops.  
You do the work in the shops.  
Your labor makes the steel which enriches the trust owners.  
Why don't you OWN the shops, and run them by electing your own managers and directors?

What do the trust owners do? They "finance" the trust, they work rather hard manipulating the stock market and crushing out competition. ALL THESE THINGS ARE UNKNOWN TO THE WEALTHY YOU CREATE. ALL THESE OPERATIONS DO NOT PRODUCE ANYTHING. THEY ARE DONE SOLELY FOR THE PURPOSE OF TAKING FROM YOU, THAT WHICH YOU PRODUCE.

The trust owners hire a few unknown men on salaries to manage and direct the actual work of production in the shops. This you could do yourselves, electing the managers from your own ranks.

While the capitalists own the shops, you have to work for just enough wages to support you.

If you owned the shops, you would get the full product of your labor because you would own the trust and its enormous dividends to a class which does nothing but own you and rob you.

IT IS LEGAL FOR THEM TO ROB YOU BECAUSE YOU ELECT LAWMAKERS WHO BELIEVE THEY SHOULD HAVE THAT PRIVILEGE.

The capitalists own the land. They have no right to the land because nature leaves it for the use of all. The land exists thousands of years before the capitalists ever lived. They did not make it. They have no right to fence it off and call it their own, especially as they don't live on it or work on it.

The capitalists own the mills, workmen built the mills and mined the metal, and cut the steel, and chipped the wood that they are made of. The capitalist has no right to own the mill, the capitalist owns the steel you make in the mills. They have no right to it. If they furnished capital to start the mills it was capital that was made for them by your fellow workmen. If they pay you wages it is only part of the wealth which you produce that they give you back in wages.

They have no right to the land nor the mills, and if they did not own the land and the mills they would not own the steel you make. But they HAVE the land and the mills. Vested rights? Vested rights cannot stand against natural human rights," says Lincoln.

"Human rights are always constitutional," says Charles Sumner.

You have a right to own the land and the mills, and when you own the land and the mills, the result of your labor will be your own, and not that of another class which owns the lands and the mills to which they have no right and takes what you make.

The only way you can get the land and the mills is by combining in a working class political party and voting to take the land and the mills from the capitalists and make them common property. This party is the SOCIALIST PARTY.

Mr. Warner Arms, of the Steel Trust, has told you what the question is. It is the working class who own the mills or the capitalists who own them. IF YOU THINK YOU SHOULD OWN THE MILLS, VOTE FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

## THE SOCIALISTS TO THE STRIKERS.

Sympathy and Assistance Given with an Appeal for Class-Conscious Voting Against Capitalism.

The following resolution, unanimously adopted by the Pennsylvania State Committee of the Socialist Party at its meeting of September 4, needs no comment:

"Whereas, The Billion Dollar Steel Trust, in its war of extermination upon the organized workers known as the Amalgamated Association, is exemplifying the attitude of the capitalist class toward organized labor, whose organizations the capitalists would destroy that their exploitation may be the more complete; and

"Whereas, The Socialist Party is the political movement of the working class whose purpose is the overthrow of the capitalist system, and the emancipation of labor; the only party to which the wage workers may look for assistance, by its historical associations, its affiliations, and its principles necessarily in sympathy with every effort of the working class to better its economic conditions; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, by its Executive Committee, congratulate the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers upon their inspiring manifestation of solidarity and assure them of the party's moral and financial support; and be it further

Resolved, That these oppressed wage workers be reminded of their moral obligation to themselves and their class to maintain that solidarity on Election Day and register their condemnation of the system that perpetuates their industrial slavery by casting a freeman's ballot for the class-conscious party whose victory spells their industrial freedom—the Socialist Party.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to Theodore J. Shaffer, president of the Amalgamated Association, and published in the party press."

Equally self-explanatory is the subjoined letter from the State Secretary of the Socialist Party to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated Association:

"John Williams, Secretary-Treasurer  
A. A. of I. S. & T. W. U. S. A. Pittsburgh, Pa.:

"Dear Sir and Brother:—The Socialists of the state of Pennsylvania having noticed the appeal of the Amalgamated Association in our party organ, The Worker, and as our interests are identical, we have therefore acted on this appeal before our regular meeting, with the following result: That we extend to your struggling brethren our sympathy, and will pledge your organization our moral and financial support. You must, however, remember that our party consists of workmen only and that we have a campaign coming upon us this fall which will make it impossible for us to aid you in money to the extent we would like to do. But we hope that the \$25 herewith forwarded will be of benefit to you. If the struggle should extend a long time we will assure you that further contributions will be made."

"Fraternally yours,  
J. W. QUICK,  
Secretary State Committee, Socialist Party of Pennsylvania."

**ENDORSE THE S. D. P.**

At a meeting of the Butten Workers' Protective Union of Rochester, held on Thursday, Sept. 5, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas, In the coming municipal campaign, a mayor and other city officials and a board of aldermen are to be elected, who will be charged with the responsibility of administering the affairs of the city, either for the wealth or for the working classes of this city; and

"Whereas, The interest of the working class demands that all public improvements be made by the city direct, i. e., by the direct employment of labor upon such improvements without the intervention of contractors, either with or without a strike clause; and

"Whereas, Citizens laborers employed upon public works should receive at least two dollars per day of eight hours' work; whether this public work be the building of parks, cleaning, repairing or making of streets, in the erection of new school houses, of which latter this city is in such dire need that many of our children are enabled to attend school but one half day of each school day; and

"Whereas, The Social Democratic Party is the only political party whose

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FOR MAYOR—  
BENJAMIN HANFORD.

FOR CONTROLLER—  
MO R'S BROWN.

PRESIDENT BOARD OF ALDERMEN  
HENRY STAHL.

THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

THE LESSON OF THE ATTEMPTED  
ASSASSINATION.

There can be but one lesson among  
clear-thinking Socialists in regard to  
the attempt upon the life of President  
McKinley—that the man who con-  
stituted it played the part both of a  
criminal and of a fool.

No man who understands the social  
system in which we live and who is ca-  
pable of reasoning from cause to effect  
could suppose that the killing of the  
head of the government or of any num-  
ber of public officials or even of the  
great capitalists who dictate the actions  
of those officials could right the wrongs  
of this system or give liberty to those  
whom the capitalists and their officials  
exploit. On the contrary, such at-  
tempts can only put off the day of the  
social revolution which is to bring La-  
bor's emancipation.

It is surely not necessary for us fur-  
ther to emphasize our condemnation of  
the crime, for the public is rapidly  
learning that the Socialist movement  
has no tolerance for the assassination  
policy, that it represents the very op-  
posite of Anarchism.

As men and women who look for-  
ward with hope to the end of violence  
and needless suffering, we sympathize  
with the man William McKinley in his  
pain and with his wife in her grief.  
Our opposition to the principles he rep-  
resents and our utter condemnation of  
his whole political career should not  
interfere with our feeling or expressing  
such human sympathy.

But in the storm of hysterical talk  
that has been raised, in the midst of  
the unthinking condemnation which  
has been carried to the point of rant  
and the often ludicrous contumacy  
which has been carried to the point of  
gush—it is right that the sane and the  
sincere should speak certain words  
of protest and of comment.

We are sorry for the man who has  
lain a week between life and death.  
But we do not forget that this same  
man is the responsible head of the ad-  
ministration which supplied retires  
most to the enlisted soldiers and al-  
lowed men suffering from dysentery  
and typhoid fever to go without medicine,  
without proper food, without neces-  
sary army contractors, supporters of  
that administration, were counting their  
profits in the millions.

We do not forget that this same man  
is the chief executive of the nation,  
charged with the enforcement of the  
law; that among those laws was one  
relating to the use of safety appliances

on railroads; that this president has al-  
lowed that law to go unenforced  
through the five years that he has been  
in office; and that, owing to his crim-  
inal negligence, thousands of poor wid-  
ows and orphans weep over railway  
workers' graves and some of thousands  
of workmen have suffered needless  
pain and danger as great as he feels  
now—while the railroad capitalists, who  
contributed to his election, have avail-  
ed of their dividends by this manifold  
murder.

We do not forget that this man, as  
president, of his own personal and un-  
compelled volition, sent troops (negro  
troops, carefully chosen for the pur-  
pose) into the Occur d'Alagnas to crush  
the miners' strike, to overturn all civil  
laws, to re-enact at the Bull Pen the  
horrors of Weyler's Cuban campaign,  
to railroad innocent men to prison, and  
to establish for the benefit of the  
Standard Oil Company, a system of  
military despotism hateful to all the  
American traditions he professed to  
hold so dear.

All these are historic facts, as well as  
attested as Congress' act of last week;  
and we see no reason why we should  
forget them now. If we sympathize  
with him as a man in mortal pain, we  
sympathize a thousand times more  
deeply with the fever-stricken soldiers  
in those "hospital" corps, with the  
maimed and slaughtered railway fol-  
lowers, with the miners hounded from  
their homes in Idaho.

The public has not unaturally  
grown hysterical over this crime; and  
the capitalist newspapers have (with a  
few honorable exceptions) done their  
utmost to lash this hysteria into mad-  
ness.

The New York "Herald" (a paper too  
cowardly to express an opinion save  
when it is sure of being on the popu-  
lar side) has been loudly clamoring for  
the re-establishment of the tortures of  
the Inquisition; and the gilt-edged  
"Commercial Advertiser" seconds the  
demand. Others, while not going to this  
ridiculous excess, are still demanding  
the enactment of special laws against  
"Mangrove agitators." We the famous  
exception laws of Germany.

If they would but have learned from  
history they would know that cruel  
punishments never prevent crime, but  
always provoke it. And the history of  
the Socialist movement in Germany,  
growing from year to year in spite of  
Bismarck's "blood and iron" policy  
should teach them the suicidal folly of  
their plans. But it is always the fate  
of a ruling class to suffer from its own  
foolish cowardice. They are afraid of  
free speech; and when they begin to  
curb free speech their cause for fear  
is trebled.

If they were wise—if the agents of  
class rule ever could be wise—instead  
of talking about repressive laws, they  
would be asking for the causes of such  
crimes and trying to remove them.

There is no considerable class or  
group of the American people that seri-  
ously approves of assassination. It is  
highly improbable that Congress' act  
was even the result of a conspiracy—  
though the police will do their best,  
now as in 1883, to prove or to man-  
ufacture such a conspiracy.

But it is remarkable that even the  
news of the capitalist press shows how  
little real indignation or sorrow has  
been stirred among the people. And all  
over the country, in Massachusetts,  
Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and else-  
where, individuals or groups of men—  
native Americans, and by no means  
revolutionaries—have impulsively ex-  
pressed joy at the attempt.

What does this mean? It means that  
there is a most wide-spread and deep-  
seated discontent in the land, a feeling  
that injustice prevails, and that the  
government is its agent, a feeling of  
blind antagonism to the ruling class.  
This discontent will express itself in  
violence only in the case of some un-  
balanced "crank" like Cosgrov. On the  
other hand, it has not yet learned to  
express itself in peaceful, intelligent,  
and organized action. The Socialists  
are teaching it that.

But the capitalists cannot or will not  
learn that such crimes as this always  
have their cause in justified social un-  
rest—that the real guilt lies finally at  
the door of those who have disinherited  
their fellowmen and would make of  
them mere hewers of wood and draw-  
ers of water.

There is one way and only one of  
guarding against the repetition of such  
wild and disastrous outbreaks as this.  
That way is to establish social justice,  
to inaugurate real freedom and equal-  
ity, to create genuine social content and  
fraternity by the overthrow of capital-  
ism and the building up of the Socialist  
Commonwealth.

may find that he was sorely tempted,  
that he was driven by the heat of war,  
applied by the very power against  
which we are fighting and which he  
gives his aid. We may excuse the  
traitor in such cases, but we must not  
condone the treason.

In the days of the American Revolu-  
tion there were colonists who, from  
various motives, gave aid and comfort  
to the British forces. Our revolution-  
ary forefathers had to take strong  
measures against these recreant Ameri-  
cans. They drove many out of the  
country and confiscated their property;  
some they hanged. Would everyone  
say that because the war was "inimi-  
cal" to a body of Americans who had  
not accepted the principle of American  
independence, therefore "the principle  
of American independence was a dis-  
uniting one?" In the time of the Civil  
War there were men in Boston and  
New York and Philadelphia and else-  
where in the North who tried to give  
aid and comfort to the Confederacy.

Rather strong measures had to be used  
against some of them. Would anyone  
—at least anyone who believes that  
war to have been a just one—say that  
because it was "inimical" to a body of  
Northern men who had not accepted  
the principle of maintaining the Union  
and opposing slavery, therefore "the  
principle was a disuniting one?" We  
should hope no one would be so illogi-  
cal.

The cases are quite parallel. The  
case may be, in some cases he is, ex-  
cusable—just as potent traitors and  
ordinary liars, swindlers, thieves, and  
robbers are sometimes excusable—all  
the conditions of early training and  
present temptation being taken into ac-  
count. But scabbing is not to be de-  
fended on that ground, any more than  
any other crime.

A great deal of maudlin sympathy is  
being poured out for the scabs just now  
by the capitalist newspapers. Men who  
claim to be Socialists, as the editor of  
"Commonwealth" does, should not join  
in the crocodile weeping of the "Sun."

The scab editors who support the  
capitalists in declaring lockouts and  
keeping blacklists, in cutting down  
wages and maintaining excessive hours  
of labor with periodic shut-downs, while  
thousands are clamoring for employ-  
ment—these editors are loud in defense  
of "the right to work," when it is a  
question of bringing men to break a  
strike. Men who claim to be half-way  
Socialists will do well not to join in  
this hypocritical outcry. The editors of  
the trusted press, while praising capi-  
talists who refuse to allow their em-  
ployees to join unions, who tyrannize  
over them in all sorts of serious and of  
petty ways, who can go to the extent  
—as has several times been done in re-  
cent years—of forbidding them to take  
any part in politics—the same scab-  
editors who defend those tyrants are now  
vehemently clamoring against the  
"abridgment of personal liberty" by  
the unions. Men who wish even to  
command the respect of intelligent  
workmen, not to say of Socialists,  
will do well not to take part in this  
clamor.

Personal liberty is a good thing—pro-  
vided it be not liberty to do social  
wrong. It is desirable that all men  
should do right of their own choice.  
But if some refuse to do so, then their  
personal liberty must give way to the  
common good.

The right to work is, from our stand-  
point, undeniable. But when, during a  
battle for the establishment of that  
right, the phrase is twisted into a jus-  
tification of aiding the very class which  
denies the right to work, then the  
phrase becomes mere cant.

"Thou shalt not steal thy brother's  
job" is the first commandment of the  
religion of Labor. Obedience to that  
precept is a first condition to success in  
the battle which is to assure real per-  
sonal liberty to all and to guarantee to  
all the right to work and the right to  
enjoy the product of their labor.

Judge Hendshaw of the Supreme Court  
of California has knocked out the "in-  
itiative law," by which it was made  
possible for the people to enact laws  
that would be for the benefit of the  
people. This is a lesson to the dis-  
direct legislation reformers to support a  
class-conscious Socialist party. With-  
out it, every reform secured through  
lobbying and petitioning are sure to be  
"quered" in one way or another.

American capitalists will capture the  
world's trade if American workmen  
will only work cheap enough and hard  
enough to enable them to do it.

A miner has been arrested in Prick's  
mines in Pennsylvania because he tam-  
pered with a signal lamp and caused  
the death of a mule. Suppose he will  
be punished because it wasn't a man  
that was killed.

The word we can say about young  
Brockwell is that we believe all the  
nice things the capitalist papers are  
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saying about him.

## Current Literature

All books and pamphlets mentioned  
in this column may be obtained  
through the Socialist Literature Com-  
pany, 364 William Street, New York.

"Woman: Her Quality, Her Environ-  
ment, Her Possibility." is the title of a  
pamphlet of thirty pages, by Marian  
Moore Avery, issued by the Socialist  
Press, Boston. The author argues that  
the injustices suffered by her sex are  
incidental to the fundamental injustice  
of the capitalist system of class distinc-  
tion and class rule. She urges the im-  
mense gain to humanity that may be  
expected to flow from the establish-  
ment of real equality and appeals to  
the women of the land to throw their  
energies into the Socialist movement  
as the only means of putting the vari-  
ous social relations of men and women  
on a human instead of a commercial  
basis. Price, 10 cents; twelve copies for  
\$1.

Beginning with the current number  
of the "Social Crusader," which has  
been published as the editorial and  
news letter of the Social Crusade,  
changes its name to the "Socialist Spir-  
it." It will continue to be edited by  
Franklin H. Wentworth, which will in-  
sure its literary quality and earnest  
outlook. Comrade Wentworth has called  
to his aid an editorial fellowship  
which assures to be of great value to  
the Socialist movement. William  
Mally, late associate editor of the  
Worker, and John Spargo, English So-  
cialist writer and speaker, have both  
been specially engaged to make per-  
sonal investigations of matters vitally  
affecting the movement, and present  
them in interesting fashion to the read-  
ers of the "Socialist Spirit." George  
D. Herron, William T. Brown, of  
Baltimore, and Leonard D. Abbott, of  
New York, are also contributing arti-  
cles actively interested, and will con-  
tribute price will remain at 50 cents a  
year, and sample copies may be ob-  
tained at any time by addressing the office,  
600 Ashland Block, Chicago. The So-  
cialist number contains, beside editor-  
ial matter, special articles on "The Fel-  
lowship of the Socialist Spirit," setting  
forth the work to be undertaken and  
including interesting biographical  
sketches of Comrades Mally and Spar-  
go, Christianity and the Military Spirit,  
Comrade Mally and his influence.

Comrade Mally has been for the past  
month constantly among the men of  
the great steel strike at McKeesport,  
Pittsburgh, Monaca, and Westing-  
house, from which points he has written  
valuable weekly letters to the Worker.  
His special articles for the "Socialist Spir-  
it" for October will be on the subject  
of the strike and will embody his per-  
sonal experiences and impressions  
among the striking workmen.

In the "International Socialist Re-  
view" for September, Charles Ver-  
vies writes on "The Children of the Work-  
ing Class and the Parti Ouvrier Fran-  
cais," showing what the Socialists in  
the French municipalities have done for  
the children of the proletariat.  
"Mother," Jane Addams, in a brief  
sketch of "American Freedom in West  
Virginia," where she is now working  
among the coal miners. Caroline Pen-  
berton presents, some interesting ex-  
tracts from an official report of the  
South African Republic in regard to  
native labor, throwing light on the  
motives leading to the Boer war. Pe-  
terson writes on "Socialism in English  
Trade Unions and Isaac Cowen on  
"Trade Unions in America To-day."

Other articles in the Labor Move-  
ment in Japan," by Sen Jojo Kato-  
yama; "The Social Spirit of the Nation-  
al Educational Association," by Geo.  
McA. Miller; and "Idealism and Indus-  
try," by C. H. Ashbee, and a poem,  
"The Socialist Comment," by Freder-  
ick Irons Bamford.

The man who "never joins an organi-  
zation" has not yet learned the value of  
social action. Although he is deriving  
his benefits every day of his life, in  
hundreds of ways, he refuses to con-  
sider that these benefits are derived by  
co-operation and goes on his way a  
self-believer in individual effort.

The man who disclaims all belief in  
Socialism, yet who nevertheless unites  
with his fellowmen in organized effort  
to break this sick, is far more of a So-  
cialist, though he calls himself a Social-  
ist, than the man who calls himself a So-  
cialist yet makes no attempt to act in concert  
with his fellows, for the belief in the  
usefulness and efficiency of social ac-  
tion is the principle upon which the  
doctrine of Socialism is founded, and  
from which that doctrine cannot be  
separated without falling to pieces.—J.  
C. Cole, in Advance.

Commenting on this New York  
"Times" (Wellington) a staunch So-  
cialist supporter, if not a mouthpiece,  
says: "If the labor unions do not take  
note of the signs and signals of the  
times, and if they are accordingly they  
must not complain if their best friends—  
including the premier—OUT THEM  
ADRIAT AND INSIST UPON THE  
REPEAL OF LAWS WHICH ARE  
BEING ABUSED."

It is scarcely too soon to chant a  
requiem over the corpse of the New  
Zealand reformer. REQUISIT IN  
FARE.

Those reformers and "friends of la-  
bor" who are bent upon avoiding the  
ugly burden of the class struggle and  
solving some way bypath to the Co-  
operative Commonwealth will soon  
have to look elsewhere for their illus-  
trations.

To my mind the situation is most en-  
couraging. It is a good thing for the  
New Zealand unionists to learn that  
they must cease relying on the favor-  
able of a middle class majority, and must  
rely solely on themselves and the effi-  
ciency of their organizations—that, in  
a word, they must work out their own  
salvation. They will thus develop a  
militant, class-conscious spirit. Again,  
the farmers' unions and their many  
newspaper organs are drawing class  
lines so sharply and basing their pro-  
gram so openly on material class inter-  
ests that they are doing more than half  
of our propaganda for us.

## IN NEW ZEALAND

Boasted Scheme of "Prac-  
tical" Socialism on Verge  
of Failure.

New Zealand Labor Legislation, Not  
Being Established by a Class-Con-  
scious Labor Party, is in Danger of  
Being Revoked by Middle-Class Re-  
formers.

HONGKONG, N. Z., August 3.—The  
prediction made in my recent letter to  
you that labor would soon be given the  
cold shoulder or "marble heart" by the  
Liberal or step-at-a-time "Socialist"  
minority has been fulfilled much sooner  
than I anticipated, and while I have  
no leisure for a long letter, I feel I must  
give you and the American comrades  
a summary of the situation.

The farmers, who are numerically  
and productively the most important  
class in the colony, have recently (with-  
in a few weeks) organized a Farmers'  
Union, which is organized avowedly on  
the basis of class interest. It is essen-  
tially non-partisan, but has a definite  
legislative program and insists that, no  
matter what party is in power, its pro-  
gram must be carried out. It already  
has a membership of 8,000 in this  
North Island, and is growing rapidly.

The South Island is to be organized  
soon. The program of the Farmers'  
Union is: 1. The repeal of the labor  
legislation, on the ground that it has  
made wages artificially high and thus  
injured the farmers as employers of la-  
bor; 2. The repeal of the protective  
tariff duties in the interest of the farm-  
ers as consumers.

The trade unions are not class-  
conscious, self-reliant bodies, but are  
largely the creation or outgrowth of the  
labor legislation, and they have made  
so much use of the arbitration act,  
coupling the conciliation boards and ar-  
bitration court constantly at work over  
petty disputes that they have alienated  
any sympathy they once had from oth-  
er classes. The compulsory arbitration  
act has fostered a dependent spirit in the  
unions, and at the same time has un-  
doubtedly created much friction be-  
tween the facilities it has offered for air-  
ing petty grievances. It MAY have pre-  
vented strikes, but this is by no means  
certain. It is the no strikes have oc-  
curred, but it is quite possible five or  
six years might have rolled by without  
strikes without the act, for this is not  
an industrial country. There are half  
a dozen towns (of the second rate) in  
Ohio which are scarcely known outside  
the state, any of which is larger than  
Auckland, the metropolis of New  
Zealand, and I think I am well with-  
in the mark in saying that New Zealand  
put together. In view of this, a strike  
here is improbable under any laws. In-  
deed, so far as I can learn, there never  
was but one important strike in the  
colony.

This much will give an idea of the  
situation in general and show the  
forces that are at work to influence the  
Premier, Seddon, who rules as auto-  
cratically as Hanna, while talking  
with the facility of Bryan. Seddon, be-  
liever, is the man upon whom the  
believers in the New Zealand  
Droptin pin their faith.

On the 15th instant, only three days  
ago, a deputation from several unions  
called on the premier with propo-  
sals to increase the efficiency of the  
labor legislation. Among these was  
one that the representatives of the uni-  
ons be given free railway passes to the  
place where the court sits. The press  
reports say:

"The premier, in his reply, made  
some general remarks as to the work-  
ing of the system now in vogue. He  
said, he was glad to hear recently  
saying that if things went on as they  
were, they would be a break-  
down. He had received a telegram  
from Auckland stating that four hun-  
dred people had been cited in one case  
there. That was riding the thing to  
death, and was unnecessary. Again,  
the same evidence was repeated in  
cases ad nauseam, and the business of  
the courts was clogged by unnecessary  
petitioning, which he was sorry to  
say, was going to waste the time of  
the workers and was a great bur-  
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## WHAT YOU CAN DO FOR SOCIALISM.

Whenever you have an "argument" with an honest workman and find, as is usually the case, that the only reason that he is not a Socialist is because he knows not what Socialism is, try and get him to subscribe to **THE WORKER** for three months. If he cannot or will not subscribe, go down in your own pocket and pay for his subscription to **THE WORKER** for three months—fifteen cents—if you can possibly spare the money. At the end of three months you will probably have a regular subscriber to **THE WORKER** and an intelligent and hard-working Socialist comrade, who will do with others as you did with him.

## Over the Water

The fourth congress of the Socialist Party of America was held in Buenos Aires last month. Argentina being still a new and undeveloped country, devoted chiefly to agriculture and cattle raising, the lines have not been so sharply drawn as in the United States and Europe, and the Socialist movement is still small and not altogether clear. A large part of the time of the congress was devoted to the discussion of demands for the relief of the small farming class. The religious question came up, but the congress put it aside with a declaration that religion is a private matter and has nothing to do with politics. Plans were adopted declaring for a legal eight-hour day for adults, six hours as the minimum for employees between fourteen and eighteen years of age, and prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen; for compulsory education; for better factory inspection; for the establishment of arbitration courts composed of representatives of employers' and employees' organizations; for legal recognition of trade unions; for municipal autonomy, proportional representation, separation of church from state, democratic organization of the militia and abolition of the standing army.

Twenty-one organizations were represented in the congress by thirty-seven delegates, six published three times a week, one fortnightly, and two monthly, besides the scientific weekly "Die Neue Zeit," two humorous papers, and two literary weeklies. The trade union press includes one three-week paper, that of the printers, thirty weeklies, one published three times a month, twenty fortnightly, and eight monthly.

The Socialist Democratic Party press in Germany consists of fifty-one daily newspapers, six published three times a week, one fortnightly, and two monthly, besides the scientific weekly "Die Neue Zeit," two humorous papers, and two literary weeklies. The trade union press includes one three-week paper, that of the printers, thirty weeklies, one published three times a month, twenty fortnightly, and eight monthly.

The fifteenth national congress of the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany was recently held in Erfurt. Fifty-three delegates were present, representing forty-three organizations. The report of a year's work showed that during that time thirty-eight organizations—political bodies and trade unions—had become affiliated with the party, which now comprises one hundred and fifty affiliated bodies. Forty-nine of them, with a membership of 5,700 persons, are in Prussia and one hundred and one in the provinces, giving a total membership of 10,921.

The vote in the last parliamentary elections was 7,013, as against 947 in 1897. The fact that the total vote is still smaller than the party membership is accounted for by the fact that many of the workers are excluded from the franchise and partly by the fact that the party was able to enter the field in only a few districts.

In the recent elections to the general councils of the departments of Germany the Socialists lost seats and gained none, a net gain of thirteen. The net gains and losses of the various parties are as follows: Socialists gained thirteen; Radicals and Socialists-Radicals gained 70; Republicans and "Rightists" lost 55; Nationalists gained 9; Monarchists lost 27.

According to the latest reports, the Socialist Democratic Party of Bohemia is in flourishing condition. It comprises fifty-one political groups, with 3,670 members; 201 educational associations, with 15,215 members; and 154 trade unions, with 17,647 members. The party press consists of eleven political papers (two of them dailies), seventeen trade union journals, three scientific reviews, and a humorous sheet. The chief party paper, "Pravda," published at Prag, has a circulation of 12,666.

It is reported that the British Trade Union Congress at Swansea has voted to accumulate a fund to fight the recent House of Lords picketing decision and other legal wrongs. It appears from the dispatch that the intention is to attempt a further fight in the courts, but it is to be hoped that the British workmen will adopt the much quicker and surer way of fighting with ballots.

The decision of the House of Lords makes it impossible to attack the funds and other property of trade unions for damages awarded by the courts, in cases brought by capitalists against the unions for picketing, boycotting, or other trade union activities. The decision is considered a very serious blow to the labor movement, but its direct result ought to be to make enough to frighten the Lords and the courts into reversing the decision.

BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

## CAREY.

(Continued from page 1.)

him, in that he could vote whereas the machine couldn't. This was all Greek to Dennis. (Nearly all the working people's name are "Dennis" now.) Well, Dennis paid no attention to this; it was a matter of no importance to him; he voted the old party's ticket straight—as straight as you can vote a crooked thing. One day he decided he would go to the old country. He used to get \$150 a day shoveling coal. He hung up his shovel and stayed until his little roll went where yours go usually. He came back and went down to the dock to go to work. When he got down there he looked for the hundred or more of his fellows with whom he used to work, but he saw them not. He saw an iron thing unloading the coal. He went to the foreman and said: "I am for a job, and the foreman said: 'Why are you here? A gigantic arm that picks up one hundred and twenty-five tons of coal and dumps it as soon as you can dump a shovel full.' Dennis, when he looked upon it, thought of the possibilities of some of his comrades in arms (or in shovels) being forced into tamponing; and of their daughters who go where you don't want yours to go, and of his sons, and all that. He thought of the power of that machine to starve a hundred of his fellow laborers and then he turned around and started over the bank with the shovel on his shoulder. The engine was puffing and smoking and the thought grew so bitter within him, and with true Irish zeal, thinking of what he heard that crazy Socialist say a few months before, and shaking his fist at the machine, he said: "You can puff and you can smoke, and you can smoke and you can puff, but by gods you can't vote." (Great applause.)

## HOW THE MASTERS

REGARD THE WORKERS.

"I know your masters; I have been in office four years, but selected by own class, the working class, which is more comfortable. I want to tell you some of the things that happen in the Great and General Court, as the legislature is called in Belgium, showing you how the 'Powers that be' regard you. "When I introduced a bill to provide for the right of trial by jury for the workers, under infraction process, one of the leaders of one of the two old parties—this statement: He said that this bill for the right of trial by jury emanated from the men who were against law and order. What do you think of that? He said that the bill was brought up by those who wanted to divide up and were enemies of the Republic. I waited long enough to give some of the 'friends of labor' in the old parties a chance to defend the workers from the attack made upon them, the insult hurled at their teeth, and not one of them moved. I then told many things that may have done him some good and may not. It is well that you should know that there are those in this world that believe such things of you. I said that the class that demanded this legislation was the organized working class, that class which laid the foundation stones of this Republic in their graves, who cemented those stones in their blood, who had allowed their veins to run dry and had given their lives as free as air that this Republic might live and that while they suffered, you and your capitalist class have fattened upon their blood and their sacrifices." (Applause.)

"It is said that a man is judged by the company that he keeps; do not judge me by the company I am keeping because it is not my fault."

"I tell you men of the working class that the workers of this nation are compelled by the economic pressure to organize themselves into unions for protection, and your organizations are beset on every hand by men who seek to destroy them. You would commit a crime against your class, against your children and your children's children, if you weaken the power of the laborers as expressed by the trade union movement. Give to that movement all that you can honestly and consistently give, so that there will be at least one citadel where the workers can fly in time of trouble. (Applause.)

"Build up your trade union movement consistently and at all times, but as you build it up REMEMBER THAT THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS IS NOT TO PERPETUATE A SYSTEM WHICH ENABLES THE LIVING DEAD TO LIVE, BUT TO BRING ABOUT A SYSTEM WHEREIN THE POWER TO BE BOUGHT AND SOLD AS A COMMODITY, BUT THAT THE INTEREST OF YOUR CLASS IS TO ESTABLISH A CONDITION WHEREIN YOU SHALL NEITHER BE BOUGHT AND SOLD NOR BE IN WAGE-SLAVERY, WHERE THERE SHALL BE A SYSTEM BASED UPON THE PRINCIPLE THAT MEN HAVE FUGHT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN, WHERE ALL THE PEOPLE IN THEIR COLLECTIVE CAPACITY WILL OWN THE MEANS BY WHICH THEY LIVE."

"I have often thought of the free-born American citizens, as I heard the whistle blow; I have thought of the destitute of the men whose ancestors fought at Bunker Hill; and I have seen those men run like a deer, at the clang of the factory bell or the tooting of the factory whistle, those men through whose veins flow the historic blood of Bunker Hill and Valley Forge; those men I say are being whistled in and whistled

out of the factories to-day. I was going to suggest to Aguilardo before he was captured that if he would provide himself with American whistles and bells and blow the whistles and ring the bells in the rear of the American forces they would think their bosses were calling them and they would run backward. (Applause.)

"I simply say to you men, workmen, those of you that now do not consider yourselves the equal of the mighty ones of the earth, I say to you that the sooner you realize not only your power but also the importance of the role that you play in civilization, the sooner that instant will arrive when you will be prepared to take the step that will lead you out of this purgatory of industry."

"Although dispossessed as you are by your masters; although they look upon you as hevers of wood and drawers of water; the time is coming when the workers will realize that they have built up this temple by their brain and muscle and the temple has been usurped by their economic masters. You have filled the temple with the children of your genius, with all our art and literature, and having builded that temple you have allowed your masters to usurp it and thrust you into outer darkness. You are not allowed to enter, but hearing the strain of the music that is within and stealing a ray of the light that is there burning, you, the workers, have wondered outside of the temple why you are not allowed to enter your temple, and you should become conscious of your rights and should say to those who have usurped it, that the doors of that temple shall be open to the lowest and least of the human race; and if they refuse to allow those who built it to enter, tell them that you, the dispossessed ones, you who have built it, have the power to destroy it. (Long and loud applause.)

## THE LESSON OF THE STEEL STRIKE.

Our readers have no doubt kept themselves informed as to the great strike in the steel industry, so a detailed review of the causes leading there to is here unnecessary.

Every effort consistent with honor has been made by the men involved. Every concession that could safely be made has been granted. Yet so powerful has capital become and so strongly entrenched does it consider itself, that nothing short of conditions that would eventually and certainly eliminate the Amalgamated Association would satisfy its agents, Morgan, and Schwab. The fight is really not for wages or trade conditions. The fight is for the right to organize. And it is so proclaimed by the billion dollar trust. "It is a fight to a finish," they say, "and when the strike is over there will be no more Amalgamated Association."

There is the declaration of the trust. And in its fight against organized labor it will receive the support of every employer of labor in the country.

What does this declaration signify? It means that when the strike terminates the workers in the steel industry will either be free men or slaves. It means that they will have the right to bargain for wages, or else that they will be compelled to rely on the philanthropy of the employer to give them whatever reward for their toil he may choose. It means that they will be independent and self-respecting citizens of a great republic, or servants of a most grinding taskmaster—a trust—without conscience and without soul. It means that the vaunted intelligence and superior skill of the American worker is repudiated. It means that capital must be master—supreme and unapproachable—and that labor must be doleful and subservient, relying entirely upon capital for the right to live. It means that labor, the bone and sinew of the nation, the bulwark of our institutions, the reliance of our government, is no more to be free industrially or politically. For there can be no political freedom where industrial slavery exists. It means that whatever conditions are forced upon the steel workers as a result of this strike will, later, be imposed upon you. It means that men like Morgan and Schwab must be ratified from the management of the steel trust; that the trust must recede from its position, and that the right of labor to organize and treat for conditions of employment must be recognized, or else—

IT MEANS THAT THE LABORER, FORCED TO MAKE USE OF THAT INSTRUMENT WHICH HE SHARES SOALY WITH THE CAPITALIST, WILL VOTE TO TAKE OVER THE STEEL INDUSTRY AND MANAGE IT FOR THE WELFARE OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE.

That is Socialism, you say. Very well, my brother.

Socialism or slavery. These are the alternatives that conditions are forcing to place before you.

Which do you choose to accept?

**THE MARYLAND CAMPAIGN.**

The Socialists of Maryland will retain the name of Socialist Democratic Party through the present campaign. The campaign committee appeals to all Socialists to fall in and work for the cause—not alone those who are already party members, but also those who have held office in the past, in view of the division within the party then existing. Help is needed in gathering signatures to the nomination papers, without which all the other work will be wasted. Money is needed to distribute literature and arrange meetings. Every Socialist is urged to give all possible aid, both in personal work and money.

Meetings are held every Monday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 1011 E. Baltimore street, Baltimore. Information can be had from the secretary of the campaign committee, Samuel R. Angel, who may be addressed at the Labor Lyceum.

BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

## The Economic Struggle.

Students from the University of California are working as scabs on the docks at San Francisco, where the men have been on strike for several weeks. No class struggle, is there? Capitalists do not control the educational institutions, do they? No need of a Socialist party, eh?

The Republican and Democratic Board of Police Commissioners of San Francisco has added to the force one hundred and fourteen "specials" recommended by the Employers' Association. This is exactly what the workmen now on strike should have expected when they voted for Republican and Democratic candidates at the last election. They will have a chance to correct their mistake two months from now.

The introduction of the Mogen engines on the eastern branch of the Erie Railroad running from Jersey City to Port Jervis has given ten crews an everlasting vacation. Now say that the lot of the workman is a hard one!

May Kahn and Lena Grossman, striking cigar makers of New York, were fined \$10 each in the Yorkville Police Court for "intercepting" three women on the street and dissuading them from working in a strike shop. This furnishes another good reason why workmen should vote the Socialist Democratic ticket. We want police magistrates who will not treat workmen in this fashion.

Several striking garment workers on the East Side have been arrested on trumped-up charges during the past week. Such things would not happen with Ben Hanford as mayor.

At the last meeting of the Franklin Association of Pressmen, New York, Comrade Jos. Wm. Dooley introduced a resolution to add to the regular order of business for each meeting a discussion of economic and social questions. The motion was seconded by Comrade Moschowitz and unanimously adopted. At the next following meeting, Sept. 10, Comrade Dooley opened the discussion on "Child Labor."

Comrade Jaffe has been elected business agent of Cigar-Makers' Union No. 1 of this city.

At a conference between the Amalgamated Association and the Independent Iron Manufacturers held in Youngstown, O., last Thursday, the wages of puddlers were advanced 25 cents a ton and the wages of finishers 1.3 cents a ton. The raise affects 20,000 men and applies from Sept. 1. This is one of the indirect effects of the strike.

Along with the news of the intended consolidation of American and Belgian glass companies comes news of the formation in Belgium of a fair and strike-breakers' association among the glass workers, under the patronage of the bosses, on the same lines as are being followed by the capitalists in the machine trade in this country. Capitalism is international in its interests and in its methods, and only international Socialism can cope with it.

Max Hayes addressed the Cloth Spongers' Union of this city last week upon invitation. Morris Brown has already spoken there and Benjamin Hanford is booked for a speech at an early date. The Socialist speakers are well received.

Algernon Lee spoke at the last meeting of Cigar Packers' Union No. 251. There was a good attendance and all showed the greatest interest in Comrade Lee's remarks.

## FROM THE WORKERS.

A Southern subscriber writes: "The 'Drummer's Awakening' in your issue of Sept. 8 is one of the best stories I have seen. It ought to be made into a leaflet and sent to every drummer in the United States. That man Oswald is full of promise of good work. Take care of him." We shall.

A comrade in Newport, Ky., sends in so for a full set of the portraits of Marx, Engels, Bebel, Liebknecht, Singer, and the Socialist members of the German Reichstag, to adorn his home. Nothing could be more appropriate on a workman's walls.

Comrade Smith of Bellevue, Ohio, writes: "To my mind The Worker is the best Socialist paper published for those who wish to know the real principles of the movement."

In a certain newspaper composing room in this city, where nearly seventy operators are employed, there was a year ago, only one Socialist Democrat. He resolved to convert the shop, even though it might cost him considerable time and money. He began by paying out of his own pocket for three-month subscriptions to The Worker for his brother printers. Very soon some of these men came to him with their half-dollars for yearly subscriptions. Two of three of them contributed a dollar each to supply the rest of the men for three months. Then more regulars came in. Then other literature was introduced. The result is that to-day about half the men are regular subscribers, twelve are party members, six more are sure to vote the ticket, and several others are likely to do so. GO THOU AND DO LIKEWISE.

## LECTURES AT THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE.

The Socialist Educational League, 312 East Fifty-second street, New York City, will open its fall course of lectures with an address this Sunday, September 15, at 8:00 p. m., by Courtenay Lennon. Subject: "Class-consciousness."

BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

## A VALUABLE PAMPHLET

For Circulation Among the German-Speaking Workmen in This Campaign.

A very useful pamphlet for circulation among the German-speaking voters in this municipal campaign is the "Municipale Forderungen der Sozialdemokratie," by Hermann Schlueter, editor of the "Volkszeitung." The readers of that paper have already seen the paper in the form of a series of editorial articles and will recognize the advisability of bringing the pamphlet to the attention of the largest possible number of German-American workmen in the city between now and election day. After a general introduction, the author takes up successively the subjects of education, public health, labor laws, and regulations, provision for the unemployed, municipal ownership, the housing of the people, city finances, municipal self-government, etc., showing what the Socialist Democratic Party proposes to do for the benefit of the working class of New York City, if put in power by the votes of the working class.

This valuable pamphlet (24 pages) is published by the Socialist Literature Company, and is sold at five cents a copy, putting it within the reach of every workman who wishes to understand the municipal program of the Socialist Democratic Party. In order that subdivisions of the party, educational clubs, and other organizations may be able to circulate it extensively, still lower prices are offered for quantities: Ten copies will cost 25 cents; fifty copies, \$1; one hundred copies, \$1.50. Every Socialist organization in the city which is able to reach the German-speaking population should at once buy a hundred or a few hundred copies and push its circulation. It will mean votes for our ticket in November.

## CONVENTION NOTICES.

Conventions of the S. D. P. to nominate candidates for officers to be voted for at the election of Nov. 5 will be held as follows:

JUDICIAL CONVENTIONS to nominate police magistrates for the Second Judicial District of New York (as provided by the new charter, one in each congressional district in the Borough of Brooklyn, Friday, Sept. 13, at 8 p. m.

NEW YORK COUNTY CONVENTION, Saturday, Sept. 14, at 7:30 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street.

MANHATTAN BOROUGH CONVENTION, Saturday, Sept. 14, at 8 p. m., at the Labor Lyceum.

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT CONVENTIONS in all assembly districts in the Boroughs of New York and Kings, Friday, Sept. 20, at 8 p. m.

ALDERMANIC CONVENTIONS in all aldermanic districts of the Boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Bronx, Friday, Sept. 20, at 8 p. m.

## FOR BROOKLYN WORKINGMEN.

The Socialists of the 16th, 17th, and 18th A. D. Brooklyn, have furnished, for the use of workingmen, a two-story clubhouse on Fulton street, junction of Ralph avenue.

On the first floor is the assembly room, for meetings, lectures, debates, etc., where every Saturday night prominent speakers will discuss economic subjects.

The second floor is given over to the library, billiard and pool room.

The opening will be Saturday evening, Sept. 14. Comrade Bayroves will be chairman, and the welcome address will be delivered by Ben Hanford, mayorally candidate of the S. D. P. Some of the other prominent persons, who will be present are T. A. Hopkins, candidate for county judge; P. J. Flanagan, candidate for president of the Borough, and Thos. T. Deyer, candidate for police magistrate.

Such an array of speakers a meeting is well worth a visit as is well offered, and one which those looking for an intellectual feast cannot afford to miss.

You are cordially invited to attend and bring anyone who talks or thinks of problems affecting workingmen.

Workingmen are especially invited to inspect the clubrooms on this occasion, and acquaint themselves with the purpose of the organization.

## LECTURES IN 21ST A. D.

The 21st A. D. has arranged a series of Sunday evening lectures to be held in Colonial Hall, One Hundred and First street and Columbus avenue, as follows:

Sept. 15—John Spargo, "The Social Problem and Its Solution."

Sept. 22—James R. Brown, "The Exploitation of the Single Tax."

Sept. 29—Benjamin Hanford, our candidate for mayor.

Oct. 6—Thos. B. McGuire, "Dangers of the Present Social Conditions."

Oct. 13—H. Gaylord Wiltshire, "Revolution Inevitable."

Oct. 20—John Hartman and John S. Crosby, debate on Single Tax vs. Socialism.

Oct. 27—Charles Frederick Adams, "One Conception of Social Democracy."

Nov. 3—Algernon Lee, "Social Conditions and Social Ideals."

The plan, as will be seen, is to have alternate Sundays, Socialists and opponents of Socialism, so that the audience will have a chance to hear both sides. Questions and general discussion will follow each lecture. Good music will also form a part of the program. Admission is free, and all are invited.

**USE THIS LEAFLET.**

The Organizer of Local New York is prepared to furnish to subdivisions or individuals a leaflet containing the national and municipal platforms of the Socialist Democratic Party and some characteristic sayings of our candidates for mayor, a leaflet which should be widely distributed AT ONCE. There are 100,000 copies in print; use them, and the leaflet will be ordered. The price is \$1.25 a thousand. Every house and every shop in the city should be covered THIS MONTH, besides distributing leaflets at meetings. Get your supply to-day and GO TO WORK.

Socialism is the ideal and hope of a new society founded on industrial peace and forethought, aiming at a new and higher life for all men.—William Morris.

## DIRTY DOLLARS.

The gross receipts of the Manhattan Elevated Railway Company for the last fiscal year were \$10,253,270. Of this amount \$5,253,220 went for "operating expenses," and it was out of this latter sum that the employees were paid such "wages" as they received. Supposedly, it was also out of that item that such sums were taken as went to pay the company's lawyers, the fancy "salaries" of the officials, whatever it may have cost to "indulge" or "educate" the state legislature, the city council and judges, together with whatever blackmail executive officials may have secured, if any or all of these items required attention, and they often do require attention on the part of progressive, and strictly up-to-date corporations.

After deducting \$5,253,220 for operating expenses from the gross receipts of \$10,253,270, leaves "net" receipts of \$5,000,050, and of this latter amount the sum \$1,020,000 went to the payment of dividends. This \$1,020,000 distributed as dividends was strictly "something for nothing." Those who received it did no work for it. When they did any work on the road, in the capacity of officials, directors, etc., they received for such services liberal payment in the form of "salary," which was taken from the item called "operating expenses."

The "work" the receivers of these dividends did in order to secure them was exactly the same as that done by a burglar and consisted simply in "getting a wedge in." These people, however, have given the subject of burgling intelligent study, and, instead of stealing a few measly dollars in defiance of the law, they first get the law-making power, and pass laws to suit their special game, and then steal millions of dollars annually in accordance therewith. It should be added that, far from being considered robbers, these people are known as "distinguished gentlemen" and "eminent citizens," and instead of calling the proceeds of their "industrial" by the regular name of "swag," it is euphonically termed "profits."

Again, after deducting \$1,020,000 of dividends from the net receipts, we find that the Manhattan paid "fixed charges" to the amount of \$2,677,700. "Fixed charges" generally include taxes, rentals, and interest payments on bonds, the latter item usually being by far the most considerable. With the exception of the sum paid out as taxes, which is usually a small part of the whole, "fixed charges" are as much "profits" as are dividends on the stock. The only difference between the two items is that they are paid either to different parties or else to the same parties under different headings. Neither interest on bonds nor dividends on stock are payments for work performed. They are simply the "take-off" of the fellows who have the "graff," Both are "profits" in the sense that they are values produced by labor, withheld from labor, and diverted to exploiting capitalists.

From the above figures you can see the exploitation of one little corporation in New York. It is upwards of \$4,000,000 a year. And this town is full of similar corporations, many of them larger and many of them smaller. The \$4,000,000 of "profits" of the Manhattan is probably a larger sum than the total wage roll of the company, receiving only those who do some useful work in operating the road, and not counting payments to "fix" legislatures or politicians.

Does any sane man suppose that a Democratic, Republican, or Reform city government will do anything to reduce these "profits" or to raise the wages of decrease the hours of the men who do the real work of operating the Manhattan Railroad? Certainly not. The stock and bondholders of the Manhattan are in all of those political parties, and they are in politics for the express purpose of increasing profits and decreasing wages.

Now if you workmen would join and vote for the Socialist Democratic Party you would find that wages would get the increase and "profits" would decrease to the disappearing point.

The Democratic government of New York City and the Republican government of Philadelphia may each be said to be above suspicion of honesty.

Richard Croker, the Irish patriot who pays an income in England out of the revenues received from his American subjects in New York, is reported as saying that Tammany candidates this year will be "young men who are honest." If he is as old as he was when he was born, what would an "honest young man" have to do with Croker?

Last week I recorded the quarterly dividend of 14 per cent. on Sugar Trust stock. Evidently the money was badly needed, since then Havemeyer has purchased a villa at Newport.

The New York police have got a man who has succeeded in passing worthless checks to the extent of thousands of dollars. Serves the fool right. Why didn't he print stock certificates and float them on water?

"Working for my own pocket all of the time" is on his way "home," so look out for your pocket if it has anything in it, as he will need the money to pay his British income tax.

"Permanent work, with comfortable living wage, is, in my opinion, possible for all in this country," says the Hon. Everett Peppercorn Wheeler in the New York "Journal." And now the old world can roll on in safety.

## JOHN A. D. BROOKLYN.

A primary of the S. D. P. of the 10th A. D. Brooklyn, to elect delegates to Assembly and Aldermanic District Conventions will be held on Wednesday, Sept. 18, at 8 p. m., at 423 Cumberland street, Cornudas Passageway house, 10th A. D. Brooklyn.

## NATIONAL PLATFORM

## SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Socialist Party of America in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of international Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalist class and not by the workers. This ownership of the capitalistic class enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, and are fomented between nations, leading to the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage-workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production are, in all political representations of the capitalist class.

## DO YOU SEE ANYTHING?

The news comes from Omaha, Neb., that the management of the Union and Southern Pacific railroads has created the office of superintendent of mail contracts, and it is understood that Herbert P. Thrall, NOW SUPERINTENDENT OF THE EIGHTH DIVISION OF THE RAILWAY SERVICE, is to be appointed to the position, RETAINING HIS POSITION WITH THE GOVERNMENT. The man who is to be superintendent of the weighing of the mails is also to be the paid servant of the corporations whose extortionate rates make it impossible for the post office department to pay expenses. Government of the railroads, for the railroads, and by the railroads. How long are you going to vote for it? Or, if you prefer that the people own their own railroads and carry their own mails, giving the railroad men the full value of their labor, and at the same time reducing fares and preventing "accidents" now caused by overwork and by the refusal of the capitalists to provide safeguards which would cost a little money. The millionaires claimed they "could not afford" automatic safety couplers for the purpose of saving lives, but they can always afford a "consultation" to lobby against any law which puts human life above dividends.

## LECTURES IN EAST NEW YORK.

The comrades of East New York have arranged the following series of Sunday evening lectures, to be held in Penn-Fulton Hall, corner of Pennsylvania avenue and Fulton street:

Sept. 15—Algernon Lee, "The Duty of the Government in Regard to Strikes."

Sept. 22—John Spargo, "Our Position, Economic, Ethical, and Political."

Sept. 29—Peter K. Burrows, "The Irrepressible Conflict."

Oct. 6—H. Gaylord Wiltshire, "The Trust Problem."

Oct. 13—Morris Hillquit, "Socialism as a Science."

Oct. 20—Leonard D. Abbott, "The Issues of the Campaign."

Oct. 27—Dr. C. L. Furman, "The Workingman, His Boss, and Politics."

All workmen and others interested in political and economic questions are invited to come and hear the views of Socialist speakers, to ask questions and participate in general discussion. Admission is free.

## MEETINGS IN THE BRONX.

Social Democratic meetings have been arranged as follows for the month of September:



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# The Worker

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## PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND SOCIALISM.

### Municipal Ownership Will Benefit the Workers Only if Established by the Working Class.

Immense Value of City Franchises—The People Virtually Sold to Franchise-Owners—The Chief Source of Political Corruption—Two Kinds of Municipal Ownership—What a Socialist Administration Would Do.

BY JOE HARRIMAN.

Never previously in the history of this country have there been spread before the readers of the daily press so many well founded accusations of public plunder and corruption. Neither are these crimes confined to any one of the existing political parties. No sooner has a political victory been won than the victors begin to count and divide the spoils; and the frequent exposures have become so commonplace that they are daily to be expected. The names of political bosses have become synonymous with corruption. To mention the names of Croker, Platt, Hylan, Quay, Clark, and others of their type, is to hold before the public gaze a panorama of appalling public crimes. Positions of honor and trust have been converted into cesspools of bribery and pilage. Political power has become a means of public plunder, and political machines are employed to place plunderers in power. The putridity of the entire capitalist system is revealed by the "baited hook" policy of the "ship subsidy bill," the "franchise steals," especially in the great cities, the bribery of city councilmen, legislators, and Congressmen by the moneyed interests of the land, and the endless list of smaller crimes daily paraded by the public press.

While corruption reigns in high places, and special privileges are sold to money kings, a widespread and deep-rooted discontent is developing among the plundered working class. It is only necessary to mention the strikes of Albany, Brooklyn, Cleveland, and St. Paul, the miners' strikes of Huelmo, Idaho, and the "Cone" strikes and the war between the Steel Trust and the trade unions, to indicate to catch a glimpse of what the future has in store if the present political and business methods are continued. That we may ascertain why this corruption appears in its most aggravated form in the very heart of our civilization, the great cities, and why it continues to grow more and more appalling, and that we may determine how we may eradicate the evil, it is necessary for us to discover the source of the power for which these corruption-fests are striving, the means by which they gain their power and how, by forcing out of that power, they are able to control city councils, legislatures, and Congresses, and to escape punishment. In no way can this be done so better advantage in a short paragraph than by an inquiry into the value and control of municipal franchises. For this purpose no city affords better opportunities and facilities for investigation than does the city of New York.

#### NEW YORK FRANCHISES.

The following table sets forth the value, as well as the source of the value, of the New York ferry franchises which are owned and rented by the city of New York:

Date.	Population.	Annual Rent.
1790.	8,500	5,120
1800.	21,250	9,480
1810.	21,250	34,000
1820.	2,021,000	34,000

"Though the rivers and harbors and islands were all present yet in the year 1790 the ferries rented for only \$580 a year. But now that the population has increased from 3,150 to 3,420,000 people, the ferries rent for the fabulous sum of \$2,021,000. By reason of this increase of population these ferries pay 4 per cent. annually upon \$50,000,000, which is the value of the ferry franchises. They could readily be sold for this sum. It would be the population of New York is certain to increase and thereby constantly to add value to these franchises.

#### THE FACT IS, THE FERRIES ARE NOT REALLY RENTED. THE PEOPLE ARE RENTED.

The rent goes up as the population increases, and not as the ferries are improved. But even though this is true, it will be argued that no damage is done, inasmuch as the city receives the cash, and the necessary expenses of city government are thereby defrayed.

In the light of this argument let us examine other franchises and how they are being appropriated or rather misappropriated.

#### METROPOLITAN RAILWAY.

The Metropolitan Railway Company of New York City has under its management 2004 miles of surface lines. At \$100,000 a mile, for which these roads can be built and equipped, they would cost the people to replace them \$200,000,000.

After paying all expenses the company pays in rents, interest and dividends, \$6,252,000. Which is 4 per cent. interest on \$156,300,000. Deducting from this the cost \$20,925,000.

#### WE HAVE THE ENORMOUS SUM OF \$156,377,000 WHICH IS THE VALUE OF THE FRANCHISES.

They would sell for this sum because their value constantly increases as the population increases.

The company pays annually \$501,883.

#### MANHATTAN RAILWAY CO. .... 3,400,000

Consolidated Gas Co. .... 5,200,000

Total ..... \$14,912,000

The total amount paid annually for this privilege is:

Metropolitan Railway Co. .... \$352,000

Manhattan Railway Co. .... 10,000

Consolidated Gas Co., say ..... 10,000

Total ..... \$372,000

Thus the people of Manhattan alone are annually robbed by the "respectable citizens" of New York to the amount of \$14,912,000, the petty sum of \$372,000 being paid as a sort of political penance.

Just as it was above shown that the capital invested by the Consolidated Gas Company was not produced by the holders of the gas stock, but had been first taken from the producers, so it becomes apparent that the few men now holding the stock of these three entities could not possibly have produced twenty-five thousand dollars required to construct the various railroads and gas plants. They first siphon it from the producers, then invest it in the plants and call it their capital in order to fish more, and label themselves "respectable citizens."

There is no more reason why the workers should pay interest upon the \$14,912,000 capital which they themselves have produced than that they should pay interest on the \$280,235,000 which is the value of the franchises.

In either case the workers pay interest upon themselves to the stockholders of the companies. In the matter of \$280,235,000, the companies make a profit of investment. But as to the \$280,235,000 of franchise values, they do not even pretend to have invested one single penny. Yet they claim that their respectability carries with it this privilege of legal theft. And the procession of bishops, priests, parsons, attorneys, and business men in silent sympathy, while their ethical sensibilities remain serene and undisturbed at this bold and unadmitted robbery.

As shown by the above table, the total value of the property which these three companies hold is \$772,700,000. Upon this sum the people pay annually \$14,912,000, for which they receive \$372,000. And, ridiculous as it may seem, this small sum which the companies pay, is a part of the profits which they have already taken from the public. Hence the companies really pay nothing. By reversing the statement, it appears that the workers pay the companies \$14,912,000 for \$372,000, which in reality was at all times the property of the workers.

As long as the people are willing to pay \$14,912,000 for \$372,000 of their own money, is there any one so simple-minded as to think that the recipients will not continue to accept it? While those companies can get four and a half millions of dollars a year for nothing, they will not only be willing to accept it, but they will fight to prolong the privileges. They will even divide a large part of this sum with the political bosses in order to retain this privilege—even at the risk of their "respectability." These so-called profits or dividends BECOME A CORRUPTION FUND, USED TO FURTHER THE INTEREST OF THE CORPORATIONS AS AGAINST THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS.

#### THE SUBWAY FRANCHISE.

No more glaring instance of this fact has occurred in the history of New York than that of the subway contract and franchise. This franchise is valued at TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. Yet it was given to the subway contractor for seventy-five years for the petty consideration of a FIVE-CENT, OR THIRTY-FIVE MILLION DOLLARS—plus, of course, a huge sum for "our representatives."

The same individual was presented with a clear \$8,000,000 on the subway-construction contract. Who is there that cannot see and smell the corruption in this criminal deal? Who will have the audacity to deny that this recipient and his political bosses are in partnership in this theft? Who will deny that they have joined hands to rob and pillage their constituency, the workers of the city?

New York is not an exception in this respect. Prof. F. Speler tells us that the present market price of all the Philadelphia street car lines is \$120,000,000; that the actual cost of construction is \$36,000,000; which, being deducted, leaves \$84,000,000 the value of the franchises. With their accustomed insatiable greed, the Quay ring have recently stolen franchises in Philadelphia valued at many millions of dollars. The saintly Wanamaker offered the city \$1,500,000 for the privilege of legally stealing the same funds which the Quay ring proposes through the years to come to steal without paying anything for the privilege.

H. V. Johnson, the recent mayor of Denver, Colo., states that the gas company of Denver is capitalized at \$8,500,000; that the plant can be replaced for \$2,500,000; which leaves \$6,000,000 as the value of the franchise.

The same is true of the Denver water company, which is capitalized at \$14,000,000, and cost only \$5,000,000, leaving \$9,000,000 as the value of the franchise.

Mr. Jones says that these corporations "demand and receive exorbitant prices from their fellowmen to pay fancy dividends on millions of dollars of stock and bonds in which never a cent was invested. This is the reason why the franchise is held with tenacious and deathlike grip; this is why the people are duped and gulled and city councils are bribed and cajoled into giving away these valuable rights."

It is apparent that the same cause is at work in every city. THE VALUE

#### OF THE FRANCHISES INCREASES AS THE POPULATION INCREASES.

AND THE PROFITS INCREASE AS THE VALUE OF THE FRANCHISE INCREASES AND THE CORRUPTION FUND INCREASES AS THE PROFITS INCREASE.

#### CONSOLIDATION.

Coexistent with the increase of profits and corruption is the phenomenon of consolidation. The reason for this is to be found in the fact that greater economy and better service is possible under consolidation than under competition.

The advantages to the companies arise from economy in administration by reducing the number of officials and workmen; by ceasing, in part or altogether, to operate unnecessary lines; by securing cheaper prices on stock because of larger purchases; by avoiding legal contests arising out of the conflicting interests of many companies; by maintaining one instead of many shops for repairing and manufacturing purposes; by securing substantial construction of the main lines, reducing cost of repairing to a minimum; by systematically distributing rolling-stock, obtaining thereby the greatest service at the least expense of stock and power by consolidating power-houses, thereby economizing both in necessary land, buildings, and power; and, last but not least, by a great economy in the transportation fund; for where there is but one company handling only one political boss need be dealt with. Although the one boss and his lieutenants may receive far more from the combined companies than each of several bosses and their lieutenants would receive from several companies, yet the total amount paid by the combination for the same privileges is less. For the same reason the companies favor consolidation.

These pecuniary advantages to the company are incidentally followed by some advantages to their patrons. The combined companies afford a better transfer system; run their cars at a higher average speed; dispatch the cars from the center of the city to the outskirts on the most direct lines; reduce the number of collisions and other accidents to a minimum; altogether resulting in safer, service, and greater economy in the use of the public's money.

Similar advantages result from combinations in other municipal industries. For these reasons the people will continue to support consolidation until all municipal industries are brought under one head.

Hence the theory that a solution may be found in competition is vain, since competition offers a maximum disadvantage and a minimum advantage to all, so far as possible under private ownership.

The fact that the patrons receive many benefits under a consolidation of companies which they could not receive from numerous independent companies opens the opportunity for the politician secretly to receive large sums of money from the corruption fund, and yet escape public censure by justifying his vote or sympathy for the consolidation on the grounds of the public advantage derived therefrom.

Thus we see the companies, the politicians and the workers all favoring consolidation for entirely different reasons. The companies favor consolidation solely because of the increased profits which can only be realized by system and economy. The boss politician favors consolidation because he can secretly receive large sums from the corruption fund, and his lieutenants from the large company than from any one of several small companies, while the working class favor consolidation solely because of the economy and advantages to the community made possible thereby.

The constituents of the politicians and the patrons of the corporations are for the most part composed of the working class. The profits taken by the companies from the workers are in part used to corrupt the politicians who in consideration thereof, pass laws or ordinances extending the privileges of the companies, thereby binding the workers to surrender still more profits. From the profits spring the spoils of office, which serve as a cement, holding together the "captains of industry" and the boss of the political machine. Thus these industrial-political combinations, and the revenues and benefits flowing from them, are in fact a single and the same organization having a mutual interest and a common purpose—namely, to take more profits (or spoils) from the working class.

#### PROFITS AND CORRUPTION.

THE CAPITALISTS MANIPULATE THE POLITICAL MACHINES FOR THE PRIVILEGES GAINED THROUGH THEM; AND THE POLITICIANS SUPPORT THE CAPITALISTS FROM THEM; WHILE BOTH UNITE IN SUPPRESSING THE WORKERS FOR THE PROFITS FILCHED FROM THEM.

These profits lead both to industrial consolidation, to industrial-political combination, and to corruption. The capitalists systematize their work and consolidate their businesses solely because of increased profits. Public welfare is not considered. It is incidental to system and economy. It is sacrificed by the capitalists as well as by the politicians, wherever profits or spoils are at stake.

The advantages of the capitalists and the politicians are in proportion to the profits taken; while the disadvantages of the workers is in exactly the same proportion. The daily outrages committed upon the New York travelling public are fraught with sordid greed. The downtown morning cars on all the lines are like great garden-works on wheels, waiting on the market. The evening approaches and the cars are no better. They are packed and jammed, regardless of comfort or health. The more people these cars

can jam into the cars, the more money there is in it for them; and the more money there is in it, the more they will jam them in.

On the one hand are the capitalists, greedy for profits and indifferent to the comfort and health of their patrons; on the other are the working class, indifferent to profits, for profits are their burden, but spurred on by their interest in better service and greater economy of time and labor.

#### PRIVATE OWNERSHIP AT FAULT.

The very purpose of municipal industries is defeated by private ownership and the element of profits. SO LONG AS PRIVATE OWNERSHIP AND THE PROFIT SYSTEM CONTINUE, THE MUTUAL INTERESTS OF THE CAPITALISTS AND POLITICIANS MUST CONTINUE TO GROW ANTAGONISTIC TO THE WORKING CLASS UPON WHOM THEY ENJOY THE OWNERSHIP OF MUNICIPAL INDUSTRIES AND FRANCHISES UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE ABOLITION OF ALL PROFITS ARE, THEREFORE, ESSENTIAL TO THE SOLUTION OF THE MUNICIPAL PLATFORM.

It must be remembered, however, that the capitalist class are aggressively in favor of the profit system, for the profits of the capitalist class are derived from the working class, and not from themselves; whereas the working class are beginning to see that the producers can never receive more than their total product, hence as a class they can never be recipients of profits, and for this reason they are becoming aggressively opposed to the profit system. The workers are accordingly separated by reason of their class interest from the capitalists and their actions are necessarily inspired by different motives.

THOUGH THESE OPPOSING POWERS MAY BOTH ADVOCATE MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP, YET WE MAY DEPEND UPON IT THAT EACH WILL SEEK TO CONSERVE THE INTERESTS OF THEIR CLASS IN THE EXECUTION OF THEIR DESIGNS.

#### CAPITALIST MUNICIPALIZATION.

Whenever the working class manifest any desire to organize a workingmen's political party, the capitalists seek to prevent such action by organizing "municipal ownership" and "reform" parties; or they cause one or both of the two old parties to promise municipal ownership, as was done in the case of the subway rapid transit of New York. Whenever, also, the interests of the capitalist class can be better served by municipal ownership than by private ownership an effort will be made to sacrifice, in part, a few capitalists for the benefit of the class. Whenever the plan will not pay interest upon both the capital and the labor, the stockholders will be suddenly stricken with the "reform" fever, and they will become public benefactors by selling the plant to the municipality, together with the franchise for which they have paid nothing, exchanging their stock at par for municipal bonds.

In each of the three cases the result is always practically the same. The revenues continue to pour into the coffers of the capitalists. In the latter case the revenue finds its way through the channel of interest on the bonds. In each of the other instances they use the revenue with which to reduce the taxes on the property of the capitalist class.

Whatever benefits may arise to the working class under capitalist municipal ownership arises in spite of the efforts of the capitalist class, and not because of them. The workers are therefore in no way interested either in the capitalist political agitation which lends to such municipal control or in such municipal control itself. Just as the interest of the capitalist class can be conserved by the capitalist controlling the municipally owned industries, so also can the interests of the working class be conserved only by the workers taking control of public affairs.

#### THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM.

When the workers in power in any city they would increase the wages of the men employed on municipal works, shorten their hours of labor, improve the services, and reduce the fares, thus utilizing all the revenues and benefiting the working class. In no case would they reduce the taxes on the property of the capitalist class.

The same interests which determine the actions of the two classes in municipal affairs do to-day and ever will determine their actions in state and national affairs. The profits wrung from the producers become the cement which holds the capitalist and politician together and causes them to merge the industrial and political organizations into practically one gigantic machine, municipal, state, and national, the sole purpose of which is to bind the workers with the political power while more profits are squeezed out of them with the industrial power.

As the industries of the country have developed into capitalist institutions, which the capitalists seek to retain because of available profits, so the old political parties have developed into capitalist machines, the control of which the politicians seek to retain because of available profits. THIS OUR POLITICAL STATE HAS BECOME A CAPITALIST STATE, which forms a bulwark for the capitalist class, protecting their profit-making property against the interest of the working class—that is, against those who produced the property.

The conflicting interests of the capitalist class and working class, and the complete control of the Democratic and Republican parties by the capitalist class, makes it necessary for the workers to organize in a workingmen's political party for the conquest of the government, municipal, state, and national. Having made this conquest, it will become the duty of the

workers to transform all privately owned industries into social institutions, to abolish all profits and to return all the products to the producers. Henceforth, from the day of our political victory there will be an equality of opportunity to earn one's bread by the sweat of the brow, regardless of his previous social or financial rank. Until then we must content ourselves to battle for the interest of our class, and to extend their privileges and powers; and at the same time to curtail the privileges and the resources of the capitalist class, until victory brings our effort and power on earth is established in the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth.

#### MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION.

United Party Organization Is Formed and State Campaign Begun.

The delegates elected by the branches and ward caucuses of the Social Democratic Party of Massachusetts assembled in convention in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on Sunday, Sept. 8, and Monday, Sept. 9, to perfect a united state organization, nominate candidates, and make preparations for the state election. The work of the convention on Sunday was preliminary to that of the legal nominating convention on Monday.

Resolutions were passed expressing sympathy with the steel workers' strike; petitioning the legislature for a change in the official party name, from "Democratic Social" to "Socialist," deploring the nomination of President McKinley; declaring that no candidate on the S. D. P. ticket shall accept nominations by, or allow the use of his name on the ballot of any other party or take part in any but S. D. P. conventions or caucuses; calling upon the working class to purchase goods bearing the union label; and providing that all candidates be compelled to lodge with the secretary of the State Committee a declaration of their office as he may be elected, to be on the Democratic Social Party ticket, before his certificate of nomination shall be filed with the proper authorities.

The convention then proceeded with nominations, as follows:

For Governor—George H. Wrenn of Springfield.

For Lieutenant Governor—Chas. W. White of Roxbury.

For Secretary of the Commonwealth—Alonso H. Bennett of Middleboro.

For Treasurer—Wendell P. Bosworth of Brockton.

For Auditor—James J. McVey of E. Boston.

For Attorney General—Clarence E. Spellman of Westfield.

#### STATE PLATFORM.

Recognizing the fact that while the system of doing business for profits is in vogue no laws can be enacted which will benefit the wage working class as a class, and that the only way to secure justice for the wage working class is to take control of the means of production, the convention adopted the following platform:

"This is the same under which our Massachusetts comrades have been compelled to go on the ballot under the name of the 'Democratic Social' party, and which has been the cause of their defeat. We declare that the Democratic Social party is a party of the capitalist class, and we therefore demand, and will work for, the abolition of the Democratic Social party, and the creation of a new party, the Socialist party, which shall be the party of the wage working class and its sympathizers in the struggle for the control of the means of production, and the abolition of the profit system."

The convention then proceeded with the election of delegates to the State Committee, and the election of delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist party, to be held in Indianapolis, July 20, 1902.

The convention then adjourned until the next meeting of the State Committee, to be held on the 15th of October.

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## The Worker.

An Organ of the Social Democratic Party.  
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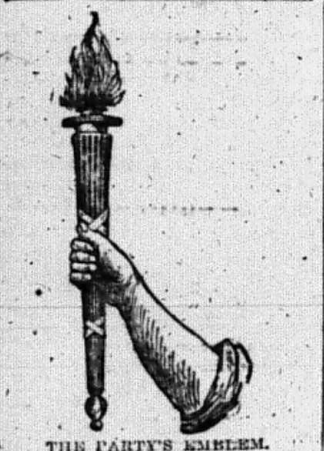
### SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1858 (Presidential).....	2,068
In 1860 (Presidential).....	13,831
In 1862 (Presidential).....	21,157
In 1864 (Presidential).....	35,188
In 1868 (Presidential).....	33,953
In 1872 (Presidential).....	68,204
In 1876 (Presidential).....	9,543
In 1880 (Presidential).....	9,543

S. D. P. 96,918  
S. L. P. 33,450

### N. W. YORK CITY TICKET.

FOR MAYOR—  
**BENJAMIN HANFORD.**  
FOR CONTROLLER—  
**MO RIS BROWN.**  
PRESIDENT BOARD OF ALDERMEN  
**HENRY STAH.**



THIS PARTY'S EMBLEM.

Party members in New York City are  
requested to read the article, "The  
Work of the Campaign," printed in this  
issue of The Worker. Read it and then  
follow out its suggestions.

By an oversight we failed to credit to  
the "Connecticut Craftsman" the article  
entitled "The Lesson of the Steel  
Strike," published in our last issue. We  
are not pleased when other papers  
plunder from The Worker without credit  
and we greatly regret having fallen  
into the error, for which we hereby  
apologize to our Connecticut contem-  
porary.

### PREPARE FOR ANOTHER FIGHT.

The ending of the great steel strike  
by a compromise which, while its  
terms are not yet made public, is cer-  
tainly far from satisfactory to the men,  
paves the way for the steel workers  
and others to begin to think very seri-  
ously about Socialism.

The steel workers have already recog-  
nized that such a strike as theirs was  
a genuine class battle. They were  
fighting the organized capitalist class  
of the country. The press and other or-  
gans of "public opinion" were against  
them. The power of government was  
ready at the disposal of the masters,  
and the workers had found that, armed  
only with the weapons of trade union-  
ism, they were no match for the cap-  
italist class. It is now time for them  
to ask whether there are not better  
weapons with which they may be sure  
to win their freedom.

Suppose the mayors and councilmen  
and sheriffs and judges in all the local-  
ities affected by the strike had been  
men actually chosen by the workers  
from the ranks of their own class, nom-  
inated and elected upon a platform  
which pledged them solely and simply  
to the service of the working class as  
against the capitalist class. Can there  
be any doubt of the enormous advan-  
tage that would have been given the  
steel workers in their strike?

Suppose the city authorities had been  
ready to use the police authority to  
keep the streets clear of the strike  
men. Suppose the city councils  
had been ready to appropriate money  
raised by taxation on the Trust's prop-  
erty, to help the strikers in holding out  
against want; or to inaugurate public  
works for the purpose of giving recon-  
structive employment to the men thrown  
out by the conflict. Suppose the judges  
had been ready to issue injunctions

against Mr. Morgan and his crowd, in-  
stead of being ready to issue them at  
Mr. Morgan's bidding. Would not the  
Steel Trust have hastened to make an  
amicable settlement at the very begin-  
ning?

These are the very least of the ad-  
vantages that the workers would have  
gained if they had solely voted the So-  
cialist ticket at the last election—FOR  
THE SOCIALIST PARTY ALONE.  
TAKES THE POSITION HERE OUT-  
LINED.

But the steel workers and those who  
sympathized with them in their strike  
—which is to say, practically the whole  
working class—were able, had they  
voted together, to take possession, not  
of local governments only, but of the  
whole machinery of the states of Penn-  
sylvania and Ohio. A Socialist state  
administration would have given the  
Steel Trust the option: Either settle  
your troubles promptly or turn over  
your mills to be run by the public for  
the public benefit. Would it not have  
been wise for the workers to vote such  
an administration into power?

All this is not Socialism. It is only  
the beginning of the social revolution.  
It is only a suggestion of the advan-  
tages that the working class would  
gain AT ONCE, without waiting for  
complete victory, once they united in  
the Socialist Party to use their politi-  
cal power in their own defense.

This is what the steel workers lost by  
not voting right last time. But they  
have another chance. THERE IS AN  
ELECTION IN NOVEMBER. THERE  
WILL BE MORE STRIKES AFTER  
THIS ONE. The fight is not settled.  
Let the workers remember on Novem-  
ber 5 to prepare themselves for the day  
of battle by taking possession of the  
political power.

One of the pleasing features of the  
steel strike is that a large part of the  
men imported to take the strikers'  
places refused to go to work as soon  
as they understood the situation.  
Still more encouraging is it that this  
has been found true of negroes as well  
as white men. In spite of the incite-  
ments of subsidized misleaders of their  
race, the colored workmen are com-  
ing to recognize their identity of inter-  
est with white workers; and in spite of  
old prejudices, the white workmen  
are learning to recognize the universal  
brotherhood of labor, regardless of race  
or color.

IS PROSPERITY SECURE?  
From an editorial of the New York  
"Journal" of September 16, headed  
"Prosperity Secure," we take the fol-  
lowing remarks:

"The return of peace in the steel in-  
dustry is an event that must CAUSE  
A GLOW OF PLEASURE even at  
such a time as this. It means the  
removal of the only really serious men-  
ace to American prosperity. It means  
that the country can go forward un-  
checked IN ITS SPLENDID CAREER  
OF INDUSTRIAL CONQUEST."

"The settlement of the steel strike  
OUGHT TO REASSURE THOSE  
TIMID INVESTORS who have feared  
that business would go to smash as the  
result of the terrible event for which  
the nation is mourning. The murder  
of President McKinley was shocking,  
horrible; but it was but a small sub-  
stantial cause for a business panic than  
the anthracite strike, the failure of the  
earn crop, or any one of half a dozen  
unavoidable influences which a nation  
of prosperity has triumphantly sur-  
mounted. As a factor in the market  
the settlement of the steel strike should  
far more than counterbalance it. . . .

"Of course if the death of the late  
President meant a departure into un-  
known territory, the timidity of capital  
might be expected to manifest itself in  
a shrinkage of speculative invest-  
ments. But President Roosevelt has  
promptly announced his intention to  
follow the lines laid down by his prede-  
cessor. The cabinet will remain in of-  
fice. McKinley is dead, but in all essen-  
tials respects the McKinley administra-  
tion still lives."

All the splendid foundations of  
American prosperity remain IN UN-  
DISTURBED SOLIDITY. Eighty  
million of the most enterprising, in-  
dustrious and resourceful people on earth  
are continuing THE CREATION OF  
WEALTH ON A SCALE UNPRECE-  
DENTED IN HISTORY."

undoubtedly "creating wealth on a  
scale unprecedented in history." BUT  
ARE THEY ENJOYING COMFORT,  
LEISURE, HEALTH, AND FREE-  
DOM UNPRECEDED IN HIS-  
TORY? They are not. They are over-  
worked, underpaid, and tyrannized  
over by their bosses. The "Journal" is  
pleased with the condition. Are you,  
workmen? If not, vote AGAINST  
the Republican party which maintains  
this condition; vote AGAINST the  
Democratic party which approves this  
condition; vote FOR the Socialist  
Party, which demands PROSPERITY  
FOR ALL—a system in which all shall  
work and that all shall enjoy the fruit  
of their labor.

The useless set who flock to Newport  
gave a surprise party to one of their  
number last week. Before long the So-  
cialists will give a surprise party to  
this whole crowd.

Willy Wally Astor says he was driven  
out of America by the yellow press. A  
case of swine read swine. The capiti-  
alist sheets should have preserved him  
as a flower of the capitalism that pays  
their wages.

Police Commissioner Murphy says  
that the New York police department  
has not got the anarchists as well un-  
der surveillance as it has the "crooks."  
Perhaps this is because it can't black-  
mail the anarchists for protection  
money.

The perfect ladies of the four hun-  
dred in Newport recently gave a dog  
dinner. No, they didn't eat dog—they  
would like to force the workman to  
do that if they could. They simply  
gave an expensive banquet to their  
cauline companions. Why didn't they  
invite their husbands and make it a  
hog dinner? When the Socialists win  
they will all eat crow.

The Morgan syndicate has raised the  
price of coal twenty-five cents a ton.  
The only reason is that they need the  
money. So we can all delve down in  
our pockets and chip in a quarter to  
keep Morgan from starving. If you  
can't afford to buy any coal this win-  
ter, you can keep warm by working for  
the capitalist till you sweat. Or if you  
are out of a job, you'll keep warm  
huddling for one.

### HOW SOME WOMEN EARN A LIVELIHOOD.

If you were a young girl just turned  
18; if you had in your heart all the fair  
dreams of coming womanhood; if you  
looked forward to a sweetheart, to  
marriage, to little ones to nurse and  
rear, how would you like to be placed  
at a bustling wheel to earn your daily  
bread?

What is a bustling wheel?  
It is a circular piece of felt welded  
together to revolve on a shaft 3,500  
revolutions a minute.

This bustling wheel is for the purpose  
of polishing metal. The handle bars  
and nickel finishings of your bicycle  
have been held against this whirling  
felt.

The faucets and tubing of the bath,  
some bathroom of the modern flat are  
brought to that blivvy shine, no doubt,  
in the hands of some young girl in the  
dingy factory room.

Some of the bathroom furnishings  
will weigh twenty-five pounds, rather  
heavy for a girl. She works ten hours  
a day—a long time for slender arms to  
hold up such a load.

She holds the rod against the swiftly  
whirling disk with her hands clench-  
ed as you hold the reins over a runaway  
horse. Why? Because the wheel loos-  
es the contact for a few seconds and then  
catches it again with a zip that fairly  
tears the metal from the grasp.

If you lose hold of your work there  
is no escape in jumping. You are go-  
ing to get somewhere, most likely  
in the face, as the good workman bends  
over close to see results.

Women have lost teeth; some have  
had their entire lower jaw torn away.  
Not much chance for marriage after that.

But the worst of bustling business is  
not the danger of machinery; though  
that looks appalling enough. It is not  
the jar and tear to the nervous system  
which is the result of the effort to get  
the necessary friction for a high pol-  
ish.

The worst danger is in the face; im-  
perceptible dust from the brass and  
gray of acids used for the polish.  
The young women who work at this  
trade lie handkerchiefs over their face  
and about their throats. They some-  
times wrap their fingers in rags.

The eyes, nostrils, lips are unprotected.  
There have been devices invented  
for protection, such as a fine wire mask  
with cotton lining. But no one uses it.  
Men are reckless who are long in the  
trade. Women are good imitators.

However, the brass or copper dust  
makes a sore wherever it enters an  
abrasion of the skin. Girls in this trade  
do not last long.

## OUR CAUSE.

Its Economic Philosophy  
and Its Ethical In-  
spiration.

BY PETER E. BURROWS.

Our cause rests squarely upon; and  
is the direct expression of the one great  
master-fact of this human world. This  
master-fact may properly be regarded as  
the peculiar revelation of Socialism;  
and it is in this sense and in the light  
of it only, that we speak of our Social-  
ism as scientific.

We do not tell the world that man's  
salvation rests upon the benevolent ap-  
proaches of good men, or that its disaster  
has flowed from the malignant influ-  
ence of unfriendly spirits. We do not  
attribute the revolutions which have  
come upon nations to the crimes of the  
ambitious; but we declare these great  
events of history to be always and obvi-  
ously traceable to the master-fact—the  
system of economic production, the  
way the people were getting their liv-  
ing before the revolution was forced  
into history.

This economic conception of history's  
process which leads to Socialism is  
itself an outflow from the master-fact.  
As clear as the direction of the rivers,  
the mountain ranges is the master-fact  
in the direction of the rivers, so clear is it  
that the economic conditions, under  
which the race lives direct the course  
of politics and indicate the pathway of  
the ethical, poetical, and religious life  
coming after. It is not with love, nor  
fellowship, nor hope, nor resolution,  
nor anger, nor selfishness, nor despair  
(for these are all modified by the mas-  
ter-fact) that Socialism makes its ap-  
proach, but with the economic activity.

Is this activity in bondage, its very  
birth in peril of stripes, starvation and  
death at the caprice of a flesh owner?  
Then there is no love on earth. The  
prevailing virtues will then be two  
sorts of falsehoods: The appearance of  
contentment, good humor, or even hap-  
piness; and the appearance of much  
knowing consideration for the slaves  
and devotion to another law than his  
own will, on the part of the flesh-owner.

But the whole trend of progress will  
be mentally against this double team of  
lies and therefore the revolution com-  
ing next after that will not be an in-  
vasion into more content, good humor,  
and happiness; but a breaking up of  
the heeled hells in slave hearts, and an  
unrushing and unmaking to shameless  
depravity, a diabolic pessimism, and a  
scorn of all other than the law of his  
own imperial whim, by the flesh owner.  
In such a period there will be no love  
left with which to regenerate ad-  
versity, even if any amount of love could  
regenerate it. But the awful death of  
the heart will be apparent to the  
prophets and they will therefore be  
forth preaching the safe virtue of non-  
resistance.

Thus upon the dissolution of bread  
and wealth-making by slavery did the  
flesh-owner and the men he owned  
break loose in ancient Rome—the first  
becoming callous, cynical, cultivating,  
only courage in the face of death, be-  
cause it was the most useful virtue for  
a class outnumbered by their former  
victims; and the slaves cultivating the  
virtue of resignation, which ever, was  
and ever will be the virtue by which  
the life is secured to the unpropitiated  
masses.

Where is the man who has no care  
for the life of the world? There is the  
man who will be no prophet for the  
cause of Socialism. Where is the man  
who has a care for, and would cherish  
the life of the world? That man will  
find no word of hope outside of Social-  
ism.

The priest of the world was primarily  
a life-saver, though he has for-  
fully wandered from his mission and  
mistaken his ideals for their goal.  
Ideal of love, non-resistance, fellow-  
ship, fortitude, were given him only as  
expedients for the times, as instruments  
of life-saving, and they were all eco-  
nomically and lawfully begotten ideals  
for preservation. When the world of  
slaves was wholly defenseless in the  
unrelenting hands of the flesh-owner,  
the world prophet brought forth an-  
other gospel for the desperate victi-  
mism of this present world, which said  
in effect: "We cannot offer you any  
security of physical life under your  
present economic bonds, but we can  
give you the hope of a personal life  
hereafter much more splendid even  
than that your masters enjoy to-day."

Thus this idealist, this teacher of life  
preservatives sent life out of the world  
lost his way utterly. After this  
disappearance of slavery, in order to  
have been true to his function as a  
life-saver, he should have taken back  
the kingdom of life from heaven and  
begun again to replant it in the place  
from whence in his hasty zealous dis-  
patch he had so unwisely plucked it.

It was as a response to this obviously  
necessary recall that so many prophets,  
from Jesus to Dante, did preach the  
kingdom of life on earth, and called it  
everlasting. And it was in the spirit of  
this response that the new church  
which began to be formed during the  
gradual dissolution of Roman slavery  
based itself partly upon a recognition  
of the master-fact of bread getting and  
was an anti-property religion.

Along, upon, and within the shifting  
rails of economic activity must move  
all our future-prophets and the recog-  
nition that the arterial life of heart,  
brains, and spirit is in the workshop,  
and there alone, will be the priest's  
message of future ages. The inspiration  
of the idealist will henceforth be the  
life-saver and how to free it, to  
beautify it, and to make it abound  
through the abolition of the fact of  
the eradication of all the remnants of  
economic inequality and dependency  
between one man and another.

The slave condition, with its flesh-  
owner and its flesh that was owned,  
called for disinclination. The slave  
sometimes grew sensible of his own  
disinclination, as did his master. A gen-  
eral unfath in one another would soon  
have rendered all the efforts of the  
life-saver vain and void if not fortified  
by something else.

The reality of contentment or life  
activity once doubted by the master,  
would make the appearance of content  
only the mask of a deeper and more  
slavish victim. So the reality of the  
master's professed concern for the

fare of the slave, and his professed de-  
ference to higher laws and purposes  
than the slave's will, would only make  
the slave despise this polished hy-  
po-crite all the more. What human ex-  
perience, human conditions, and human  
nature forbid the slaves and the  
masters any longer to believe possible  
concerning each other was then said to  
be made possible by the importing of  
an entirely new personality inside each  
one and coming into him from heaven.

Upon this assurance, and this alone,  
individualism in society in its suc-  
cessful phases has supported its prophe-  
cies. But the same necessity which in former  
times compelled them to transplant the  
life kingdom from this earth to another  
will soon compel them to transpose the  
sent of the new birth from the heart of  
the single individualist to the heart of  
society—that is, to its master-fact. And  
the prophets of Socialism are in the  
world to do this very thing, to regene-  
rate our plan of economic production  
from a private, competing, profit-grab-  
bing villainage for the common and most  
organization for the common and most  
abundant supply of all things neces-  
sary for a sweet and a righteous col-  
lective living in all the world.

The summary of all human interests  
is thus to be found in the message of  
social transformation from private profit  
production to equality production by  
organized society and for the whole  
life of the whole people.

The famine of the life lived alone,  
itself, without any external enthu-  
siasm for the life of the whole, has been  
the experience and the doom of wis-  
dom in all ages; and no power of faith  
exercised upon themselves by doctors  
of divinity and sages of philosophy has  
sufficed to stifle this world moan. Au-  
gustine, Francis, Theresa, all were  
mourners, all were among the self-un-  
satisfied; and in spite of their desper-  
ate faith in a new birth inside them-  
selves, they continued their moaning  
and their seeking against the rocks of  
time until the tide of life went out be-  
yond the bar and the breakers ceased  
their moaning.

It is only by that law of invasion  
which the seeker for truth so frequ-  
ently meets with, that the truth-seeker is  
at last himself found by his truth; and  
he discovers to his astonishment that  
the inside of life is always its outside;  
that it is in our environments and not  
in our hearts that we must first plant  
the seeds of regeneration. The agent  
in the message of Socialism to the soul  
of men: Sow your gospel seeds in the  
master-fact of economic production  
and that time will make every single  
life to bear the fruit of an eternal best.

To be sure, externalisms have been  
attempted. No truth has ever been  
wholly hidden from man, and false en-  
thusiasms for false externalization of  
one's interests have abounded in the  
world's history. The mental shame, the  
slavery and historic tragedies which  
have been brought about by this uni-  
versal cry for the thing external to my-  
self, can you recount? This universal  
cry is at last met to be satisfied, and  
not thus for the first time, by Social-  
ism. The happiness of that time whose  
feet shall be planted on a universal fact  
enthusiasm has always been foreseen  
by desire, and Socialism is the child of  
that prophesy and the answer to that  
doom.

In such a time, with such a message,  
how pitiable is the condition of the  
strong intellect and youthful ardor that  
has not found the redemption of Social-  
ism for its life enthusiasm to be spent  
upon. But how much more pitiable the  
condition of those who, understanding  
Socialism and believing in it, have yet  
no enthusiasm to bestow upon it. What  
hold can such men have upon any no-  
bility of purpose? How can they find  
any foothold in the world's poetry, its  
art, its science, its class, its drama,  
if this will not suffice to hold them?  
If this will not suffice to hold them, it  
will not suffice to hold them.

Having seen face to face the master-  
fact of the world, and learned that it is  
there, and in that alone the world's re-  
demption must be wrought out, its  
corollary of to-day is soon revealed in  
the class struggle, the struggle of and  
for the downmost economic man on be-  
half of the world.

Where in all the universe can there  
be a cause so worthy of good men and  
good women as the cause of the down-  
most economic man on behalf of the  
Socialism to-day? Upon it all facts  
of history converge; the light of evi-  
dence is centered upon and flows from  
it; so that the old story of those who  
burned up the enemy's fleet with sun-  
rays that were shot from polished  
spheres as if it were a pictorial  
fable prophesy of this class struggle  
and the victory will be won by the in-  
tellectual lustre and energy of the light  
from the world.

To maintain the dignity and enthu-  
siasm of life, where shall we turn if not  
to Socialism? That the rule of and  
rule for private property has come to  
the end of its dignity and brought all  
mankind with it who can deny? Nay,  
if we are to have dignity and honor and  
any beauty in our enthusiasm it is evi-  
dent that the mudpuddles of the profit-  
mongers can yield no more; and it is  
Socialism, the rule of the world, the  
social life alone can supply us with a  
true enthusiasm. The fight, the whole  
fight, and nothing but the fight, is there-  
fore the clarion note of our time. The  
fight for the emancipation of the pro-  
letariat, this is life; to turn back from  
this to compromise for any success  
short of this, is to make a compromise  
with death and a covenant with fur-  
ther slavery and shame. Are you ready  
to work for the cause? The fields are  
white as snow. We want men.

### ADmits PART OF THE TRUTH.

The Anarchist looks with pity and  
agitation upon Socialism and labor  
agitators. Naturally enough, for the  
aims of these are diametrically oppo-  
site to his own. The purpose of the  
labor organization, whether wisely pur-  
sued or not, is to better the condition  
of the workman by securing higher  
wages, shorter hours, and increased  
privileges. The Socialist dreams of a  
happier human society, to be created  
by the adoption of his nostrums. But  
both recognize the necessity of a gov-  
ernment, of laws, of legislation, of  
courts and juries. They would like to  
shape these organs of the civil system  
to their own liking, or to control them.  
The Anarchist would destroy them ut-  
terly. Socialism and organized labor  
do not breed Anarchists any more than  
thieves yield rats. The milkmen for-  
bids that any relation should subsist  
between them.

—The workers vote in haste and re-  
pent at leisure.

—The workers vote in haste and re-  
pent at leisure.

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## A SUPPRESSED COMMUNICATION.

Addressed by a Florida Socialist to a  
Local Paper and Found "Unavail-  
able" by the Photocasting Editor.

"Editor of the 'Sentinel-Reporter':  
I find the following in your issue of  
August 23:

"More than three hundred employees  
of the Striding Boiler Company of Bar-  
berton walked out of the shop at  
Akron, O., Wednesday. The company  
had hired one non-union boiler-maker,  
who was put to work last week and  
whose dismissal the men demanded  
Wednesday after his refusal to join the  
union. The company's officials refused  
to turn him out and the men did not re-  
turn to work that day after the noon  
hour. Nearly six hundred men are em-  
ployed at the works, but the strike has  
compelled the factory to close down.  
What just cause had these men to  
throw three hundred other men out of  
work, who felt they had no grievance  
for a strike?"

"I think these men had, the same  
'just cause' for their action: that their  
revolutionary forefathers had in throw-  
ing overboard the tea in Boston harbor.  
There was a great principle involved in  
the act of our forefathers—resistance  
to tyranny, no taxation without repre-  
sentation. There is also a great prin-  
ciple underlying the action of the strike  
men at Akron, O., and it is a prin-  
ciple of resistance to tyranny. Both the  
acts of our forefathers and the trade union  
men are childish and petty and wholly  
unwarranted to a superficial observer, but  
to one who understands the full mean-  
ing of them they are of the largest im-  
portance."

It is easy for any one who will open  
his eyes to what is going on in this  
country to see that capital and labor  
are now lining up for one of the most  
desperate struggles that the world has  
ever seen. On the side of capital there  
is a well defined and very transparent  
determination to crush out labor unions  
and reduce the laboring man to utter  
helplessness and still more degrading  
dependence and slavery than they are  
now subject to. The laboring men are  
sluggishly resisting this and fighting for  
self-preservation. The vast combina-  
tions of capital have naturally and in-  
evitably brought about the same com-  
bination among the laborers to resist further  
encroachments against their rights and  
liberties. Latterly they have become  
seriously alarmed and have been form-  
ing unions with a rapidly heretofore  
unknown. Having discovered the pur-  
poses of the great capitalists to crush  
their unions they naturally have be-  
come sensitive to every move made by  
their employers, and are quick to take  
action whenever they think their rights  
are being invaded.

There is a general principle that  
wages are fixed by the price that is  
made by the lowest bidder. Machinery  
having vastly increased the powers of  
production has had the effect of throw-  
ing a large number of laborers out of  
employment in all branches of produc-  
tion. A laborer out of work will natu-  
rally bid for a job at almost any pay he  
can get. This has the effect of con-  
stantly reducing wages below the point  
of a decent subsistence. This makes  
it absolutely necessary for workingmen  
to combine to resist this tendency, and  
this is the main purpose of labor unions.  
They are not fighting for extortionate  
wages, but fighting for a living wage  
and against further reductions.

This is a crude, costly and clumsy  
method no doubt, but it is the only way  
the laborer sees at present of maintain-  
ing himself. It is teaching him the les-  
son of mutual dependence and solidar-  
ity which he must learn if he is ever to  
get out of his present helplessness. It  
teaches him to stand by his fellow-lab-  
orers. There is no one else to rely upon  
against it, for he must and will use it.

Some what may, still he sees the way  
out. It is costly, and does irrepar-  
able damage not only to the laboring  
man himself and to his employer,  
but to the entire community; but he is  
not the party most to blame for these  
disastrous struggles that have even  
now become a veritable civil war. Be-  
cause he is to blame for the workingman  
it might be well to take notice of  
what his enemy, the capitalist, is do-  
ing.

Everyone is now beginning to feel the  
effects of the great combinations of  
capital called the trusts. They have al-  
ready assumed control of our govern-  
ment, our bread and butter, and our  
liberties, so far as they have gone in  
the latter matter. No highwayman, or  
combination of highwaymen, ever had  
and a millionth part of the power to in-  
jure and rob others, or did one mil-  
lionth part of the injury and robbery  
that these vast combinations of capital  
have and are now doing. They are  
stealing through the land holding up  
and taking the property of thousands  
and bringing ruin and poverty upon  
them. The robber barons of old were  
not a pinch of snuff compared to their  
operations. If you want to read the  
most appalling history of crime and  
robbery that has ever been written, get  
H. D. Lynde's "Wealth Against Com-  
monwealth" and read the history of  
the Standard Oil Company. This is  
only one of the great combinations, and  
you will find the story of the others  
quite as bad.

"The real fact is that the work-  
ingmen are now fighting the battles of  
everyone of us as well as their own,  
fully as much as Washington and other  
revolutionary heroes did, and instead  
of being denounced should have the  
sympathy and support of every man  
who values his own liberty and the  
future welfare of coming generations.  
Many do not realize this fact, but it  
will be well for them to wake up to the  
true situation of our affairs before it is  
overwhelmingly too late. People value  
their liberties and are too indolent  
to study the causes of the present  
situation and the way out of our dif-  
ficulties. With which they are examined  
into these matters, and learned the  
rights of them before long."

W. C. GREEN.  
Orlando, Fla., August 28.

The people of Mississippi have  
just refused to send an ex-convict to  
the legislature. Perhaps they want to  
give him a chance to reform.—Atlanta  
Journal.

Through trade unionism we can  
increase wages and reduce the daily  
hours of toil, but we cannot dictate to  
the capitalist class how many days in  
the year they must employ us.—Appeal  
to Reason.

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## TWO SIGNIFICANT VOTES IN CENTRAL LABOR BODIES.

New York C. F. U. Calls on Workingmen to Leave Old Parties  
—St. Louis C. T. & L. U. Turns Down President for Mixing in Capitalist Politics.

Upon motion of Comrade Morris Brown delegate of Cigar Makers' Union No. 144, the New York Central Federation last Sunday instructed its delegate to the State Federation of Workingmen to introduce a resolution calling upon both organized and unorganized workingmen throughout the state to sever their connections with the old political parties and stand free to support candidates nominated directly by and from the ranks of the working class.

The Socialists in the C. F. U. did not ask an endorsement of the S. D. P. They depend on the unmistakable attitude of the S. D. P. as a labor party to command the respect of all workingmen who break away from old party traditions.

The C. F. U. also voted to exclude the reporter of the "Sun," on account of the slanderous declaration of that sheet, that many of the delegates were Anarchists. It was shown in the debate, and generally admitted, that the Socialist press alone has proven itself truly devoted to the interest of the labor movement.

By a vote of 43 to 23 the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis last week demanded the resignation of its president, George Meins.

Meins' offense was that, without authority from the C. T. & L. U. and against its well-known desire, he invited a capitalist politician, Democratic Governor Dockery, to speak at the Labor Day picnic.

It was Delegate Hecht, Socialist, who raised the protest and Meins replied with a bitter and vulgar tirade against Socialism. Not only the avowed Socialists, however, but a large majority of the delegates supported the Socialist position that labor organizations should give no countenance to Republican and Democratic politicians.

The affair is not finished, as Meins will make a fight for his office in later meetings, and interesting discussions are expected.

The St. Louis C. T. & L. U. is making an admirable record for itself. Last spring it unseated its then president for accepting a capitalist nomination. Socialists led the fight and they were sustained.

## RENT-ROLLS OR HUMAN LIFE, WHICH IS MORE SACRED?

The tenement-house owners of this city held a general mass meeting last week. The large assembly room of the New York Turn Hall in Ely, Fifth street was packed to overflowing with big and little landlords, all ready to foam at the mouth with rage. The meeting was the first of a series to protest against the new Tenement House Law, and to devise plans for nullifying its provisions. Speeches were made denouncing the law, demanding organized resistance to it, and denouncing the governor who appointed the Tenement House Commission (the present President of the United States) so speechless so violent in their character, so full of the spirit of lawlessness and incendiarism that, if the speaker had been workingmen instead of capitalists, the police would have hustled them to jail on a charge of inciting riot and assassination.

—What is the matter with these eminent citizens, these ordinarily so decent and respectable lovers of law and order?

THE MATTER IS THAT THEIR MOST SACRED FEELINGS HAVE BEEN OUTRAGED. THEIR MOST SACRED FEELINGS, ONE MUST REMEMBER, RESIDE IN THEIR FAT POCKETBOOKS.

The matter is that the Republican politicians at Albany, knowing the horrible conditions in the tenement districts—conditions which have grown worse and worse by their silent consent from year to year, and by which these landlords profit—and fearing that, if they did not do something to alleviate these conditions, the workingmen would stir themselves to really independent political action, did at last enter into law a miserable little quibbling and compromising measure of half-way reform.

THIS LAW IS AS A DROP IN THE OCEAN TO THE MEASURES THAT OUGHT TO BE TAKEN TO ABOLISH THE TENEMENT-HOUSE EVILS. But it does do something, however little, for the tenement class; and it does impose some expense, however small compared to their income, upon the landlords. Hence the wrath of the landlords and their determination that the law must be resisted and overturned.

These landlords are going to petition the next legislature to amend the law in such a way as to destroy whatever little usefulness it has. YOU MAY BE SURE WORKINGMEN, THAT IF YOU DO NOT SEND YOUR OWN MEN TO THE LEGISLATURE, THE PETITIONS OF THE LANDLORDS WILL BE LISTENED TO FAR MORE RESPECTFULLY THAN ANY YOU MAY MAKE. Why? First, because the landlords have wealth and influence because they contribute to the Republican and Democratic campaign funds and have favors to give to obsequious politicians. Second, because these politicians think that they have your votes in their vest pockets, anyhow, and can afford to disregard your wishes—and you have given them reason to think so by voting for their parties in spite of repeated injury and insult.

Only last year you wanted an Employers' Liability Law, to protect you from your employers' cruel and reckless greed. Your employers opposed it and the Republican and Democratic legislators killed the bill.

Not long ago you got a Prevailing Rate of Wages Law. You thought it a great victory. It was on the face of it—considering that you did not vote for it, but only asked your masters' representatives to vote for it. But—there was a great big "but," as you discovered. Your employers carried that law to the Court of Appeals, and the court, composed of Republican and Democratic lawyer-politicians, decided that the law was unconstitutional and void.

In the light of such experience as that, you may expect that, unless you promptly take action in your own defense, the legislature and the courts will listen to the demands of the landlords and undo whatever good the law has done.

lords and undo whatever good the Tenement House Commission has accomplished.

It is necessary that you inspire the capitalists and their servants, the politicians, with FEAR OF YOUR OWN RESPECT FOR YOUR DETERMINATION. You cannot do this by protesting and begging. You can do it in another way.

You can do it by VOTING FOR ALL that you want, instead of ASKING ONLY A PART. That is the only way you can do it.

The capitalists pretend to hold law and order sacred; but, in reality, they hold nothing sacred except rent, profit, and interest. The Republican and Democratic parties exist to guard that holy trinity.

The Social Democratic Party, as a party of the working class, has different ideas. It holds the needs of childhood more sacred than the profits of employers. It holds the happiness of workingmen's families more sacred than the coupons of bondholders. IT HOLDS HUMAN LIFE, HEALTH, AND COMFORT, MORE SACRED THAN THE RENT-ROLLS OF TENEMENT-HOUSE OWNERS.

The Social Democratic Party alone has offered a real solution of the tenement-house question. Here it is, as stated in the Municipal Platform:

"The city government to use all the powers conferred upon it by law to prevent the erection of unsanitary or unsafe tenement houses and to compel the destruction of such as exist in violation of law."

"The city government, further, to begin at once the erection of modern FIRE-PROOF tenement houses, WITH AMPLE PROVISION FOR LIGHT AND AIR, FOR PROPER SANITATION, AND FOR PRIVACY; such tenements to be let AT RATES SUFFICIENT TO COVER THE COST OF CARE AND MAINTENANCE; the work to be begun in the poorest quarters of the city, and to be extended as rapidly as possible with the ultimate object of providing adequate dwellings at cost to the whole population."

That is the only way to put an end to the present system of housing, which destroys comfort, makes decent living almost impossible, fosters deadly diseases, and murders thousands of workingmen's babies year by year. That is the only way of securing proper housing for the toiling population of a great city and relieving them from the frightful burden of rents under which they now suffer.

That is a part of the program of the Social Democratic Party. If you want it, vote for it, all together. You will get it in no other way.

And if you want even moderate reform, you will get it only by casting so large a vote for this thorough-going proposition as to SCARE the capitalists and politicians into decency.

Rent-rolls or human life, which do you hold more sacred? That is the question. Answer with your votes.

WEST SIDE.

All comrades of the West Side Assembly Districts are invited to attend a meeting to be held Monday, Sept. 23, at 8 p. m., at 342 W. Forty-second street. Important business will be transacted.

HUGO PICK, Secretary.

LECTURES IN EAST NEW YORK.

The comrades of East New York have arranged the following series of Sunday evening lectures, to be held in Penn-Fulton Hall, corner of Pennsylvania avenue and Fulton street.

Sept. 22—John Spargo, "Our Political, Economic, Ethical, and Political."

Sept. 29—Peter E. Burrows, "The Irrepressible Conflict."

Oct. 6—H. Gaylord Wilshire, "The Trust Problem."

Oct. 13—Morris Hillquit, "Socialism as a Science."

Oct. 20—Leonard D. Abbott, "The Issues of the Campaign."

Oct. 26—Dr. C. L. Furman, "The Workingman, His Boss, and Politics." All workingmen and others interested in political and economic questions are invited to come and hear the views of Socialist speakers, to ask questions and participate in general discussion. Admission is free.

BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

## DIRTY DOLLARS.

\$\$\$ Gross earnings of the Third Avenue Railroad for the last fiscal year were \$2,242,635, and the operating expenses were for the same period \$1,065,500, leaving net earnings of \$1,177,135.

\$\$\$ The operating expenses were last year \$219,884 less than the year before, and the gross earnings were \$118,801 more than for the preceding year.

\$\$\$ A decrease in the operating expenses of a railway is almost invariably a decrease in the number of employees and the amount paid them. In the case of the Third Avenue the decrease is principally brought about through the absorption of this road by the same financial interests that control the Metropolitan Traction, and the decrease of \$219,884 is principally effected through the "saving" of the wages of employees eliminated by the change from competition to consolidation.

\$\$\$ In addition to its gross receipts of \$2,242,635 in its capacity as a street railway, the Third Avenue had "other income" of \$413,000. "Other income" in a railway report means simply additional "graft." In this case it probably includes payments for street car advertising, etc., or it may be that the Third Avenue Company is the owner of the bonds of some minor street railways operated in connection with or by it.

\$\$\$ In looking up railway reports, one must not be surprised or disappointed because such items as "other income" appear from time to time, leaving one entirely in the dark as to the real source of the money entered thereunder. You have only to recollect that these reports are made only nominally to comply with the law, and their real purpose is usually to affect the market, a good report sending the stock up a few points and an adverse report sending it down. Aside from this feature, the very purpose of the published report of the finances of a corporation is not to inform people regarding its affairs, but to deceive them.

\$\$\$ Notwithstanding the fact that the Third Avenue last year, had net earnings of \$1,177,135, and "other income" of \$413,000, making a total net of \$1,590,135, the annual statement of the road shows a "deficit" of \$203,129. This does not mean that the road was operated at a loss, or that some good capitalist went down in his sock and dug up \$203,129. Nothing of the sort. If it had depended upon some capitalist or capitalist giving up their good money, not a wheel would have been turned on the Third Avenue. It simply means that the Third Avenue has so many bonds outstanding that it cannot pay the interest on them, and so the stockholders get nothing—except where the stockholder is also a bondholder, which is often the case. But as shown last week both are "grifters," get profits, something for nothing, and only differ from common pickpockets in that they do their "work" legally.

\$\$\$ The daily papers report that Colonel Asa's auto struck a boy, knocking him down and injuring him severely. The colonel is a liberal man, however, and out of his millions gave the boy \$15.

\$\$\$ The "business men" in Wall Street needed money. So Secretary of the United States Treasury Gage bought \$20,000,000 of government bonds of them before they were due in order to keep the business interests prosperous. But if a workman on a million workmen were starving for want of work the government could not employ one of them. Can you see any difference? Do you think the government is run in the interest of workingmen or in the interest of capitalists?

\$\$\$ Banker Jefferson Seligman last week had the teeth of his sorrel mare Anna filled with gold. Why should any reasoning man be surprised if some day his teeth should be filled with grass?

\$\$\$ If you want to understand just how much patriotism some people have just watch the bills presented by the late President's physicians and all the others connected with his illness in any way.

\$\$\$ "Working for my own pocket all of the time" is back in town. If you've got a dollar, look out for it.

\$\$\$ At a cost of \$6,500, Frank J. Gould has recently imported from England a St. Bernard dog named Baron Sundridge. It would seem from this that English barons were cheaper than French counts. And it is two to one that the baron's pedigree is nobler than the count's.

\$\$\$ Next in importance to the circulation of Socialist literature is the holding of effective public meetings, both indoors and on the street.

Hall meetings are always valuable if they are properly managed. Only too often, however, they are so conducted that they do little or no good, while they involve considerable expense.

There is not one of the thirty-eight subdivisions of Local New York which could not hold successful weekly hall meetings if they went about it in the right way. And the experience in the few districts where it has been rightly done shows how much good it would do.

In the first place, A GOOD HALL should be secured, not the back room of a saloon or a shabby place with the entrance carefully concealed in a dark side street. A sign or transparency, showing the party name and the time of meetings—also, in campaign time, the ticket and emblem—should be conspicuously placed beside or over the entrance.

Next, the meetings should be HELD REGULARLY, either on Sunday afternoons or on such evenings of the week as is most convenient for most of the people in the district. At every meeting the chairman should announce the lecturer for the next week and the subject he is to take up and invite all

those present to come and bring their friends.

The meetings should be arranged in advance in series of two or three months, and cards printed bearing the whole list of speakers and subjects with the name of The Worker and "Viewpoints" and a few of our best pamphlets. These should be put into every house in the district, just before the opening of the series. Then for each subsequent meeting a small list of speakers will be printed and similarly distributed. THE WIDEST PUBLICITY MUST BE GIVEN THROUGH MEETINGS, IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE BEST RESULTS.

All this costs money, of course—and work, too. But it is worth the expense. It may cost \$2 a week to hold meetings attended only by a handful of party members who do not need to have Socialist explained to them. It may cost \$10 a week to hire a good hall and advertise it properly. But if five hundred or even one hundred or more are brought before our speakers each week, the extra expense will be well repaid, for some will join the party, more will subscribe to our papers or buy our literature, and still a larger number will be induced to vote our ticket. Moreover, a collection may be taken at such meetings, and experience shows that if the comrades conduct things wisely the collection will be nearly, if not quite, pay the expenses.

THE WORK OF THE LITERATURE AGENT.

At every hall meeting the Literature Agent should be in attendance at a table near the door, prepared to sell books and pamphlets, take subscriptions for party papers, and the chairman should invite the people to buy and read our literature. Inasmuch as all our literature is supplied to organizations at a large discount and as a commission is allowed on all subscriptions for our papers, there should be a considerable profit from the Literature Agent's work to provide for his expansion or to be applied to other forms of agitation.

At every open-air meeting in campaign time it is absolutely necessary that a banner showing the ticket and emblem should be displayed and that the chairman in introducing each speaker should mention the name of the party, its candidates, and the emblem under which their names will appear on the ballot. In such a way that one in this audience can fail to understand.

FOR OPEN-AIR SPEAKERS.

Some of our open-air speakers seem to forget that a campaign is on. Some give scientific lectures, on phases of the question but very distantly related to the immediate political purpose of the meeting; others denounce the capitalist system and the old parties, without even suggesting that we have anything to offer in their place. This should not be allowed. EVERY SPEECH SHOULD BE AN APPEAL TO THE WORKINGMEN TO VOTE THE TICKET OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO VOTE FOR BEN HANFORD, AND MORRIS BROWN, AND HENRY STAHL, AND THE LOCAL CANDIDATES, WHOEVER THEY MAY BE.

UNDER THE EMBLEM OF THE ARM AND TORCH, THE EMBLEM OF THE PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS, THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Don't be afraid of repetition. Every successful speaker has learned to repeat and repeat and repeat, varying the treatment of the subject and the wording of his thought, but coming back again and again to the leading point he desires to make, so that the duller hearer cannot fail to grasp it.

DON'T ABUSE OR EXAGGERATE.

Again, the speaker should be careful not to exaggerate, not to use needlessly violent language, and not to wander from the subject.

Don't say that each type-setting machine throws twenty men out of employment; some printer may be in the crowd and he will know that it is untrue, only three or four men out; he will set you and the whole party down as liars or ignoramus. BE SURE OF YOUR FACTS, AND STICK TO THEM; THE TRUTH IS SUFFICIENT FOR OUR PURPOSES. DON'T USE ABUSIVE EPITHETS; IT IS BETTER TO PROVE THAT BROKER AND PLAIT ARE RASCALS THAN TO CALL THEM RASCALS WITHOUT PROVING IT. If you say the capitalists are robbers and murderers, you will only alienate the sympathy of most of your hearers; but if, in plain language, you explain the workings of the capitalist system, your hearers will know what to think of the capitalist class and how to express their judgment.

STICK TO THE SUBJECT.

Finally, don't wonder from the subject. You may believe that atheism is a great sin, or you may think that the church is an enemy of human progress; you may believe that divorce should be forbidden, or you may be in favor of free-love; you may hold very decided opinions on a variety of religious or social questions, which you think it your duty to propagate. But you have no right to inject these opinions into your speech at a party meeting. THEY ARE YOUR OPINIONS; NOT THE PARTY'S, AND YOU HAVE NO RIGHT TO FORCE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEM UPON THE PARTY. Stick to your subject; show the workings and the effects of capitalism, the sufferings of the laboring class, the tyranny of the capitalist class, the way in which the old parties serve capitalist interests, and the position of the S. D. P. as representing the workers. Make this clear—and don't forget the ticket and the emblem.

We have spoke at length on this subject of the mistakes of speakers, not because many of them fall into such errors, but because ONE WHO MAKES MISTAKES MAY UNDO THE WORK OF MANY WHO HAVE DONE THEIR DUTY.

We have the forces in this city to make a good campaign this fall and a permanently powerful movement. We

## THE WORK OF THE CAMPAIGN.

Some Suggestions on What the Comrades Must Do in Order to Make Our Movement Successful.

Comrades must remember that the work of the writers and speakers is, or should be, only a small part of the activity of such a party as ours. The work of the editors will not do much good if the comrades who count themselves as the "rank and file" do not get subscribers for the party press. The work of the writers will be thrown away if their books and pamphlets and leaflets are not brought to the attention of the public. The work of the speakers will be of no use if the comrades do not see to it that strangers attend our meetings.

It is the hard, quiet, unremitting work of the whole body of party members that counts. Unfortunately, this most useful work is generally unthought of and unrewarded. But fortunately, on the other hand, the Socialists are inspired with such a love for the cause that they are willing to work for it without honor or reward, when they see that their services are needed.

The petty troubles of the past two or three years, how so happily settled, have interrupted the general activity that so distinguished the comrades of Greater New York before that. Many of our old workers have not yet fallen back into the good old habits, while many of the new recruits have not yet learned them. It is important, if we are to make a creditable showing this year, that all should begin to "hustle" right now, and keep it up till the end; and we take this occasion, to make some practical suggestions on the matter.

HOUSE-TO-HOUSE WORK.

First, as to house-to-house propaganda. This is unquestionably one of the hardest and most unpleasant forms of work; But it is also one of the most effective.

Every strong assembly district organization ought to undertake this work systematically and do it thoroughly. Assign each comrade a certain block to cover. When he has finished that block, let him take another. Let him leave leaflets and party papers at each house on his first trip. Then let him call in the evenings, inviting the people of the house to the meetings held by the party, informing them about our methods and purposes and, if possible, securing his subscription to a party paper.

Where the organization is weak in numbers, to attempt to cover the whole district in this manner, IT SHOULD, AT LEAST SEE THAT ALL REGISTERED SOCIALIST VOTERS ARE PERSONALLY VISITED. Three-fourths of our voters know little or nothing of our organization and have never seen our party papers. But nine out of ten would, if personally solicited, show their interest in the movement by taking literature to distribute among their neighbors and friends; and the majority would enroll themselves in our organization and subscribe for our papers.

In some places the comrades who do this work will have a cold reception—or an unpleasantly hot one. But in most cases, if they use proper tact, they will be courteously received and will be able to accomplish much good.

DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE.

As to party literature, it should be understood that PAPERS AND LEAFLETS DO NOT CIRCULATE THEMSELVES. It is hardly worth while to publish a paper for the use of convinced Socialists only. But each reader, if he will, get new readers for the paper; and when these become convinced of the rightness of our principles they will bring yet others under the influence of our paper.

EVERY PARTY MEMBER IN NEW YORK CITY WOULD GET ONE NEW SUBSCRIBER FOR THE WORKER EACH MONTH, IT WOULD NOT TAKE US VERY LONG TO REACH THE WHOLE LABORING POPULATION OF THE CITY. Some are already doing much more than this, while many are doing absolutely nothing.

To print a hundred thousand leaflets and have them in the Organizers' hands is to throw away a lot of money. But if these leaflets are properly circulated they will bring us votes—maybe a thousand, maybe ten thousand—where we would not otherwise have had. Leaflets should be handed out at meetings, of course, and comrades should supply them to their fellow-workers in shop or factory. But we can reach only a small part of the people in this way; and, moreover, many of the leaflets distributed at meetings will be thrown away without readings.

It is necessary to do more than this. LEAFLETS SHOULD BE PUT INTO EVERY HOUSE IN THE CITY. Even where it is not practicable to make a personal visit to every voter, it is possible to put some of our literature into his mail-box or hand it to his wife with the request that she show it to him. And in most cases it will be read.

REGULAR HALL MEETINGS.

Next in importance to the circulation of Socialist literature is the holding of effective public meetings, both indoors and on the street.

Hall meetings are always valuable if they are properly managed. Only too often, however, they are so conducted that they do little or no good, while they involve considerable expense.

There is not one of the thirty-eight subdivisions of Local New York which could not hold successful weekly hall meetings if they went about it in the right way. And the experience in the few districts where it has been rightly done shows how much good it would do.

In the first place, A GOOD HALL should be secured, not the back room of a saloon or a shabby place with the entrance carefully concealed in a dark side street. A sign or transparency, showing the party name and the time of meetings—also, in campaign time, the ticket and emblem—should be conspicuously placed beside or over the entrance.

Next, the meetings should be HELD REGULARLY, either on Sunday afternoons or on such evenings of the week as is most convenient for most of the people in the district. At every meeting the chairman should announce the lecturer for the next week and the subject he is to take up and invite all

those present to come and bring their friends.

The meetings should be arranged in advance in series of two or three months, and cards printed bearing the whole list of speakers and subjects with the name of The Worker and "Viewpoints" and a few of our best pamphlets. These should be put into every house in the district, just before the opening of the series. Then for each subsequent meeting a small list of speakers will be printed and similarly distributed. THE WIDEST PUBLICITY MUST BE GIVEN THROUGH MEETINGS, IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE BEST RESULTS.

All this costs money, of course—and work, too. But it is worth the expense. It may cost \$2 a week to hold meetings attended only by a handful of party members who do not need to have Socialist explained to them. It may cost \$10 a week to hire a good hall and advertise it properly. But if five hundred or even one hundred or more are brought before our speakers each week, the extra expense will be well repaid, for some will join the party, more will subscribe to our papers or buy our literature, and still a larger number will be induced to vote our ticket. Moreover, a collection may be taken at such meetings, and experience shows that if the comrades conduct things wisely the collection will be nearly, if not quite, pay the expenses.

THE WORK OF THE LITERATURE AGENT.

At every hall meeting the Literature Agent should be in attendance at a table near the door, prepared to sell books and pamphlets, take subscriptions for party papers, and the chairman should invite the people to buy and read our literature. Inasmuch as all our literature is supplied to organizations at a large discount and as a commission is allowed on all subscriptions for our papers, there should be a considerable profit from the Literature Agent's work to provide for his expansion or to be applied to other forms of agitation.

At every open-air meeting in campaign time it is absolutely necessary that a banner showing the ticket and emblem should be displayed and that the chairman in introducing each speaker should mention the name of the party, its candidates, and the emblem under which their names will appear on the ballot. In such a way that one in this audience can fail to understand.

FOR OPEN-AIR SPEAKERS.

Some of our open-air speakers seem to forget that a campaign is on. Some give scientific lectures, on phases of the question but very distantly related to the immediate political purpose of the meeting; others denounce the capitalist system and the old parties, without even suggesting that we have anything to offer in their place. This should not be allowed. EVERY SPEECH SHOULD BE AN APPEAL TO THE WORKINGMEN TO VOTE THE TICKET OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO VOTE FOR BEN HANFORD, AND MORRIS BROWN, AND HENRY STAHL, AND THE LOCAL CANDIDATES, WHOEVER THEY MAY BE.

UNDER THE EMBLEM OF THE ARM AND TORCH, THE EMBLEM OF THE PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS, THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Don't be afraid of repetition. Every successful speaker has learned to repeat and repeat and repeat, varying the treatment of the subject and the wording of his thought, but coming back again and again to the leading point he desires to make, so that the duller hearer cannot fail to grasp it.

DON'T ABUSE OR EXAGGERATE.

Again, the speaker should be careful not to exaggerate, not to use needlessly violent language, and not to wander from the subject.

Don't say that each type-setting machine throws twenty men out of employment; some printer may be in the crowd and he will know that it is untrue, only three or four men out; he will set you and the whole party down as liars or ignoramus. BE SURE OF YOUR FACTS, AND STICK TO THEM; THE TRUTH IS SUFFICIENT FOR OUR PURPOSES. DON'T USE ABUSIVE EPITHETS; IT IS BETTER TO PROVE THAT BROKER AND PLAIT ARE RASCALS THAN TO CALL THEM RASCALS WITHOUT PROVING IT. If you say the capitalists are robbers and murderers, you will only alienate the sympathy of most of your hearers; but if, in plain language, you explain the workings of the capitalist system, your hearers will know what to think of the capitalist class and how to express their judgment.

STICK TO THE SUBJECT.

Finally, don't wonder from the subject. You may believe that atheism is a great sin, or you may think that the church is an enemy of human progress; you may believe that divorce should be forbidden, or you may be in favor of free-love; you may hold very decided opinions on a variety of religious or social questions, which you think it your duty to propagate. But you have no right to inject these opinions into your speech at a party meeting. THEY ARE YOUR OPINIONS; NOT THE PARTY'S, AND YOU HAVE NO RIGHT TO FORCE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEM UPON THE PARTY. Stick to your subject; show the workings and the effects of capitalism, the sufferings of the laboring class, the tyranny of the capitalist class, the way in which the old parties serve capitalist interests, and the position of the S. D. P. as representing the workers. Make this clear—and don't forget the ticket and the emblem.

We have spoke at length on this subject of the mistakes of speakers, not because many of them fall into such errors, but because ONE WHO MAKES MISTAKES MAY UNDO THE WORK OF MANY WHO HAVE DONE THEIR DUTY.

We have the forces in this city to make a good campaign this fall and a permanently powerful movement. We

have social and economic conditions that favor our agitation. What we need is work and work and more work—energetic work, systematic work, untiring work, enthusiastic work—work that will bring men into our ranks and will inspire them to work and work again and keep on working. THAT IS THE ONLY WAY TO WIN.

## OPEN-AIR MEETINGS IN GREATER NEW YORK.

Open-air meetings will be held in the following places during the coming week. Platform committees are instructed to have platforms, literature, banners, etc., on hand promptly at 8 p. m. at the appointed places. Speakers should also appear promptly on time.

MANHATTAN.

FRIDAY, Sept. 20.—St. A. D. N. E. Essex and Hester streets. Speakers: Weinstein and Cohen.

22nd A. D.—Socialist Educational League, 47th street and First Avenue. Speakers: Phillips, Nicholson, and Finger.

16th A. D.—N. E. Willett and Stanton streets. Speakers: Fieldman and Leikowitz.

18th A. D.—16th street and Second Avenue. Speakers: Goldstein, Fraser, and Paulitch.

SATURDAY, Sept. 21.—St. A. D. N. E. Canal and Ludlow street. Speakers: Edlin, Josephson, and Weinstein.

16th A. D.—S. E. Stanton and Lewis streets. Speakers: Fieldman and Cohen.

26th A. D.—S. W. 70th street and First Avenue. Speakers: Phillips, Nicholson, and Fraser.

28th A. D.—N. W. 83d street and First Avenue. Speakers: Fraser, Phillips, and Lemon.

30th A. D.—N. W. 88th street and First Avenue. Speakers: Lemon and Lee.

MONDAY, Sept. 23.—21st A. D.—S. E. Market and Henry streets. Speakers: Panken and Davidson.

4th A. D.—S. E. Ruter and Henry streets. Speakers: Josephson, Davidson, and Edlin.

12th A. D.—Junction Division and Grand streets. Speakers: Edlin, Panken, and Josephson.

16th A. D.—S. E. 7th street and Avenue B. Speakers: Fieldman and Goldstein.

TUESDAY, Sept. 24.—St. A. D. N. E. Broome and Forsyth streets. Speakers: Panken, Weinstein, and Boudin.

31st A. D.—N. W. 15th street and Fifth Avenue. Speakers: Miss Dahme, Sparzo, and Loewenthal.

32d A. D.—N. W. 16th street and Second Avenue. Speakers: Edlin, Malicki, and Davidson.

WEDNESDAY, Sept



# The Worker.

VOL. XI.—NO. 26.

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 29, 1901.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

## THREE TERRIBLE TEXTS FOR A SOCIALIST SERMON.

News of Unemployment, Poverty, Despair, and Suicide, Showing the Rottenness of Capitalism.

Stories of Direct Want Grown So Common That We Hardly Notice Them—Denied the Privilege of Working, Men Seek Rest in the Grave—Capitalist Profits Wrong from Children's Misery—What Will You Do About It?

All men are free from and equal in this country, say the defenders of capitalism. By industry, sobriety, and economy any man can rise to wealth and social position. There are no classes. There is no class struggle. Agitators should be put down and all would be well.

Read this, taken from a New York paper of last Monday:

### OUT OF WORK—DRAK POISON.

A man was found dead in Central Park at Sixth Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street, last night from the effects of carbolic acid poisoning. There was no money found in the clothing, and it is supposed the man had been out of employment and had taken his life through despair.

In his pockets were found several slips representing applications for employment at various employment agencies. One of these was made out by "Frank Summers, 242 East Thirty-ninth Street." It was said that Frank Summers had lived there for three months. He was a French cook, but had been out of employment and unable to pay his room rent. Yesterday he was told to vacate his room. Nothing further was known of him.

"Nothing further was known of him." And nothing further does capitalist society care to know. He was merely a superfluous wealth-producer—one of a multitude hunting for work and not finding it. He had made profits for capitalists in his day. But now he was one too many, there was no further use for him.

But we workers know more of him. We know him as one of us, as our brother in suffering and oppression. We have felt the bitterness of "hunting for a job," only worse than the torture of overwork that alternates with it. To be a man, not a slave, not a slave-producer, and not a slave.

### OUT OF WORK—SOUGHT DEATH.

A dependent sailor was saved from drowning himself off East River Park yesterday afternoon after a night of suffering from the effects of carbolic acid poisoning. He was a French cook, but had been out of employment and unable to pay his room rent. Yesterday he was told to vacate his room. Nothing further was known of him.

This man is liable to imprisonment for attempting suicide and failing. What a hideous irony!

He asked only for permission to work—to perform hard and dangerous labor—in order to earn a bare living for himself. Society refused him that privilege. He was too old. There are plenty of strong, active young men begging for employment and a capitalist considers only how much profit he can earn from the workman's life. Workingmen are a drug in the market. WORKINGMEN OF FIFTY-FIVE ARE OUT OF DATE. They should die off, but they should do it in a quiet and orderly manner, not making unpleasant scenes in public places.

Read this, taken also from the same issue of the same paper:

### FATHER DYING—BOY ARRESTED.

A boy eleven years old of East One Hundred and Twenty-ninth Street was arrested at Broadway and Twenty-ninth Street last night by Police Officer Sullivan of the West Thirtieth Station. The boy was found asleep in a doorway, and was taken to the police station. His father was dying of cancer, and the boy was told to vacate his room. Nothing further was known of him.

Remember that it is the testimony of the best specialists that almost all the consumption of this poor boy is due to this kind of affair, what does it do? It takes the boy away and locks him up in a sort of jail known by the more respectable of name as the "Juvenile Asylum." There he may live, and forget his family, and learn to be a docile wage-slave. And what becomes of the sick father, the over-burdened mother, the hungry children? Who knows? Who cares? WORKING PEOPLE ARE CHEAP.

### WHAT WILL YOU DO ABOUT IT?

No man who is dependent on wages for his living can be sure that next year or five years from now he will not find himself driven to suicide as these two have been. A wage-reduction, a strike, then the blacklist—would it not lead straight toward a suicide's grave?

Or a new machine, enabling a boy to do the work of two men; you are passing the prime of life, your eyes are failing or your joints are stiff; but you

### go—but whither? To the streets, to the employment agencies, to the "boiler benches" in the park, to despair—perhaps the spiritless despair that ends in the insults of the poorhouse, perhaps the proud despair that ends in suicide.

Or sickness comes. Your wife, worn out by years of drapery-droddery and want, becomes a hopeless invalid. Doctors' bills pile up. Your furniture must be pawned—and can never be redeemed. Your landlord finds you unprepared. OF NO USE UNLESS A CAPITALIST CAN MAKE A PROFIT OUT OF YOU.

### WHAT SOCIALISTS WOULD DO.

Socialists say that the means of production—land, railroads, factories, etc.—ought to belong to the people and be operated for the good of all, instead of for the private profit of a few.

Under Socialism we should have NO MILLIONAIRES—and we should have NO MEN HUNTING FOR WORK AND DRIVEN BY POVERTY TO SUICIDE. The means of production would be accessible to all, all would receive their full share of the product of our social labor, and none could be able to make profits by the misery of others.

WE SHOULD NOT HAVE CHILDREN WORKING ON THE STREET OR IN THE FACTORY. They would be in the school, on the playground, and in the home—all of them, not only a part as now.

WE SHOULD NOT LET THIRTY-AGED MEN DIE OF HUNGER AND NEGLECT. We should provide for them out of the common wealth which they had helped to create.

If we found that we were producing more than we needed, we should not throw some out to starve while we overworked the others, as is now the case. We should reduce the working hours of all, that all might have more leisure to enjoy the wealth they produced.

We could substitute this system of freedom and brotherhood for the slavery and misery of capitalism, whenever the workers of the nation decide to vote for it. In view of such cases as those cited above is not that the thing to do?

### WE CAN GET IMMEDIATE RELIEF.

BUT WE DO NOT HAVE TO WAIT FOR THE FULL ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALISM in order to get some relief from the horrible conditions now existing, as shown by these three cases. We can have immediate relief—only partial, it is true, but well worth working for—through the state and city elections that are now pending.

Socialist state legislatures and city councils could not establish Socialism in its full vigor. That will require national action. But they could do much.

### A LEGAL EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

To these measures and such as these the Socialist Party all over the land is pledged. Its victory would render forever impossible such a tale of horror as is told in the three items of current news we have reprinted. That is why all workingmen—and all others who care more for humanity than for profits—should vote our ticket.

### THE TEND TOWARD SOCIALISM.

There are three forces that we must recognize as "involved in this economic trend toward Socialism—the first, Socialism itself, the weakest of the whole; the next strongest is organized labor; but the third and most powerful force that is driving this and other countries rapidly into state Socialism is capital itself; and the capitalists, when you talk with them confidentially, do not hesitate to say that this is inevitably the result of their combinations."—Carroll D. Wright.

## CAMPAIGN IN ROCHESTER.

Socialists Making a Good Fight with the Brightest Prospects.

### Seventeenth Ward, with Frank A. Sieverman as Aldermanic Candidate, the Center of Interest—Municipal Platform.

The Social Democratic campaign is in full swing in the city of Rochester, and especially in the Twelfth Ward, where Frank A. Sieverman, a veteran fighter in the labor movement, is running for the office of alderman. The prospects are very bright.

Meetings are being held all over the ward. Comrade Allman, of New York City, is in town, and is doing good work for the cause. A campaign club will be organized in each of the seven precincts of the Seventeenth Ward, one being already in working order. Great enthusiasm is shown at the open-air meetings and favorable comments are always heard at their close.

Comrade Sieverman makes no bid for votes on the score of his personal popularity. He says: "Don't vote for me unless you believe that, in doing so, you are voting for your own interests. Vote for the platform. Vote for the interests of your wife and family and your class."

The strength of Comrade Sieverman's candidacy is that his long record in the trade unions and in the Socialist movement, makes it impossible for an intelligent man to question his sincerity or to doubt that he would keep every pledge.

### MUNICIPAL PLATFORM.

The municipal platform, which was adopted at the city convention at Sept. 13, and is being circulated in leaflet form, is as follows:

"The Social Democratic Party, of Rochester, N. Y., in convention assembled, hereby reaffirms its allegiance to the principles of International Socialism, as proclaimed in the Social Democratic Party's national platform adopted by the Indianapolis convention, held July 25-August 1, 1901.

"Together with militant Socialists of all countries, we hold it to be the supreme duty of the working class to wrest the powers of state from the capitalist class so that the working class may secure complete control of all branches of government, for the purpose of transferring from the hands of the capitalist class to the whole people, collectively, the ownership of all mines, workshops, mills, factories, and railroads, in short, all machinery of production and distribution, the same to be owned and operated by the people collectively as their interests or conveniences may dictate.

"So long as the great modern tools of production and distribution are the private property of the capitalists who can, and will, permit their use by the working class only on such terms and conditions as are dictated by the interests of the capitalist class, we hold that no permanent relief can come to the workers.

"The giant trusts of to-day, which are already monopolizing every field of human activity and are the forerunners of still more gigantic industrial combinations of capital to come, present a problem which can only be solved by the adoption of the Socialist principles in economics, namely: the collective ownership and operation of all means of production and distribution.

"We hold further that the great contests of recent times between capital and labor in the iron, steel, coal mining, and other industries, clearly emphasize the antagonisms of interest between capital, the exploiter, and labor, the exploited; that the capitalist class, fully conscious of its power and its interests, aims at and is satisfied with nothing less than the complete subjugation of labor; the workers, too, must recognize the hostility between the two classes, take their battles into the political field where they are strongest, array themselves on the side of the Social Democratic Party which represents the interests of the working class, and demand the complete control of all branches of government, and then establish the co-operative commonwealth."

### IMMEDIATE MEASURES.

"Tending this result, the Social Democratic Party stands for such improvement of the conditions of the working class as may be brought about by legislation favorable to its interests.

"We therefore, enter the municipal campaign pledged, when elected, to carry into laws the following:

"First—The municipalization of the street railway, and gas and electric light plants. The city should own its own street railway system for the benefit of the conditions of the working class and public highways. Gas and electric light plants are public utilities like waterworks, parks, streets, etc., and should be owned by the city.

"Revenues derived from these public utilities will be used to increase wages and shorten the work day of the workers and to improve the public service; revenues derived from this source are in no instance, to be used to reduce taxes.

"Second—Employment in the public service to be determined by fitness. No employee to be removed for political reasons.

"Third—Abolition of the contract system in public improvements; the city, without the intervention of so-called 'contractors,' to perform its own work, such as constructing and repairing streets, improving parks, and building schools or other public buildings. All such work to be done under the supervision of city officials, the workers to be employed directly by the city.

### FOURTH—All public work done by

or for the city to be performed by union workmen at union wages and hours of work, but in no case shall a day's work consist of more than eight hours, or the wages less than two dollars per day.

"Fifth—The immediate construction of additional school buildings so that all children of school age may be able to attend school a full day. School books and supplies to be furnished free to all children, and children of poor parents to be furnished meals free." M.

### AN INTERNATIONAL TRUST.

It is reported that a large English tobacco company has definitely accepted a proposition to enter the American Tobacco Company or Tobacco Trust. The Trust is planning, not only to get control of the English tobacco industry, as it already has complete control of the industry in this country, but also to extend its operations to the continent of Europe. Of its success there can be little doubt.

Now does any intelligent man really think that an international combination such as this can be controlled by such measures as are proposed by the reformers—by Mr. Hadley's method of social ostracism, by President Roosevelt's plan of licensing the trusts, or by the repeal of the tariff, as advocated by some others? As well try to sweep back the tide with a broom.

Only one measure can touch these giant combinations: Public ownership of the means of production. And public ownership can be of benefit to the workers, the producers, only if inaugurated by the action of a class-conscious party of the working people. That is Socialism.

It is coming, sooner or later. The only question is: Do YOU want to enjoy it in YOUR life, instead of leaving it to another generation? Will YOU help to bring it soon?

### STREET-CAR PROFITS.

George F. Harding of Chicago has made the city two offers for the street railway franchises which expire in 1903.

He offers to take the franchises, run the street railways on a three-cent fare, with universal transfers, and pay the city 20 per cent of his net profits.

As an alternative offer he says he will pay the city \$3,000,000 a year rental, besides 20 per cent of his net profit, charging five cents fare, but giving universal transfers.

In either case he asks for a twenty-year lease, terminable by the city on six months' notice.

Such an offer as that shows what enormous profits the street railway capitalists are making at the people's expense. For Mr. Harding is not proposing to go into the business for his health, but because he knows that upon the conditions offered, he can still make fat profits.

It is not likely that his offer will be accepted. The Republican and Democratic politicians who govern the city would prefer to have the street railway magnates make still bigger profits, because they, the politicians, are virtually entirely outside of the corporations.

And even if the offer were accepted, the working people would gain nothing by it. The new lease would try to make up for the increased rental by cutting down "operating expenses"; that is, by making the employees do more work for less wages. And the money turned in to the city treasury would be used to reduce the taxes upon capitalist property, which would not benefit the workers in the least.

If the working people of Chicago will put the Socialist Party in power, the question will be settled in quite a different way. The city itself will operate the roads. Its first care will be to establish the eight-hour day for the employees and to pay them decent wages. Its next care will be to improve and extend the roads. After that, the surplus that still remains will be applied to reducing fares.

That is a program that the working people may sensibly support. The Socialist Party is the only one that will carry it out in Chicago or anywhere else.

### TOWN TICKET IN PEENSKILL.

Local Peenkill held a nominating convention for the town of Cortland on Monday, Sept. 16, in Labor Hall, Chas. H. Hahn acted as chairman of the convention and Henry Kaste as secretary. The following candidates were chosen for town offices:

For Supervisor—Seth Taber.  
For Town Clerk—John J. Heiken, Jr.

Justices of the Peace (full term)—John Buttery, Henry Kaste.  
Justice of the Peace (to fill vacancy)—George West, of Van Cortlandville.  
Receiver of Taxes—Arthur F. Simmonds.

Assessors—John P. McGovern, Chas. H. Hahn, John R. Worthington.  
Auditors—Nathaniel Bradlee, William Moore, Jas. Collier.  
Overseers of the Poor—Samuel Schneider, Chas. N. Jessup.

Constables—Wm. D. Lent, John Patterson, Geo. McCoy, Joseph Brown.  
Comrades Taber, Simmonds, Worthington, Holmes, and McGovern were constituted a committee having authority to fill vacancies.

The following declaration was adopted:

"Resolved, That we unqualifiedly endorse the action of the Unity Convention, held at Indianapolis, July 29, and that we pledge our allegiance and support to the United Socialist Party of the United States, and subscribe to the platform of that party and to the principles of International Socialism.

"We call upon all workingmen and women to study our platform and principles and read our literature."

A resolution condemning the assassination of President McKinley was introduced and unanimously adopted.

### BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

## SOCIALISM vs. ANARCHISM.

The People Are Learning That the Two Are Diametrically Opposed.

Extracts from the Capitalist Press, Admitting the Difference.

Socialism and Anarchy are as far apart as the poles. The Socialist would enlarge the operations of government so as to include most of the great activities now under private direction. The Anarchist aims to abolish all government. The Socialist believes that "an intelligent ballot is the only hope of society."—St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

There is such a popular misconception of the differences between Anarchy and Socialism that a brief definition is given of each. Socialism: A theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase the wealth and more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public; collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. Anarchy: The theory that all forms of government are wrong and unnecessary.—Philadelphia North American.

Because a man is a Socialist or an Anarchist, it by no means follows that he should be disposed of the rights of citizenship. The looseness of a great deal of the comment on this subject is made evident by the fact that these critics call Socialists and Anarchists in one category, when, as a matter of fact, they are as wide apart in their ideas as black is from white or night from day.—Boston Herald.

The argument that because Anarchy represents one form of social discontent all forms of social discontent are equally irrational and dangerous and Anarchy is put forward by those who assume that in addressing the American people they are speaking to fools. Only a very extraordinary kind of fool can be made to believe that because a murderous wretch has attempted the life of the President it becomes everybody's patriotic duty to cease criticizing the trusts, cease discussing the problem of poverty and the dangers threatening the republic through the rapid growth of enormous fortunes which have their roots in monopoly. Notwithstanding Coolidge, and notwithstanding the equally silly and repulsive efforts of the organs of a mindless variety of moneyed conservatism to turn Coolidge's crime into an argument against all reform, and progress, the American people will still discuss questions which involve the common welfare. And men who love the republic will continue to "speak evil of dictators" while any of the dictators whom it has pleased Providence to set in authority over us do evil things.—Philadelphia North American.

If the question must be discussed what causes and elements are working into the hands of Anarchism we do not hesitate a moment to denounce the "Sun" and its followers as the most dangerous of these elements. Their nameless cynicism, their derision of all nobler sentiments, their support of this side and now on the other, their continuous performance in vilifying workingmen on the one hand and their unlimited advocacy of capitalism, based on the principle of "might is right," on the other—these are methods of warfare which, allied to calumny, distortion of the truth, even barefaced untruthfulness, breed hatred among the classes, act as irritants, and culprits up BLIND FURY against their own poisonous insolence. We are convinced that a single one of these contemptible articles on the problems of labor, as they are to be found frequently in the "Sun," does more mischief than all the stuff, thus sharply criticized by the "Sun," that other papers are emitting for the "benefit of Anarchism."—N. Y. Staats-Zeitung.

Every child ought to know that the Socialist is not an Anarchist, and that the thing like one. \* \* \* Socialism represents hope, while Anarchy represents despair. Socialism would gain its ends and this despite the talk of a few rattle-headed fellows by orderly means. \* \* \* Socialism in its best type implies a state of peace in which murder is impossible. Anarchy, on the contrary, represents no state except a state of fear, and that, not to be envied.—Brooklyn Eagle.

The competitive system of industrial Anarchy has slain its thousands and its tens of thousands, and not the least of these is President McKinley; for the Anarchist, like the monopolist, is a natural product of this system. It is a system that grinds the body and cramps the soul and drives men insane. Do you understand it? The assassin is the ripe and rotten fruit of the competitive system. He is one of its evils. The system, those who support the system, and the individual instrument—the Anarchist assassin—stand equally condemned.—Eldar B. Heflingstine, in San Diego Chieflain.

As long as the wage system lasts, as long as a Morgan may dictate to 50,000 or 100,000 human beings and tell them when and where they shall work and how much they will get for it, as long as the system that permits the sweatshops of Chicago to exist, where the Italian part-makers earn \$1.50 per week, is in the world, poor, blind human beings will crawl from their feverish dens and smite with bloody hands the representatives of the class that upholds such a system. The capitalist class is responsible for the attempted murder, as it is responsible for the degradation of the entire working class.—Advance.

### HANFORD TO SPEAK

At the Socialist Educational League Smoker.

The Socialist Educational League will give a smoker at the club rooms, 312 E. Fifty-second Street, for the benefit of the campaign fund, on Sunday evening, September 29. There will be speaking by prominent party members, including our candidate for mayor, Ben Hanford, who will give one of his characteristic addresses. Comrades are requested to be present, and will have a good time, while doing something for the party at the same time. Tickets, 15 cents apiece, including tips and tobacco.

### MR. DOOLEY ON OPPORTUNITY.

As the poet says: "Opportunity knocks at every man's door." On some men's doors it hammers till it breaks down the door, and then it goes in and wakes him up if he's asleep, and afterwards it warrucks 'r him as a slight watchman. On other men's doors it knocks and runs away, and on the doors of some men it knocks, and when it comes out it hits them over the head with an ax.—F. P. Dunne.

### BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

## PUT THE CAPITALISTS ON THE DEFENSIVE.

Says the "Iron Age," an organ of the iron and steel manufacturers:

"An attempt which originated in the West is now being made to unite employers in all branches of industry in a compact organization, not only to combat the demands of labor organizations, but also to PREVENT THE EMPLOYERS FROM BECOMING MEMBERS OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS."

"They (the employers) believe that the time has come when WAR SHOULD BE DECLARED ON THE WHOLE SCHEME OF ORGANIZING WORKINGMEN INTO UNIONS."

Says the New York "Times":

"There is probably NOT A LARGE EMPLOYER OF LABOR IN THE COUNTRY WHO WOULD NOT JOIN A MOVEMENT TO BREAK UP THE EXISTING TRADE UNION SYSTEM. They do not share the popular idea that the trade union principle is something sacred which must not be assailed. For the labor vote they care very little, and for such reprisals as it is in the power of the wage-earners to attempt they care even less."

Workmen, in these quotations from capitalist papers you can see the spirit and purpose of the "captains of industry." What will you do about it? Will you sit supine while your organizations are emasculated or destroyed? Do you union men realize that the only force which has stood between your standard of living and wages and that "enjoyed" by the Chinese workmen is your trade unions? Do you realize that up to this time the only real battles that have been fought against the great capitalists have been fought by the trade unions?

New, the great capitalists propose to MAKE WAR UPON THE VERY PRINCIPLE OF TRADE UNIONISM—upon the right of workmen to ORGANIZE, except in such way as employers deem good; and a labor organization that is satisfactory to capitalists will be useless to wage-workers.

"For the labor vote they care very little," says the "Times," and endorses the action of the American Sheet Steel Company in tearing down its mills at McKeesport because the Steel Trust did not own the Mayor of the town. "Workingmen, union men, the capitalists will 'care very little for the labor vote' ONLY SO LONG AS THE LABOR VOTE IS LITTLE. So long as one-half of the workingmen vote the Republican ticket and the other half vote the Democratic ticket, the "Times" and the "Iron Age" will not

worry over the "labor vote." Which ever of the two capitalist parties wins, the boss is safe. When the real labor vote is large, the capitalist will cease to "care very little" for it.

These great employers "believe" that the time has come when war should be declared on the whole scheme of organizing workmen into unions," says the "Iron Age." The large employers of labor in this country do not believe that the trade union principle is something which must not be assailed. Do you union men know how you should reply to that? The capitalists propose to attack a principle which is vital to your liberty and welfare, and YOU SHOULD RESPOND BY MAKING AN ATTACK UPON THE VERY PRINCIPLE OF CAPITALIST PRIVATE PROPERTY. Aim at the very heart and citadel of capitalist power. Keep the capitalist so busy defending himself that he will have neither time nor power to attack you.

Stick to your unions, by all means. Get all workmen—and women—to organize. But in your fight with the capitalist do not limit your weapons to the strike and the boycott. Those are fights between your dollars and his dollars, and he has a hundred or a thousand dollars to your one.

You have the choice of ground and of weapons in the fight. FIGHT THE CAPITALIST AT THE POLLS AND WITH THE BALLOT, and the victory will be on the side of Labor. You workmen have NINE votes for every ONE the capitalist has. He can win only when you cast your votes for him. Should you trade unionists spend one-quarter the effort fighting the capitalist on the political field, where you have HIM at a disadvantage that you do fighting him on the economic field, where he has YOU at a disadvantage, victory and its fruits would soon be yours, and capitalism would find an early and unhonored grave.

Union men, meet the capitalist attacks on your organizations by attacking the whole capitalist system with a straight vote for the working-class ticket of the Social Democratic Party.

The way to keep the capitalist from attacking you is for you to attack him. Workingmen, cease to act on the defensive. Take the offensive. Challenge the capitalist to meet you at the polls, and ATTACK AND ATTACK AGAIN, and FOREVER ATTACK!

### SOCIALIST DODGERS.

Capitalism breeds anarchy and assassination. Socialism is the only remedy.

We advise Police Commissioner Murphy to order all policemen to distribute Socialist literature—the only preventive against anarchy.

The United States detectives will redeem their poor reputation in the usual manner by harassing anarcho-socialists and get paid for discovering them.

The steel workers gained a splendid victory if they only learned the lesson of their strike.

Five weeks only, comrades; five weeks.

Every enrolled citizen of your district must get a bunch of our leaflets. He won't get them if you don't distribute them.

Invest in Socialism. Its stocks are ever rising. The campaign fund of the S. D. P. is now open.

The Arm and Torch is the last emblem on the official ballot. If the workmen vote for Ben Hanford, the last shall be the first.

Antidote for Anarchism: Shake Anarchism and take Socialism.

There are only five weeks, comrades, till the day when your work shall be known by its fruit.

Capitalism is a system of the assassin, by the assassin, for the assassin. It is a system of the assassin, for the assassin, for the assassin. It is a system of the assassin, for the assassin, for the assassin.

Senator Platt: "Lynch the anarchy!"  
Senator Depew: "Lynch the anarchy!"  
Senator Hanna: "Lynch the anarchy!"  
Rev. Talmage: "Lynch the anarchy!"  
Rev. McArthur: "Lynch the anarchy!"  
Jesus Christ: "All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword."

If you are in doubt, call on Organizer Gerber, 64 East Fourth Street, and he will tell you what to do in order to increase the vote of the Social Democratic Party.

Forget not that fund.

A collar trust has been organized. This is where we get it "in the neck" for sale. If we wear "collared" we will be called "collared necks."—An Ignorant Journal.

USE THIS LEAFLET.  
The Organizer of Local New York is prepared to furnish to subdivisions or individuals a leaflet containing the national and municipal platforms of the Social Democratic Party and some characteristic sayings of our candidates for mayor, a leaflet which should be widely distributed AT ONCE. There are 100,000 copies in print; use them and more will be ordered. The price is \$1.25 a thousand. Every house and every shop in the city should be given this MONTH, before the distribution leaflets at meetings. Get an supply to-day and GO TO WORK.



## The Worker.

Organ of the Social Democratic Party.  
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Single copies, 10 cents.

Bundle rates:  
Less than 100 copies, per copy, 10 cents.  
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For per cent. discount from bundle rates  
if cash accompanies the order.

Weekly Bundles:  
5 per week, one year, \$1.25.  
10 per week, one year, \$2.50.  
25 per week, one year, \$6.25.  
50 per week, one year, \$12.50.

As far as possible, rejected communica-  
tions will be returned if so sealed and  
stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second-class matter at the  
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1891.



### SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1898 (Presidential) . . . 2,065  
In 1899 . . . 13,331  
In 1900 (Presidential) . . . 21,157  
In 1901 . . . 33,133  
In 1896 (Presidential) . . . 36,504  
In 1898:  
S. L. P. . . . 82,204  
S. D. P. . . . 9,545  
In 1900 (Presidential):  
S. D. P. . . . 96,918  
S. L. P. . . . 33,450

### N. Y. CITY TICKET.

FOR MAYOR—

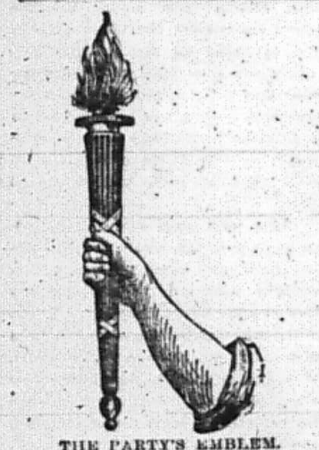
BENJAMIN HANFORD.

FOR CONTROLLER—

NO R. S. BROWN.

PRESIDENT BOARD OF ALDERMEN

HENRY STAHL.



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

We wish to be able to give fuller reports of the Socialist vote in the coming election and to give them more promptly than ever before. We must depend on the comrades throughout the country to help us in this. We therefore ask that in each local a certain comrade—be he organizer, secretary, or other member—be charged with the duty of sending in the report as soon as obtained. The comrade so chosen is further requested to write up at once, stating the vote cast by the S. D. P. (and by the S. L. P., if any) at the last national election and also at any local election which may since have occurred, in the territory covered by his organization. To have this information compiled in advance will help us greatly in making up reports in the issue following. Address these letters to the editor of *The Worker*.

### DEFEND THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH.

In a number of the smaller cities and towns of the country the police have taken the assassination of President McKinley as a pretext to suppress the open-air meetings of the Socialist Party. They know well enough if they did not know it otherwise the most respectable portion of the daily press has told them—that there is no connection and no sympathy between the Socialist and Anarchist movements. They cannot point to a single Socialist speaker or writer who has counseled assassination, and they know that the party has consistently opposed the "propaganda of deed."

All this makes no difference, however, where the capitalists and their police agents think it safe to undertake the suppression of Socialist agitation. Neither capitalists nor politicians are amenable to reason on such matters. They prefer to believe that class antagonism, instead of being due to the fact of class rule and exploitation, is created by labor agitators; and on this ground they proceed as far as they dare in abridging the right of free speech as exercised by the Socialists.

disorder occurred. And in no case, so far as we know, has the police of New York tried to interfere with the street or hall meetings or with the distribution of our literature.

This is not to be put down to the good feeling of the police authorities of New York or of the capitalists who stand back of them. It is due rather to their good sense; for they knew that the Socialists of this city would brook no such interference. They are sensible enough to avoid a conflict in which they know they would meet sturdy resistance, and by which the Socialist movement would be sure to gain.

It is necessary for our comrades in other cities to take a similar position and to teach the local authorities that Socialists know their rights and know how to maintain them. Timidity is always a mistake in a movement like ours. We have had experience in past years, here in New York, in Boston, in Chicago, in San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Jose, and many other places. Wherever we have boldly defended our rights from the start we have succeeded in establishing them and have made fruitful propaganda out of the conflict.

Wherever the police are now forbidding the holding of Socialist meetings our advice to the comrades is this: Give public notice that the unlawful usurpation of power will be resisted; have a clear understanding among the members that there is to be no wavering in the ranks; let each one know his part and be prepared for it; hold your meeting. Be careful not to give any reasonable excuse for interference, by any abusive language or disorderly conduct, but conduct the affair with firmness and dignity. If the first speaker is arrested, let another follow him, and another and another. Then fight the case in the courts; and at the same time fight the case in the court of public opinion, by giving the widest publicity, through the party press and the local papers and through the distribution of leaflets, to the Socialist side of the conflict.

By such a course as this, and only by such a course, shall we be able to establish our right to peaceable and orderly agitation and checkmate the plan of suppression now advocated by such papers as the "Sun"—a plan which, if successful, would be the surest means of breeding riot and assassination. Moreover, by such a course as this we shall attract public attention to our movement, make clear in the public mind our antagonism both to lawless Anarchism and to lawless Capitalism, and gain the sympathy and respect of real lovers of liberty and fair play.

Since the recent assassination many months have been opened not wisely, but too well. There has been an ink-spilling, breath-wasting, deafening whirlwind of words and all who thought the world was waiting for their wisdom have poured forth a torrent of opinion, interview, invective, and advice. Amid this amazing abundance of surplus sapience from the self-sufficient utterance of the Hon. Joseph H. Manley of Maine, stands forth, as might be expected, a genuine literary gem. "Murder, violence, and such sudden deaths must cease," says this curious congressman. We take it that a campaign against heart disease is called for.

### IT PAYS TO BE HONEST.

It may seem to some a curious thing for us to institute a comparison between the experiences of the New York "Journal" and those of *The Worker* in the last three weeks. It is, of course, a comparison of small things with great; for, much as we regret it, it is true that the "Journal" reaches fifty people every day where *The Worker* reaches one every week. Nevertheless, the comparison is interesting and instructive.

The "Journal" has, for some years, been playing the part of an organ of social discontent. Because it has vigorously and, up to a certain point, intelligently voiced the wide-spread and growing dissatisfaction of the people, it became immensely popular.

But the "Journal" has never been guided by any honest intellectual conviction nor has it had the moral courage to carry out logically any course that it had chosen, once that course became a dangerous or a difficult one.

For this reason it has never been a real leader of public opinion. It has tried always to be at the head of the procession, but it has never dared to lead the procession. Its method has been first to find out what the masses were thinking and then to shout out their thoughts through a megaphone and claim the credit for originating them. But it has never ventured to try to educate its constituency, to correct their errors, or to give an intelligent direction to their protests against social wrongs.

As is usually the case with those who are really cowards, the "Journal" has been very violent in its language. While the attempts of the "Sun" and other papers to fix upon it the responsibility of inciting the late assassination are very strained and evidently inspired by jealousy, it is nevertheless a fact that the "Journal" has talked freely of lynching and assassination as possible remedies, and that it has not consistently counseled any wiser course for the fighting of the wrongs it so vehemently denounced.

The Worker, on the other hand, has never tried to be with the majority. It

has never desired to ride in the bandwagon. It is published to advocate certain definite principles and to support a certain definite movement. Instead of trying to please all who were dissatisfied, to pose as the spokesman of all vague discontent, it has steadily endeavored to instruct the discontented, to educate them, to give their discontent an intelligent purpose and form.

Both papers had criticized the late President. Both had characterized him as the agent of a tyrannical ruling class. But whereas the "Journal" had done this in the form of an abusive and vulgar personal attack, *The Worker* had shown the reasons for it and had shown that the cure for existing evils was not to be found in attacks upon individuals, but in a radical change of the social system.

Then came the assassination. The contrast between the two policies became still clearer. The "Journal," forgetting or seeming to forget its violent denunciations of McKinley's personal character and conduct, began at once to publish the most fulsome eulogies upon him. To match every derogatory epithet that it had applied to him before. It now found some word of extravagant praise. This exhibition of the cowardice and insincerity of the "Journal" surpassed everything in the history of the venal capitalist press.

The Worker, on the contrary, reiterated, in its issue following the attempt, the decided and unfavorable opinions of McKinley's public career that it had previously expressed. While condemning this assassination in fact as we had previously condemned all assassination in theory, and while expressing human sympathy with the victim as a man, we did not retract one word of our condemnation of the president.

That is the difference between a paper devoted to principle and a paper whose stock in trade is sensation and whose object is notoriety. And what is the result?

The result is that while the "Journal," in spite of its abject apologies and penance, has lost tens of thousands of its readers, just two persons have stopped their subscriptions to *The Worker*.

We are satisfied. Nothing could better confirm the wisdom of our policy—which is the policy of the Socialist movement. It pays to be honest.

In another column we print the address of the British Social Democratic Federation to the trade unions upon the recent decisions of the courts and the House of Lords, making union funds attachable for damages in suits brought by capitalists against unions which injure their business by striking, boycotting, picketing, etc. The matter is of interest to workingmen here, as well as in England. Here, too, an attack upon the unions is being made and the practices of law are being modified by the courts to aid that attack. Not only the funds of the unions, but even the personal property of individual members are likely, within the next few years, to be at the mercy of the capitalists, abetted by the injunction-issuing courts. We can see but one means of safety for the workers—political action on class lines, as set forth in the platform and followed in the policy of the Socialist Party.

### A MISCONCEPTION OF TRADE UNIONISM.

Trade unionism in all its phases is becoming a leading topic of discussion nowadays. It is hard to say whether its defenders or its assailants often show their ignorance, not only of the problems with which the trade unions have to deal, but even of the actual facts of the union movement as it now exists. Certainly the amount of ignorance shown by otherwise well-informed men, upon both sides of the question and upon both subjects, is amazing. It goes to show the truth of the old saying, "One-half of the world does not know how the other half lives." Business men, professional men, literary men, politicians, even professed students of social affairs, make the most flagrant errors in dealing with this question, simply because they live in quite a different world from that in which the members of the unions dwell, do not know how the working people live and cannot, therefore, understand how they think and feel.

In a recent article in the New York "Journal" Mr. Ambrose Bierce, who often says a witty thing and sometimes a wise one, declares that the fundamental weakness of the trade union movement is that it assumes a higher degree of morality in the mass of the people than actually exists; that it depends too much on an appeal to moral sentiments, which seldom control men when opposed to their personal interests.

A first-hand knowledge of the labor movement would have taught Mr. Bierce that this judgment of his—a very popular one among mere theorists—is entirely false. The facts contradict it, for trade unionism is actually strong just in proportion as it arouses a moral enthusiasm for its ends.

Mr. Bierce is wrong in saying that the majority of men are in most matters controlled by considerations of personal interest. The exact opposite is the truth. If Mr. Bierce were right in this dictum we should have no civilized society to-day—nay, we should

have no human society at all, but should still be living the life of wild beasts. The average man does not beat his wife when she displeases him; he does not snatch the food from his children's hands if he happens to be hungry; he does not gratify every appetite or whim regardless of the effect of his acts upon other people. Why does he refrain from doing these things? Because he is afraid of being punished? Certainly not, except in the case of abnormal men or in very unusual circumstances. He refrains from such acts because he really likes better to live a decent, civilized, human life—that is, because, in the long course of human evolution, certain moral feelings have become ingrained in man and have become as much a part of his nature as his simply physical appetites. Most men have certain ideas of right and wrong and really prefer to do right, quite regardless of any question of punishment or even of disapprobation.

Of course this evolution is not complete, but it is still going on. There are still many matters of conduct that we do not regard as either right or wrong; and what is more to our present purpose, there is a large field of human conduct in which, while most of us recognize one course to be right and the opposite one wrong, the moral feeling is not yet so highly developed that even the average man is sure to do right when assailed by ordinary temptation.

The evolution is still going on. Not only are the moral feelings growing stronger in the course of the general social evolution, but, in the workings of the class struggle the moral ideas of different classes are being changed. People of the "upper classes," for instance, consider certain things quite right which their grandfathers considered disgraceful. On the other hand, working people are coming to consider certain things shameful which their grandfathers did not so regard; and it is of working class morality that we now speak.

Anyone who has lived in the working class and thoughtfully observed it even through the past ten years must see that the moral sentiment of loyalty to the class is rapidly gaining in strength. Perhaps the scab may not be so violently denounced by the active representatives of the trade unions now as he was then. But that is at least partly because the general feeling against scabbery has become stronger and the expression of it is naturally calmer.

The old idea of a trade union, in this country, at least, was that it was purely a business enterprise. Individuals might here and there hold a different view, but that was the idea upon which the movement was founded. That conception of the movement is what is rightly comprised and justly condemned under the name of "pure-and-simple-ism." No higher ideal was offered to the worker, no loftier or more far-reaching motive was stirred in him, than the desire to get certain personal benefits from membership in the union.

A union based on this conception might succeed very well for a time, under favorable circumstances. So long as it could assure its members of employment rather steadily than that of outsiders, at better wages or for fewer hours, and could pay its sick and out-of-work benefits, it would hold its members. But let it meet a defeat; let a time come when membership in the union imposed burdens without offering a reasonably certain prospect of personal benefit in the present or the near future—then the very motives which had prompted men to join the union prompted them to leave it. Unionism based on "business principles" merely, and not on class-consciousness, has always been deficient in cohesive power and endurance.

But of late years there has grown up a new force in the labor movement—a force which is spreading and growing with increasing rapidity—the feeling of loyalty to one's class, of obligation to one's fellow workers of all crafts, which prompts workingmen and working women—and even, as has recently been demonstrated, working children—to endure great present hardships, even with very little hope of personal benefit, in order to be true to their class and in the certainty that sometime, if not now, good will come of it.

It is this splendid new morality, this sentiment of solidarity, this class-consciousness, this which we may call the germ of the religion of the future—it is this which gives us hope for the future of the labor movement. It is this which carries labor organizations through long and often disastrous struggles and turns their defeats into the stepping-stones to new victories. It is this which brings working people to extend their sympathy and give of their small earnings and, if necessary, to engage in sympathetic strikes and boycotts in order to aid fellow workers of other trades and of distant places. It is this which prompts thousands of men in the ranks of labor to devote all their leisure, without reward and often without recognition, to the service of the cause—which makes many willing even to yield their lives when occasion demands. It is this, above all, which inspires the Socialist movement throughout the world, which supports it in a slow and, to the judgment of the outsider, a hopeless battle against oppression, and which forbids every Socialist, under

whatever circumstances, to despair of the end.

Mr. Bierce, who is in general a very acute observer, has utterly misapprehended the nature of the labor movement. That which he regards as its fatal weakness is, indeed, its vital strength. Because trade unions in the past have depended too little on their moral strength and too much on "business methods" and motives of personal interest, they have been timid, often reactionary, and unstable. As they become inspired with the ideal of the solidarity of labor, they look forward to greater ends, undertake larger tasks with higher courage, meet heavier defeats with increased resolution, and grow more and more assured of present gain and ultimate success.

Six more miners have been killed by an explosion of gas in a Colorado mine. These explosions can be prevented by the use of water, but the company has notice for water except in its stocks.

The arrest of its own Chief Devery is about the only good thing the New York Police Department has ever done, and of course it was forced to do that.

If the proposal to banish all Anarchists is carried out, the question arises, who will be left to conduct the criminal operations of the trusts?

Dr. Adler wants to protect the presidents from assassination by not letting anyone shake hands with them. This idea is worthy of so profound a thinker.

Bishop Potter thinks that the guarantee of free speech is an unfortunate blunder of the framers of the Constitution, imported from revolutionary France. He would like to see it abolished. If no-one had anything wiser to say than the Bishop generally has, the world would not lose much by such suppression.

The Tobacco Trust has now secured control of the largest English tobacco company. Put that in your pipe and smoke it! American glass manufacturers have also secured all the salable glass factories in Belgium. The international glass trust is a transparent certainty. The only thing that can meet the international trust is the international Socialist movement.

### SOCIALISTS ANSWER IMPUDENT POLICEMEN.

The press committee of Local Hudson County, N. J., has published a reply to the attack on Socialism made by Police Chief McAuley of West Hoboken, who assumed to forbid the holding of Socialist street meetings in that city. This policeman showed his ignorance by saying that "the Socialists preach sedition, brag of violence and contempt upon our constitution, laws, and government," and that "Socialism is the training school for the Anarchists."

We quote a part of the reply: "The statement that Socialism is the training school for Anarchists certainly lacks all the elements of truth and common decency. Socialism, according to Webster's definition, is 'a theory of society that advocates a more precise order and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed.' This does not sound like Anarchy or of the preaching of sedition, and is by a very prominent authority, or at least, just as prominent as Chief McAuley. . . .

"Now as to the Chief's edict that he will permit no more Socialist open-air meetings to be held in West Hoboken." Persons who have stood by the side of the police, aiding and abetting assaults upon the life and liberty of the nation, are now chief mourners, by their own appointment, over the insecurity of life that comes, as they allege, of poor men's thinking; and seriously will they advocate putting a stop to that process in the interest of themselves; for whom the dead past has done all the thinking required.

That there should be a monopoly of patriotism by one part of the population, and that the rest of the population should be left to appear to them as a mob, is the only thing a crank does not know at any time is the absurd; and hence it is that he never gets as far as the Prudential has traveled when, as he sat by the log trough, "he came to himself." That it is impossible for a modern newspaper, run for profit only and with the standard of intellectual grandmothers, which obtains among them to make any progress without fools for customers, he very well perceives. That he cannot every day juggle and deceive the mind of a nation without serious consequences to himself or the nation, he cannot see. He laughs at his own ability to fill and sell the paper, and longs for some one to commit crime to give a boom to the circulation.

That there should be here and there a man of half-baked brains who takes the newspapers too seriously and puts their exaggerated slanders or idolatrous praises of public men into a plat against one and for another is at ways inevitable. A huge newspaper system that must make huge profits and appear every day with something fresh when there is nothing fresh, must create an atmosphere, and be a center of insanity and assassination. By persistently putting forward one life for America, one hero, one devil for the fury of its praise or blame, it destroys that sense of common sense and common view without which no nation can advance in patriotism and political sanity. Having this for its deliberate program, because it is the ecology of private property, they thrust their own dead gods upon the knife of the fool they have themselves created. Isolates and the creators of isolate discontents, grandsons and infants, the cranks who will intimidate the soul of America for the next few weeks are groggers only when forming a lynch-party and this they are always ready

It may interest some of our readers to know that Assemblyman Costello of Oswego has been nominated for his twenty-first term in the state legislature. Mr. Costello is chiefly distinguished for his rabid hatred of labor organizations, and is the same gentleman who, upon the floor of the Assembly, last year, declared that he would not be swayed by the "red" and "educational" propaganda of the Socialists.

Mr. Costello intends to join a few similar measures through the next session, and will then transfer his peculiar ability to the federal legislature, to which he is to be elected by his grateful constituents in 1902.

Will organized labor of the state permit this program to go through without a protest?—Try Advocates.

The way to prevent such a program from succeeding is to send Social Democrats to the legislature.

BUT UNION LABEL GOODS.

## NEW LINE CRANKS.

### The Species That Infests the Newspaper Offices and Has Come to the Surface Since the Buffalo Crime.

The trouble with the new-line crank is that you do not know where to find him; only that you may, be sure he is somewhere just under the surface of the social stream and ready to pop up when his proper moment comes; for the new-line crank is upon a strictly business basis. You will find him alike in Republican and Democratic waters, as the same thing may happen to be denominated in the different states, his peculiarity being (and it is this that gives him the right and title of crank) always to swim up the stream in the direction of the greatest of our great-grandfathers, speaking from a chronological and social point of view. When the times call for public thinking, the new crank puts himself forth in alarmingly menacing and noisy numbers. He hides people who differ from him on the rail of village scorn. He expels his bosom friend from his breast plate and his cloth for saying something untidy. He goes to church and conducts service as if Jesus Christ and his religion had gone on a long vacation, leaving the president and his friends to take their places; and all other politicians from Bryan and Crocker to the Socialists are permitted to fill the bill of "the world, the flesh, and the devil" in the exercises.

His crankism is chiefly evidenced from his fidelity to the petticoat of government by two parties, notwithstanding his solemn belief that one of these parties is damned; and yet if a third party heaves in sight it is hurried back to Hades by the canon law of two parties only, and rather than have any sort of a third party, the Democrats, in spite of the brimstone on their garments, must remain.

The new crank overshadows all other cranks in the United States, and he stands at the apex of the effort for forbidding all other men to think, save on the penalty of going crab-mad like himself. He stands, as it were, a solemn warning against the further use of the human understanding; a hired raven, never sitting, always sitting on the last of Pallas, croaking his "New-crumore."

The species crank may be divided into three groups, viz: the original, natural-born crank; the crank generally honest and always harmless; the imitative-voluntary, and self-made crank; and the anti-crank crank; both of which latter belong to the group now under consideration.

The first, or original crank, used formerly to own a local newspaper, but of late years that business has gone to the trusts and our primitive crank has gone to the dogs. His sole have taken jobs on the great dailies as writers of editorials and readers of them. With a most obtuse devotion to salary, they propagate the doctrines of everlasting blindness. Sleepless in their daily activity to put the world asleep, they lead the descendants of the revolutionary fathers, together with their human flocks and herds of wage-laborers, into that Nirvana of torpid stupidity, the Republican Party, or to that planless and senseless movement, the Social Democratic Party, or to that dead Democracy of dollars—a Democracy of sham freedoms and competitions, in which men are confined to be content with chewing up one another's bones until there are no more bones left to chew but their own teeth.

These cranks will rise to the surface most conspicuously and most dangerously during the disturbed state of the public mind following the Buffalo crime. But they will be purely of the exploiting order.

Perhaps amidst all the loathsome insincerities of our newspaper nation, there is nothing more loathsome in its nature than the reading of garments, the ash-covered heads and the loud voices of those who shall stand against the wall of waiting during the next few weeks on behalf of "our beloved president." Persons who have stood by the side of the police, aiding and abetting assaults upon the life and liberty of the nation, are now chief mourners, by their own appointment, over the insecurity of life that comes, as they allege, of poor men's thinking; and seriously will they advocate putting a stop to that process in the interest of themselves; for whom the dead past has done all the thinking required.

That there should be a monopoly of patriotism by one part of the population, and that the rest of the population should be left to appear to them as a mob, is the only thing a crank does not know at any time is the absurd; and hence it is that he never gets as far as the Prudential has traveled when, as he sat by the log trough, "he came to himself." That it is impossible for a modern newspaper, run for profit only and with the standard of intellectual grandmothers, which obtains among them to make any progress without fools for customers, he very well perceives. That he cannot every day juggle and deceive the mind of a nation without serious consequences to himself or the nation, he cannot see. He laughs at his own ability to fill and sell the paper, and longs for some one to commit crime to give a boom to the circulation.

That there should be here and there a man of half-baked brains who takes the newspapers too seriously and puts their exaggerated slanders or idolatrous praises of public men into a plat against one and for another is at ways inevitable. A huge newspaper system that must make huge profits and appear every day with something fresh when there is nothing fresh, must create an atmosphere, and be a center of insanity and assassination. By persistently putting forward one life for America, one hero, one devil for the fury of its praise or blame, it destroys that sense of common sense and common view without which no nation can advance in patriotism and political sanity. Having this for its deliberate program, because it is the ecology of private property, they thrust their own dead gods upon the knife of the fool they have themselves created. Isolates and the creators of isolate discontents, grandsons and infants, the cranks who will intimidate the soul of America for the next few weeks are groggers only when forming a lynch-party and this they are always ready

It may interest some of our readers to know that Assemblyman Costello of Oswego has been nominated for his twenty-first term in the state legislature. Mr. Costello is chiefly distinguished for his rabid hatred of labor organizations, and is the same gentleman who, upon the floor of the Assembly, last year, declared that he would not be swayed by the "red" and "educational" propaganda of the Socialists.

Mr. Costello intends to join a few similar measures through the next session, and will then transfer his peculiar ability to the federal legislature, to which he is to be elected by his grateful constituents in 1902.

Will organized labor of the state permit this program to go through without a protest?—Try Advocates.

The way to prevent such a program from succeeding is to send Social Democrats to the legislature.

BUT UNION LABEL GOODS.

to do, but for the blessed sanity of the average man.

Nothing more astonishing will appear during the coming campaign than the assumption of this crank that all the other fellows are dangerous and unpatriotic notsoils. But if these cranks of plutocracy, will pose as friend and guardian of public life and order; nothing more cunningly and grotesquely false than his political canting when he says that discontent in America must be of foreign origin. Or if there be any other lie like unto this it is the lie with which he assails the study of economics and a sense of the rights of public life, under the pretense of assailing Anarchism. The very existence of which as a concrete thing, susceptible of attack or defense, outside of commercialism itself, may well be doubted; a mere flimsy of stray individualists, who take the single life too seriously, by carrying logically, each into his own rationale, the doctrines of the competitive life upon which our tottering civilization is misbased and ready to fall.

That these people will seek to intimidate our comrades from public speech during the coming campaign is almost certain. Somebody's crime is to them the only foothold upon which, even for a season, to stand up the frail flag of their virtue by protest. Their false loyalty having no positive mode of expression of its own because it has no positive life, can dash into the sea of an empty only by finding something to assail. But if these men assault the kingdom of peace on earth and good will to men as preached by us in the platform of Socialism, let no Socialist heed them. We have the old faiths in eternal justice behind us. We have the fact of an international appropriation of the world's workers around us. We have man's hope for better conditions to beckon us on. If these men seek to silence or intimidate the workers of the army and navy during the coming campaign, let us remember that as a censor of our most humane and scientific teachings, the patriot crank is without diploma or any other credential to judge righteousness than that given by the political caucus and the royal colleges of war and plunder.

PETER E. BURROWS.

### COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

Under the present wage system in which the employers own all the tools of production and the worker owns nothing, and the laborer's existence depends on being employed by the capitalist, the worker is in a large sense a slave. By laws enacted and penalties provided which impose upon him by your proposed compulsory arbitration, you will not enlarge his freedom but you will force him into deeper slavery.

Capital is power. It largely owns the press and creates public sentiment in its favor. It sits supreme in the Senate and all the law-making bodies of the country. Before it courts bow in humble submission. It directs the police forces of the army and navy. It modifies the utterances of the pulpit; it shapes the policies of all great political parties; its influence is irresistible in all the affairs of modern society.

Labor is cheated. Carroll D. Wright says the laborer earns on an average \$1,988 per year, but he receives but \$147 per year. Twenty thousand children in San Francisco cannot go to school because their parents are too poor to properly clothe them. There are hundreds of thousands out of school in the United States for the same reason. Labor has no powerful allies. It owns no newspapers; its representatives sit in no law-making bodies; it has no money; it has no political influence. It is hunting a job; it is glad to be employed even a part of the time; it is naked and hungry and its wives and children, by the millions, are crying for bread. It would even go down in a so-called court of arbitration into which it was compelled to go and engage in an unequal contest with its all-powerful capitalistic antagonist.

Compulsory arbitration in the United States when capitalism is in the saddle would only rivet tighter the chains about the workman. He will never be free till he frees himself through the ballot box. He will never get a court of arbitration or a state arbitration show for fair play if he abstain from political action and leave to his employers the whole work of creating that court. He will never materially better his condition by leaving all the law-making to the capitalists while he seeks only to get a slight increase of wages or a few hours less work per day. He will never be free so long as he sends nobody to congress—not lawyers and bankers and capitalists, or their servile representatives.

He will be free when he votes in sufficient numbers to place in power that young star world party which at last year's election cast eight millions of votes in Europe and America. That party, whose fundamental principles are the common ownership of all the means of production and distribution, and the abolition of the capitalist system of exploitation—R. A. Dagne in *Alameda Enquirer*.

### DON'T SWEAR, BUT VOTE.

The quality of the gas supplied to the people of New York City by the Consolidated Gas Company, as shown by monthly photometric tests, has steadily deteriorated during the last six months. While the price now paid for gas is 55 per cent. more than it was a year ago, the gas is at least 10 per cent. poorer. Those who really believe in leaving industry under the control of private capitalists should not complain. Their cry and their pocketbooks may suffer; but they may console themselves by reading of the increased dividends on the Consolidated stock.

A Socialist administration would put an end to the profits of the stockholders. It would apply the surplus, first, to reducing the hours of labor of the workers in the industry, thus employing more men; second, to lowering the unit cost of the gas produced, and finally, to reducing the charges.

It would be wise for the people who have a monthly 21 of profanity when the gas bill comes in to quit swearing and work for the success of the Social Democratic ticket.

BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

## Our Esteemed Contemporaries

(And Others)

The Challenge.  
Our approaching revolution in this country is not going to hurt anybody. No more will there be any necessity of people getting hurt when the Sun takes over the steel works from Uncle Ponty Morgan, than there was any trouble when Uncle Ponty took them over from Old Carnegie. The government takes over thousands of miles of railroads every year when they go bankrupt, and a government receiver is appointed, yet nobody gets hurt. The only difference will be that the government will appoint a permanent receiver at this time, instead of a temporary one.

### Union Boot and Shoe Worker.

When an employer wishes workmen are on strike makes the statement that he "is fighting for the right to run his shop" (the statement of a member of the Steel Trust), he does not mean what he says. The workmen do







## The Economic Struggle

Four hundred collar cutters of Troy, N. Y., have been locked out for ten weeks and only five have deserted. All the trade unions of the city recently levied an assessment of \$1 on their members for the benefit of the men.

The annual report of the Republic Iron and Steel Company shows a deficit of more than a million dollars. The mills of the company were shut down for three months last year by a strike.

The bulletin of the State Department of Labor for the quarter ending June 31 shows by the returns from the labor organizations of New York state that in the months of April, May, and June the labor organizations of the state made a net gain of 10,715 in membership and attained the largest aggregate membership thus far reported—255,350, of whom 10,952 were women. This is an increase of more than 100,000 since June, 1897, and it is largely due to the spread of unionism in the interior of the state. Since 1898 New York City has gained fewer than 30,000 members, while the remainder of the state has gained 55,000 and has now for the first time an aggregate membership of 190,000. The trades made the largest gains in membership were the clothing, theatrical and building trades in New York City, and the metal and building trades in the interior towns and cities.

Comrade Panken spoke at the last special meeting of Bakers' Union Local 164, in the Bronx. There was a good attendance, and all showed the greatest interest in Comrade Panken's remarks. Next meeting a committee from the 34th and 35th A. D. Comrades Forster and Hohmann, will invite them to become members of the S. D. P. Let us hope for the best results.

The striking seamen and affiliated trades of San Francisco are confronted by a new problem. The Sailors' Union has been dragged into court by the Pacific Coast Steamship Company.

which, after reciting the serious injury done by the defendants, individually and collectively, prays for damages against them for alleged violation of contract, boycotting, etc. There is now no longer any doubt, says the Cleveland "Citizen" that the Pacific Coast capitalists will not rest until they have destroyed the power of the unions. Various combines are working together toward this end, and the service contracts will do their bidding, so that any unionist who may own a little home or any other tangible wealth will have it confiscated. This is one of the fruits of "throwing away your vote" on capitalist parties.

The anthracite coal operators will enter into a conference with the miners, to arrange a new scale, and that "the same interests that fomented the Anamalgamated Association will oppose making any concessions to the miners." The union-smashing conspiracy is on. Let the workers fight it at the polls.

The longshoremen's strike in New Orleans has ended in victory. The rates of pay settled on are now the highest paid for such work anywhere in this country. They are 40 cents an hour for regular, 60 cents an hour for overtime, and 80 cents an hour for Sunday. Handlers of grain get 50 cents an hour for regular, 75 cents for overtime.

and \$1 for Sunday time. The 'Loughshoremen's Union is made up of 967 negroes and 750 whites. The toilers of the two races worked in harmony through the struggle, and this sensible course resulted in success.

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—Workingmen of East New York should remember that C. L. Fugman is the Social Democratic candidate for assemblyman in the 21st A. D. and S. J. Cullinan for alderman in the 66th aldermanic district. These are men who, if elected, would represent the interests of the working class, directly and exclusively. In the legislature and the board of aldermen.

**Supper Night : : Festival**  
For the benefit of  
Branch 158, Heligate, Stick Benefit Ass'n  
—47—  
**OLD HOMESTEAD, 3d Ave., 90 & 91 Sts.**  
**SATURDAY EVENING, SEPT. 28,**  
—48—  
at 8 o'clock.  
Garden Concert: Ball, singing and other  
amusement in the hall, by Heligate Athletic  
Club, 6c. In rainy weather festival will  
take place in the hall.

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Without studying it first. If you do,  
you will be unable to answer questions  
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## INTIMIDATION IS THEIR GAME.

### Socialist Candidate for Governor of Ohio Discharged for Political Reasons.

Capitalists Fear Class-Conscious Labor Politics and Try to Head It Off—Socialist Speakers Are Mobbed by Toughs and Policemen in New Jersey—Socialism or Slavery Is the Issue.

The way of the honest Socialist is not exactly a path of roses. Comrade Harry C. Thompson, of Cincinnati, once candidate for Governor of Ohio, has been discharged from his position as local cashier of the Union Mutual Life Insurance Company for no other reason than his "pernicious activity" in a movement that promises to free the workers and put an end to capitalist profits.

The officers of the company make no secret of the reasons for Comrade Thompson's discharge. They say: "WE DO NOT CARE TO DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT AT ALL, BUT WE DESIRE TO TERMINATE YOUR CONNECTION WITH THIS COMPANY IMMEDIATELY, AS WE ARE POSITIVE THAT IT WOULD NOT BE FOR THE BEST INTERESTS OF THIS COMPANY TO RETAIN IN ITS EMPLOY A PERSON HOLDING THE VIEWS OF A SOCIALIST OR WHO BELONGS TO ANY PARTY OR ORGANIZATION WHICH AIMS TO DESTROY THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH ONLY IT IS PROFITABLE FOR INSTITUTIONS LIKE OUR OWN TO EXIST AND PROSPER."

It is plain enough that they "do not care to discuss this subject at all." Of course not. They "have nothing to arbitrate." They assume that when they hire a man, they buy him body and soul—that, in consideration of being allowed to earn his living by legitimate industry, he "quaintly" surrenders his whole existence into their hands, gives up his right, not only to speak, but even to think, and becomes the mere mouthpiece of their sordid interests. This time they made a mistake, for it was a Socialist they hired, and Socialists are hard to muzzle.

Comrade Thompson says: "As an honest man, I have no argument which could possibly change their conviction, so I have replied that I accept the issue."

#### NOT A NEW GAME.

This is not a new game on the part of the capitalists, and they will keep it up as long as the workers let them. During last year's national campaign the Baltimore and Ohio and several other railroad companies, in view of the fact that Eugene V. Debs was nominated for president, distributed among their employees circulars denouncing Socialism and posted orders forbidding any employee to TAKE PART IN POLITICAL ACTION on pain of discharge.

Capitalist corporations are often glad to have their employees run for office as Republicans and Democratic tickets, because they are sure of being able to control them. It is only when the workers go into independent political action, as the Socialist Party calls upon them to do, that the masters object.

Where is the "right to work," of which capitalists talk so much when it is a question of putting scabs in the place of strikers? Where is the right of free speech which is supposed to be a cornerstone of American liberty? What becomes of liberty of conscience, which we "Anglo-Saxons" are supposed to hold so dear?

#### RIGHT AND MIGHT.

Rights that exist only on paper are rights at all. The capitalists have right on their side to-day, for they control the means of production and decide whether or not a man shall be permitted to earn his living. Working people will have no real rights until they take the means of production, the product of their own labor, as social property, to be used for the common good.

If the working people of Ohio—and not only the manual toilers, but all who work for wages or salary—are subject to the dictation of a boss—if they have the manhood to resent an insult offered to their class, if they wish to protect themselves from similar tyranny, they will cast their votes for the Socialist Party.

#### FREE SPEECH IN COLORADO.

Wilmington, Del., "Justice" reports the case of J. R. Herman, a Single Taxer, who was addressing a large crowd in the streets of Greeley, Colo., one night last week, until he was interrupted by a gang of hoodlums hired by a local mill-owner. The police, instead of arresting the disturbers, stopped Herman from speaking and broke up the meeting. The mayor explained this action of the police by saying he had been informed that Herman had referred to the assassination and was attacking the trusts.

#### REGISTER NEXT FRIDAY.

The four registration days in the city of New York are Friday and Saturday, Oct. 11 and 12, and Friday and Saturday, Oct. 18 and 19.

Remember that you cannot vote unless you are registered. The fact that you registered and voted last year does NOT put you on this year's voting list. You must register EVERY year. Do not wait till the second, third, or fourth day. Something may prevent you the next time. Don't run any risk.

#### SOCIALISM IS THE IDEAL AND HOPE OF A NEW SOCIETY.

Founded on industrial peace and forthrightness, aiming at a new and higher life for all men.—Wm. Morris.

## POISONING THE PUPILS' MINDS.

### Public School Teacher in New York City Called to Order by Socialist.

Told the Children That "All Anarchists and Socialists Must Be Driven from the Country"—Parent's Protest Brings Apology from Superintendent.

An example of the way the minds of the children are being systematically prejudiced against Socialism and against the labor movement in general came to light in this city last week. The prompt action of a comrade, whose child was among those practised upon, will no doubt have a good effect and should be imitated wherever such attempts are detected.

The teacher in question—we may refrain from naming her, since we are informed that she is already in enough trouble over the affair, and may merely say that she is employed in a primary school in this city—told the children in her room that "All Anarchists and Socialists ought to be driven out of the country." Among the pupils was Bella Reichenthal, the daughter of our comrade, N. S. Reichenthal of the 21st A. D. Knowing her father to be a Socialist, she naturally reported the teacher's remark to him. Inquiry proved her report to be true. Comrade Reichenthal immediately addressed an emphatic letter of protest to Borough Superintendent Jasper, and gave information of the matter also to the Socialist press of the city.

Evidently even the school authorities in New York have learned that Socialism is not to be trifled with, for an answer very quickly came from the superintendent, apologizing for the teacher's words, admitting that they were wholly unjustified and improper, and promising that she should be warned against such errors in the future.

The incident is an instructive one, for such outrages are of very frequent occurrence. Many of the teachers are honest in their intentions, but utterly ignorant of social and political questions, and blindly believe all that is told them by the second-rate politicians whom the Republican and Democratic parties commonly choose to administer the schools and all that they read in the books published with a double purpose: by the School Book Trust. Socialist parents should be on their guard against such abuses of the teacher's position.

#### C. F. U. PROTESTS

Against School Teachers Trying to Prejudice Children in Regard to Labor Movement.

Delegate Campbell, of Typographical Union No. 6, declared before the meeting of the Central Federated Union last Sunday that he had been informed on good authority that certain school teachers have recently advised their pupils against trade unionism, while incidentally condemning the printers' fight on the New York "Sun."

The delegate suggested that underhand influences were at work to reach the parents of school children, and prejudice them against the present widespread effort of labor unions to teach the "Sun" a lesson for its long-continued antagonism.

Resolutions were adopted and transmitted to the Board of Education, vigorously condemning such a prostitution of the public schools to the service of the worst enemies of labor. There can be no doubt that there is a systematic attempt being consciously made in capitalist circles to use the influence of the schools to injure the labor movement. It is not only, as Delegate Campbell very reasonably suggested in this case, that the parents are to be reached through the children. The plan is more far-reaching than that. The capitalists recognize that the majority of the school children of to-day will be wage workers ten years from now, and they wish to educate them in a habit of slavish obedience to capitalist rule and of prejudice against the working class movement.

First, that all arrangements were made before this action of the C. F. U. and considerable expenses incurred, so that it was not possible to change the place.

Second, that while the Musicians' Mutual Protective Union, in whose interest the place is managed, is not recognized by the C. F. U., members of Progressive Musicians' Union No. 41, which is recognized, also belong to the M. M. P. U., and go to the Old Homestead Garden to drink non-union beer and eat non-union bread, served by non-union waiters, and are not held responsible.

Third, that there is no hall in Yorkville which fills all the requirements of unionism, and therefore the Club would do no good by going elsewhere.

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#### SOCIALIST DODGERS.

Seth Low nominated: Now for a Sanctioned, Heavenward-eye-rolling, Holler-than-thou campaign! Wow!

Platt turned anti-boss reformer! Now let Croker nominate Coler and we shall pray to Holy Platt and Saint Croker.

Forget not that campaign fund.

The politicians may lay in a stock of "The Worker" as low as they wish, but politicians will have to do a brass halo.

Reformer: "A politician is a thief in public office."

Politician: "A reformer is a politician out of office."

See your friend about that campaign fund. Keep trying.

Three thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight American millionaires own \$16,000,000,000, or one-fifth of the nation's wealth.—New York Herald.

And only 3,828 votes. Poor people! Let us give them our votes.

One way of getting at the \$16,000,000,000 is by selling Socialist literature at the open-air meetings.

#### PROPERTY OWNERS IN POLITICS.

The announcement that a member of the United Real Estate Owners' Association will be nominated by the Democrats to run on their ticket is only a matter of a few days.

A place on the Tammany ticket is vacant, and it is said that a property owner will be selected to fill it. This report comes from an authoritative source.—New York Journal, Sept. 28.

The landlords are getting together, and have their foot on the Tammany and Reform tickets. How about the tenants? They will vote for the landlords.

Whatever the results of the election, the Tenement House Law will go up in a balloon.

Seth Low learned to love the poor man while screwing up the price of coffee.

Anarchist (at large): "The Socialists are at one with the capitalists."

Anarchist (in trouble): "The Anarchists are at one with the Socialists!"

The "Times" proposes to contend against Anarchism with the Bible and Spencer's "Data of Ethics." An excellent idea. Try it on Chicago.

Let the message of Socialism be carried into every house in your assembly district.

The Campaign Committee must have things without number for the campaign. Send in your cash contribution and we shall get the rest.

There are thousands of voters that are waiting for Socialist leaders. It will be YOUR fault if they fail to get them.

A cross under the Arm and Torch is a vote for decent government, clean streets, more schools, habitable dwellings for workmen, etc. The political class know it, and SUCH VOTES CARRY MORE WEIGHT WITH THE POLITICIAN THAN THE VOTES CAST FOR HIS OWN CANDIDATES.

Comrade Phillips has an effective method of treating the malodorous streets. Let the Club have open-air meetings. It is not patented. H. S.

#### PICNIC AT OLD HOMESTEAD GARDEN.

The Young People's Club of Yorkville has issued a statement explaining the circumstances in regard to their picnic at Old Homestead Garden, Third Avenue and Nineteenth Street, Saturday, Oct. 5. The Central Federated Union has lately declared this an "unfair" place, at the instance of the "Gumfiel Walters" Union. The club states:

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## BERNSTEINISM REJECTED.

### Lubec Congress Gives an Overwhelming Vote Against It.

For the Second Time a National Congress of German Social Democrats Refuses Assent to Bernstein's Criticism of the Party's Accepted Principles and Tactics.

The first three days of the national congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, which met at Lubec, Sept. 23, were almost exclusively occupied with the discussion of Eduard Bernstein's criticism of party principles and his attack upon the revolutionary policy of the party.

It will be remembered that the Hansover Congress of 1890 gave four days to the consideration of the same subject, which was discussed in the calmest and most thorough manner, and that the debate ended in the adoption, by a vote of 216 to 21, of a resolution which was then advanced, the party saw no reason for changing its position.

Since that time the controversy has been continued, numerous books and pamphlets have been written on the one side and the other, the magazines and papers of the party have been open to articles on the subject, and the various phases of the question have been exhaustively discussed in the various party organizations.

Especially within the last two years Bernstein has, it is generally thought, shown a greater desire to win a controversial victory than to discover and establish the truth, and the result of last week's debate at Lubec would seem to indicate that his course has not materially increased his influence in the party.

Bernstein spoke at length, presenting his criticism of the theory of the concentration of wealth and the theory of the class struggle, and expounding his theory that the hope of Socialism is in a policy of compromise and alliance with the more liberal or altruistic elements of the capitalist class. Bebel and Singer replied and their rebuttal of his arguments was received with great applause.

A resolution was then introduced, declaring that the Congress recognizes the necessity of the fullest and most untrammelled discussion of party principles and tactics, but that the one-sided and unfair manner in which Bernstein has, during the last year, carried on his criticism and his entire neglect of the duty of a Socialist to fight the capitalists, and his representatives, have placed him in a doubtful position and have justified great dissatisfaction on the part of the comrades; the resolution further declares that he will not fail to heed this expression of the party's opinion in the matter.

This resolution was, after further debate, adopted by a vote of 208 to 31, after which Bernstein, while holding to his position, expressed his intention to obey the will of the party.

#### SOCIALIST CLUB IN BROOKLYN.

There was a large and interested audience at the grand opening, last Saturday night, of the headquarters of the Social Democratic Party of the 16th, 17th, and 18th Assembly Districts, at Fulton and Ralph Avenue, Brooklyn.

Peter E. Burrows opened the outdoor meeting with a characteristic speech, which was well received, and then introduced Algernon Lee. The hall was by this time well filled and a meeting was begun there under the chairmanship of Comrade Burrows.

E. T. Nelson, of New York, was the first speaker, and his vigorous denunciation of capitalism brought forth liberal applause. Comrade Lee followed, speaking on "Government and Strikes," and calling on the working people to vote under the Arm and Torch for judges and public officers who would use the public powers for workers' instead of against them in strikes and lockouts.

The hour was late when Benjamin Hanford, our candidate for Mayor, arrived, as he had been speaking at other meetings. No one left the hall, however, till he had finished. It was evident that his clear exposition of the Social Democratic program made a deep impression on the audience.

The club has beautiful headquarters, with meeting hall, reading room, smoking room, etc. All the painting, paper-hanging, gas-fitting, and other work has been done by volunteer service of the comrades, who have worked hard to establish this permanent club-room, and expect it to prove very beneficial to the Socialist movement in that part of Brooklyn.

A course of Saturday evening lectures has been arranged, beginning with an address by John Spargo on Oct. 5.

#### DEBATE IN BOSTON.

Sunday evening, Oct. 6, a joint debate will be held at 95 Washington Street, Boston, under the auspices of Central Branch, S. D. P., on the question: "Does Socialism or Single Tax solve the Labor Question?" Mr. Robt. R. Martin, of East Dedham, speaks for Single Tax, and Comrade A. Sommerfeld for Socialism. A good attendance is desired.

A short business meeting of the branch will be held after the debate.

FRED LONG WILL SPEAK at Cooper Union, Saturday evening, October 12. BRING YOUR FRIENDS to learn why they should vote for Hanford, Brown, and Stahl. You don't have such a chance every day.

COOPER UNION, OCTOBER 12.

#### TICKET IN VIRGINIA.

### Socialists Put State Candidates in the Field.

John J. Quantz, of Richmond, the Nominee for Governor—Socialists Fight Against Heavy Odds in "Old Dominion."

The Socialists of Virginia are not discouraged by the heavy odds of prejudice and anti-bellum political tradition against which they have to fight. A ticket has been nominated as follows:

For Governor—John J. Quantz, of Richmond.

For Lieutenant-Governor—J. Luther Kilmer, of Shenandoah.

For House of Delegates—E. K. Emerson, of Newport News.

In the South, as everywhere, political conditions are changing and the labor movement is being forced into an aggressive policy. There are good prospects, therefore, for a large increase in the vote of the Socialist Party in the "Old Dominion."

All Virginia workmen or others who are in sympathy with the Socialist movement are requested to communicate with J. J. Quantz, Ballard House, Richmond.

#### OHIO TICKET FILED.

Socialist Candidates Go on the Official Ballot with 1,500 Signatures to Spare.

The Ohio state ticket of the Socialist Party was filed with the Secretary of State last Saturday. The number of signatures to the nomination petition required by law is 10,200, and the party actually bore 11,725 names. The arduous and thankless work of getting signatures being thus completed, the actual campaign now begins in earnest.

The movement is in good condition in Cleveland, Dayton, and the other centers where it has been established in past years, and it has recently spread to parts of the state that have never before been reached. Ohio will undoubtedly make a good showing for Socialism when the votes are counted.

#### PENNSYLVANIA TICKET FILED.

State Committee Reports Great Increase of Socialist Activity in the State.

The nomination papers for state candidates of the Socialist Party were filed at Harrisburg, Pa., last Monday.

The candidates are: For State Treasurer—J. Mahlon Barnes, of Philadelphia.

For Judge of the Supreme Court—Charles Heydrick, of Erie.

The Philadelphia county ticket is as follows:

For District Attorney—William Finckelstein.

For Recorder of Deeds—Frederick Hecker.

For City Controller—George Foider.

For Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions—Christian Ludwig.

For Revisor of Taxes—F. W. Skorsky.

The state and city committees met together on Saturday to make a tour of the state from west to east. Clinton Stinson will also give a week or more to agitation in the state. The campaign in Philadelphia will be wound up by a great meeting in the Academy of Music, with H. G. Wilshear as the principal speaker.

Howard H. Caldwell has been employed as state organizer for the two months before election, and is doing good work. The State Committee wishes to hear from Socialists all over the state, especially in Wyoming, Clinton, Centre, Mifflin, Juniata, Perry, Cumberland, and other counties in the central region. Address the State Secretary, J. W. Quick, 6229 Woodland Avenue, Philadelphia.

The State Committee needs money to carry on its work, and calls on all sympathizers to contribute. The appeal for funds says:

"The next four weeks mean much to the cause of our party. The opportunity is here to strike a blow for human liberty at the ballot box the fifth of November next. Let there be no wavering now that the real crisis is at hand. It is a duty which we owe to suffering humanity, to ourselves, as well as to our children; that not a stone is left unturned to bring forth the best results of our coming election. Nickels, dimes, and dollars added to this fund now—and till we go to the ballot box and demand our equal rights with the courage of a freeman's ballot—will be greatly appreciated by your committee."

Contributions will be received by the following representatives of the State Committee: In Philadelphia—"Taxation," 613 Callowhill Street; "New Era," 114 N. Ninth Street; in Erie, J. E. Perry, 119 Sansauere Street; in Allegheny, Wm. S. Tiescher, 1509 Manhattan Street; in Wilkes Barre, J. G. Roth, 40 W. Market Street; in Reading, P. R. East, 1213 Green Street; in York, H. W. Shoy, 5 Green Street; in Pottsville, Eugene Struhl; in Pittsburg, John Ansel, 194 Grant Street; in New Castle, J. W. White, 10 Sankey Street; in Lancaster, L. Le-Biber, 901 Janet Street; in Carbondale, P. G. Hersey, 12 Hospital Street; in Roanoke, W. Jacques. Hurry up the funds.

#### CAPITALISM THE CAUSE OF CRIME.

George Murphy, arrested for burglary last Sunday night, by Detective Lewis, when taken to the Leonard Street Police Station, collapsed from lack of food. He had been out of work for months, had almost nothing to eat for three days, and his wife and three children were sick and starving, depending on their neighbors for support.

It is when pursued by want and hunger, when wives and children are suffering for lack of bread, that men turn, in desperation, to crime. Every starvation, every crime, and every suicide adds another count to the indictment of capitalism—the industrial system by which some men accumulate millions without working, because they own the factories and machines with which others work for them, and by which other men are denied the right to live by honest labor because the things they must work with are in the hands of the capitalist who will not let them work when he cannot "find a market," to sell their product at a profit to himself.

Private ownership of the means of existence throws thousands out of

work, and drives women to prostitution and men to crime, and then builds prisons to put them in. A man who steals a loaf of bread is sure to be in prison almost before he has time to eat it, but other men are allowed regularly to rob the workers of all they produce, and are sent to the legislature and given opportunities to steal franchises and railroads, without interference.

Socialists believe that the mills, factories, mines, machines, and other means of production should be owned by the people collectively, so that each could get the full product of his labor, instead of having it go to some other man as payment for mere ownership of some factory or machine or other capital which he did not create and does not use.

Remove the incentive to crime, by giving every man a chance to make an honest living easily, which all could do by a few hours' work a day if each got the full value of his labor, and crime would disappear.

If you think this would be a good thing, work and agitate and vote for SOCIALISM.

#### ROCHESTER'S CAMPAIGN.

Election District Clubs Are Hard at Work.

Social Democratic campaign clubs have now been organized in four of the seven election districts of the Seventeenth Ward. The First Election District Club started with twenty-eight men and meets every Saturday night at Higley's Hall, La Force Street and Clinton Avenue North.

The Second Election District Club has forty-three charter members, and meets every Wednesday at Schug's Hall, Hollenbeck Street and Avenue A. The Fourth District Club had twenty-three members at the start and meets every Thursday at Schroeder's Hall, Thomas and Alfonso Streets.

The Fifth District Club was organized with twenty-six men, and holds its meetings on Friday evenings at McNeely's Hall, Gorham and St. Paul Streets.

These four election districts will be organized on the same plan, and clubs will also be formed in the Seventh, Eighth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Wards.

Campaign speeches are made at every club meeting. Comrades Sieverman, Allman, Bach, and Swain speaking in English, and Comrade Lippert in German. Good audiences are the rule. All workmen are invited to attend. Meetings will be held next week in the Fifteenth and Twentieth Wards, after which caucuses will be held to nominate ward officers. During the past week caucuses have been held in five wards and nominations made as follows:

#### FIFTH WARD.

For Supervisor—Wm. Frank.

For Alderman—Wm. Smith.

For Constable—Fred Boehm.

SEVENTH WARD.

For Supervisor—Louis Lichter.

For Alderman—Geo. Southworth.

For Constable—Morris Lippmann.

EIGHTH WARD.

For Supervisor—Geo. Webber.

For Alderman—John A. Frank.

For Constable—Giuseppe Fiore.

SIXTEENTH WARD.

For Supervisor—Andrew Hoerstein.

For Alderman—Joel Moses.

For Constable—Daniel Cook.

EIGHTEENTH WARD.

For Supervisor—J. G. Schaefflein.

On Saturday night, Oct. 5, Comrades Sieverman and Bach will address a meeting at Higley's Hall, La Force Street and Clinton Avenue North. Sunday, Oct. 6, opening at 8 p. m., is the first meeting of the fall session of the Labor Lyceum, which will be addressed by "the workers' pastor," William Thurston Brown. Everybody is welcome.

M.

NEBRASKA CONVENTION.

The State Convention of the Socialists of Nebraska was held in Washington Hall, Omaha, Neb., on Saturday, Sept. 21. Two hundred and sixty delegates were in attendance, and the hall would scarcely hold the crowd, which manifested enthusiasm such as is seldom seen. State organization was perfected, and the following officers were elected: Chairman, Prof. J. A. Boyce; Secretary, Geo. E. Baird; National Committeeman, Bernard McCaffery. The following state ticket was nominated:

For Judge of the Supreme Court—J. B. Randolph of Omaha.

For Regent of State University—Miss Ruth Wilke of Brock.

For Regent of State University—William Schram of Kearney.

All Socialists in the state who are not now affiliated with the party are requested to communicate with the State Secretary, Geo. C. Baird, 519 New York Life Building



## The Worker.

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### SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) ..... 2,088  
In 1890 ..... 13,331  
In 1892 (Presidential) ..... 21,157  
In 1894 ..... 33,133  
In 1896 (Presidential) ..... 30,564  
In 1898:  
S. L. P. ..... 82,204  
S. D. P. ..... 9,543  
In 1900 (Presidential):  
S. D. P. ..... 96,918  
S. L. P. ..... 33,450

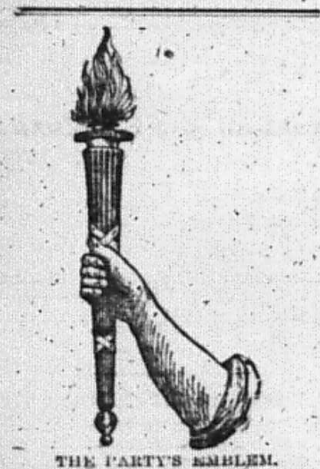
### NEW YORK CITY TICKET.

FOR MAYOR—  
BENJAMIN HANFORD.

FOR CONTROLLER—  
MO R. BROWN.

PRESIDENT BOARD OF ALDERMEN  
HENRY STAHL.

THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.



### "THE PRICE OF LIBERTY."

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," said Patrick Henry; and we hope our Americanism will not be impeached when we quote the immortal saying of that admirable rebel and traitor for he was in his time against the ruling powers who are now taking advantage of the assassination as a pretext for suppressing all honest criticism of existing conditions and institutions.

We print in this issue of The Worker several significant items that show how seriously endangered are the historic, civil and political rights for which Americans of earlier days have shed their blood. The events may seem to the average way-going, apathetic American citizen of the present day quite insignificant in themselves or, at most, of only local interest. But it is a fatal mistake to think thus. Straws show which way the wind blows. No encouragement on our established liberties can be too small or too far away to call out the angry protest of every citizen who craves for freedom.

When a text-book can be tolerated in the public school which condemns together "rioters, strikers, and law-breakers," when a teacher in New York City can tell the pupils under her charge that "All Anarchists and Socialists must be driven out of the country," when a very moderate "reform" paper in Washington can be confiscated for expressing unpopular views on the marriage question, when a Socialist speaker in New Jersey can be mobbed and "battered unmercifully" without a hand being raised in his behalf by the police, when in another Jersey town a police chief can threaten to forbid Socialist meetings on the streets, when a mayor in Missouri can seriously consider the request of a lot of "conscientious citizens" that he forbid the holding of a Socialist state convention in the city, when a Single Tax speaker in Colorado can be stopped by the police on no other ground than that he "referred to the assassination and attacked the trusts"—when all these things can happen within ten days, the rights of free speech and of honest public education are in serious danger.

If the less intelligent of the capitalists and the more rabid and servile of their defenders have their way, the

meeting of Congress and the legislatures this winter will be marked by the passage of laws authorizing ignorant and prejudiced policemen and judges to treat equally ignorant and more unfair to exercise a censorship over all discussion of public questions through the press or from the platform. It may be that wiser councils will prevail for the inevitable result of such legislation would be to breed riot, to provoke violence, to foster and intensify the already growing hatred of the ruling class and its representatives. It may be that wiser councils will prevail; but it is not very probable, for a ruling class seldom makes a chance to get itself "written down, an ass."

Whether such reactionary legislation is enacted or whether the rulers continue in their present course of baldly illegal repression, it is the duty of every Socialist, of every workman, of every man who loves order and liberty and fair play, to raise his voice and cast his vote in protest against such reactionary and disastrous invasions of the people's rights. If we are not all safe, none of us are safe. The question concerns all. The danger threatens all except that ruling class which creates the danger.

If a reform paper can be confiscated for criticizing the marriage system, then the next step will be to confiscate trade union papers for supporting strikes; for, depend upon it, the capitalist hates strikers worse than he hates "free-lovers." If the holding of a Socialist convention can be forbidden by the legal representatives of the respectable deceivers of Labor, then the same respectable deceivers can prevent any labor organizations from meeting. If a Socialist or a Single Taxer can be arrested or mobbed with impunity, then no workman will be safe when he lifts his voice against the master class.

For it is all a part of the class struggle. It is not any question of abstract morality that interests the capitalists; it is a question of holding on to their unequal profits. They do not really care about the marriage system; if they did they would not furnish so many harems, would not drive women through poverty to prostitution and through prostitution to suicide, as they do. They do not really care about the late President, even, except as his fate makes them fear for their own lives; if they had any decent human regard for him they would not insult his memory by turning his mourning for him into a scramble for dollars and notoriety, as they all did—from "Holy John" of Philadelphia to "Cheep John" of the Bowery.

No, what they care for is profits and more profits and still more profits. And what they fear is the labor movement, and especially the Socialist movement, and that is what they will try to stamp out. They cannot succeed; they are fools to think they can. But the reason they cannot succeed is that the working people, and especially the Socialists, will fight and keep on fighting till the suppressors are suppressed.

And we must begin now. Every time a crime of capitalism passes unpunished, unrebuked, so much strength has been gained by the enemies of liberty and order and progress. So we say, Begin now and keep it up.

If the police attempt to interfere with your meetings or fail to protect them from blood-roydism, make it an issue at once. Hold meetings, early and often. Rally in force round your speakers. Fight your cases in the courts, if need be. Fight them at the bar of public opinion, too, by publishing the facts and circulating papers and leaflets on every hand in defense of your rights.

If the police attempt to suppress or intimidate your papers, defy them. If they confiscate one issue, see that you outwit them and get the next issue into the people's hands before the police know what you are about.

Watch the schools, too, and the pulpits and the press. When a newspaper lies about the working class, stop buying that paper, agitate against it, and make it feel your influence. When a preacher misrepresents the labor movement, challenge him to debate, and show him up as an ignoramus, expose him as a coward, or nail him as a liar. When a teacher tries to poison the minds of your children with capitalist precepts and slanders on the Socialists or the trade unions, make vigorous protest to the authorities, call attention to the crime through the press and in public meetings, and put a stop to it.

And, above all, workmen, and all who would be freemen, VOTE FOR LIBERTY. The Republican politicians and editors have not condemned those outrages we have here cited; they have not condemned the kidnapping of strikers by capitalists at Tampa; they have not condemned the enjoining and arresting and clubbing and shooting of strikers all over the land. The Democratic politicians and editors have not condemned those things. Both parties have a hand in such crimes. The strongest protest, the most effective resistance, to such usurpations and abuses is a vote for Socialism, a vote under the emblem of the Arm and Torch—the Arm of Labor, upholding the Torch of Enlightenment.

It has been said, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." Assuredly, submission to tyrants is treason to Humanity. Watch and work and vote for freedom, for that is finally the greatest good of all.

### ANOTHER DEFEAT FOR BERNSTEINISM.

Several of the leading capitalist papers have, of late, given considerable attention to the alleged rapid growth of Bernsteinism in the German Social Democracy—devoting for this purpose far more space than they ever cared to give to explaining the actually accepted principles of the party or to recording its brilliant victories. They have been very prodigal of fatherly advice to the Socialists of America, assuring us that if we would follow the example of our German comrades, throw Marx and Engels overboard, forget the class struggle, abandon our rule of "No compromise," and transform our movement into a mere radical reform party, we should be able to accomplish our ends much more easily.

Such advice—especially when offered by such tried and trusted foes as the "Sun" and the "Journal"—has not been very cordially received by the Social Democratic Party of the United States. Even though it were true that the German Social Democracy had become "Bernsteinized," we said, that should not decide us to follow the same course. But we presumed even to doubt the truth of the news so widely published by our advisers, that the party in Germany was actually on the point of abandoning its established course and accepting Bernstein's compromising leadership; the wish, we said, was father to the thought. And so it has proved.

The discussion of all questions of principle and policy raised by Bernstein, both by word of mouth in party gatherings and by the circulation of books, pamphlets, and articles in the German party press, has been so free, so thorough, and, with slight exceptions, so calm and judicial in its tone, that we may rest assured that the vote taken last week in the congress at Lieke very accurately represents the real opinion of the rank and file of the whole German Social Democratic Party.

In the Hanover Congress of 1899 the resolution rejecting Bernstein's theories was adopted by a vote of 216 to 21. In the Lieke Congress the resolution rejecting his theories and virtually censuring him for the offensive manner in which he has been advocating them is passed by a vote of 203 to 31. The severe character of the rebuff now given to the compromisers fully accords, and more than makes up for the slight difference in the vote.

The result is most satisfactory to us. Our German comrades stand true alike to the revolutionary traditions of the movement, and to the present needs of the working class, in spite of all the alluring promises of immediate success at the price of real ultimate defeat, which a program of compromising reform always offers. The defeat, the repeated defeat, of the reactionary and compromising elements in the movement is to be credited, not alone, nor chiefly, to the learning and eloquence of Bebel, of Liebknecht, of Kautsky, of Singer, but rather to the sturdy common sense, practical knowledge, and class feeling of the working people. Resolutions are not made; they grow. Revolutionary determination, thought and feeling is not created by party leaders, but by economic conditions. The Socialist movement of the world will remain a revolutionary movement, in spite of Bernstein and his lesser imitators, until it completes its work; for the conditions by which the capitalists profit and the workers suffer inevitably create and guide the revolution which is to abolish those conditions.

Hardly less significant to us than the fact of the defeat of Bernsteinism is the admirable manner in which the controversy has been conducted. We may well observe the methods of the German movement and profit by its experience.

Here we have had a man of high standing in the German party inaugurating an attack upon important fundamental points of Socialist theory as formulated in the party program and upon fundamental points of Socialist policy laid down by the resolutions of its successive congresses. His past services command attention; he gains a certain following; his theories excite the interest of the whole party membership and are hailed with joy by the enemies of Socialism. A great controversy arises within the party, lasting now more than three years, and the lines become clearly drawn between those who hold to the established position and those who support his attacks upon it.

Yet there is no attempt on the part of the party organization or of the party press to stifle this discussion or to exercise any special censorship over it. There is no suggestion that the innovator be expelled or otherwise disciplined. On the other hand, the officers, the editors, and the leaders of the party urge the necessity of calm and respectful consideration for his criticisms. "If we are wrong," they say, "we wish to know it. Let us hear and weigh all the arguments. Frank criticism, even of our most cherished the-

ories, is the duty as well as the right of every comrade. Party discipline is to be invoked only when an individual presumes to misrepresent the expressed opinions of the party or when he acts in violation of its decisions. If he can change the opinion of the party, well and good; if he can show us that our present course is wrong, we shall change it; so long as he seeks only to persuade the party to his views, not to defy its rules, he is within his right and will have the widest liberty."

What is the result of this sane and liberal policy? Just the reverse of that produced by the hysterical intolerance of which we had an experience in the American Socialist movement a few years ago. DeLeonism, with its dedication of discipline and anathema upon all criticism, provoked incessant secessions, divisions, and stopped the party's growth in its central stronghold. In Germany the internal differences have been far greater; yet not only has the attack been successfully met, but there has been no secession and no desertions worthy of mention, and the progress of the party has not been interrupted nor even checked.

We in America do not stand greatly in need of the lesson just now. Since the overthrow of DeLeonism in 1899 it is, perhaps, more important to urge the preservation of discipline within its proper sphere than to raise a warning voice against its extension beyond that sphere. Yet we may bear the lesson in mind, for occasions will surely arise when we shall again be tempted to confuse criticism with treason. The most valuable feature of the Bernstein controversy is the practical demonstration that the widest freedom of discussion within our ranks is perfectly compatible with the most effective party discipline.

### A LESSON FOR THE WEAK-KNEED.

"The South Chicago steel workers who feared to violate a contract will no doubt be glad to learn that Mr. Schwab is without fear in that respect," says the "Workers' Call," commenting upon the fact that the South Chicago mills, where the men refused to go out during the strike, have been put by the Steel Trust in the list of non-union works. One is tempted to say, "Serve them right." They might have helped to win the strike, instead of helping to defeat it. Success would have benefited them along with the rest; by strengthening the whole craft and the whole labor movement. They chose to betray their fellow workers in order to "stand in" with their bosses—and they are the first sufferers from the defeat they helped to bring about.

The incident points two morals: First, capitalists never hesitate an instant about breaking a contract with workers, if they can gain a penny by doing it. It is therefore nonsense for workmen to talk about breach of contract in time of labor war. Second, the capitalist never gives the slightest consideration to the weak, the strike-breaker, the disloyal or weak-kneed unionist, once that person has served his purpose. Any man respects a brave and consistent enemy more than a cowardly one or a traitor from the opposing side. The Steel Trust magnates may hate the McKeesport men more than they hate the South Chicago men. But they respect McKeesport a thousand times more.

The labor movement is a class struggle. It is war, and it cannot be conducted upon the principles of a church festival. The capitalist is always and everywhere the enemy of the working class—the insidious and unscrupulous foe of the movement for Labor's emancipation. War to the end, must be the watchword of the workers. Let the war be waged unitedly and unwaveringly by the working class, in the union hall and at the ballot box, and the end will be victory, freedom, and peace.

We wish to be able to give fuller reports of the Socialist vote in the coming election and to give them more promptly than ever before. We must depend on the comrades throughout the country to help us in this. We therefore ask that in each local a certain comrade—be he organizer, secretary, or other member—be charged with the duty of sending in the report as soon as obtained. The comrade so chosen is further requested to write us at once, stating the vote cast by the S. D. P. (and by the S. L. P., if any) at the last national election and also at any local election which may since have occurred, in the territory covered by his organization. To have this information compiled in advance will help us greatly in making up reports in the issue following. Address these letters to the editor of The Worker.

In another column we print the address of Comrade Quants of Richmond, who appeared before the Constitutional Convention on behalf of the organized working people of the state. Some time since, we called attention to the fact that more than nine-tenths of the members of the Convention were lawyers, bankers, manufacturers, or planters, and that there was not one wage-worker in the ordinary sense of the word, in the whole number—a few physicians and school teachers being the only representatives of the socially useful classes who make up the majority of the population of the state. It

goes without saying that such a body would pay but little attention to the demands of the working class. Comrade Quants' address is, in effect, a protest against class rule. It is for the organized workmen, whom he represented, to support that protest by independent political action on class lines, in behalf of their class interests as against the interests of the class that owns the land, the railroads, the factories, and all the means by which the people live. The Socialist Party is in the field for that purpose. It is the party of the working class and vigorous support of its ticket and platform is the only way to check the usurpation of power by the possessing class.

The anti-trust laws passed by the Populists of Nebraska in 1897 have been declared invalid by United States Judge McPherson. How low, on Lord, how low before the poor Pops and other angry anti-trusters will find out that the trusts cannot be controlled or legislated out of existence, but must be owned by the people!

A "reform" administration might raid the gambling dens of the Tenderloin, but it would do nothing that might interfere with the operations of the biggest gambling joint in the world, which is Wall Street, the gambling trust, where the game is always "quess" and the stake is the people's bread. A "reform" administration might carry on a crusade against vice, but it would have nothing to say about the factories and department stores, where such low wages are paid as to drive women to sell their bodies for bread. Too many of the "reformers" own stock in them.

The "Sun" exults in the news that several more great capitalists are going to make New York their home. The joy of the "Sun" may be pardoned when we consider that it is probably caused by the expectation that the coming of these aristocratic individuals will increase its dwindling circulation by two or three copies. We congratulate our cantankerous contemporary. It is not every day that its circulation shows such gains!

Parkhurst wants to electrify the Tammany office-holders. A better way is to vote Hanford, Brown, and Stahl into the places of Ice-man Van Wyck, Stock-broker Coler, and Garbage-pull Philanthropist Guggenheimer.

If the "reform" leaders in New York were wise they would offer the "Sun" a good round bribe to oppose Seth Low. Workmen will know better than to believe the "Sun," which bitterly attacked Low four years ago, when it now declares Low to be the right man for Mayor of New York. And they will know better than to believe in the professed friendship of Candidate Low, so long as he is supported by the scab "Sun." Hanford, both by voting for Sen. Hanford under the Arm and Torch.

Police Captain Edwards, of Newark, says: "I don't give a damn for the Constitution of the United States." He voiced the sentiments of the capitalist class, for which he was acting when he broke up a Socialist meeting. The capitalist does not give a damn for any section of the Constitution which guarantees the rights of the people. The Socialist Party is the only one which champions those rights.

### THE PARTY NAME.

To All Readers of This Paper in the State of NEW YORK.—The party which this paper represents, heretofore known as the Social Democratic Party, decided at its recent convention in Indianapolis to assume the name of SOCIALIST PARTY. The provisions of the election laws of this state are such, however, that it has been found advisable to retain the old name in the state of NEW YORK through the present campaign. Our ticket will be found on the official ballot under the name of SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY and under the party emblem of the ARM AND TORCH. That is the ticket for workmen to vote.

### OBSERVE THE DIFFERENCE.

To All Readers of This Paper.—Please observe that the party which this paper represents—the body which at its recent convention in Indianapolis, adopted the name of Socialist Party, but which, for campaign purposes is known in the state of New York as the Social Democratic Party—has absolutely no connection with the Socialist Labor Party, so unfavorably known among workmen for its antagonism to the trade union movement. This paper, in accordance with the policy of the Socialist Party, supports the principle of trade unionism, but calls upon the trade unionists to use their political power at the ballot box for the emancipation of the working class.

### WHICH SYSTEM IS BETTER?

The Lake Shore road has just put on thirty-five large engines that pull about three common trains, and has laid off thirty-five full crews—about 175 men. Under Socialism these new engines would be welcomed by every railroad man, as they would tend to reduce the hours of labor without reducing the pay, for less labor producing as much service would be entitled to as much pay. It is a very different matter the private ownership of the railroads and other industries. It now has the effect of throwing men out of employment. Which system would most benefit the workers? Appeal to Reason.

### "THIS MAN OR BARABBAS?"

BY PETER E. BURROWS.

The first lesson ever learned by man in his groping out of the darkness of primal life was the need of fellowship in living and organization in labor. Without this perception the human creature, or he that is still trying to be human, would have remained in the jungle, one of the contending families of predatory beasts and nothing more.

In yielding his willingness to and forming his habits upon, that perceived necessity, he began to outdo the race with its greatest possession, a sense of the other. There and then he began to turn his back upon anarchy, and every step taken by him from that brute kingdom, ever since, has been a step away from competition and towards Socialism; and when, later on, he joyfully counts the human speed by which he has outrun the anarchy of private striving, the same measure will tell how far he has left Anarchy, and also the Republican and Democratic parties behind him. The subordination of himself to the intelligence of another for the purposes of a more effective labor process was really the first true act of the greatly human; and the deed of that redemptive act was the worker, so soon, alas, and so long, to be made the slave of society.

It is not easy to see how mankind in his industrial childhood could have escaped this condition of slavery; and it is therefore very easy to see that slavery and the slave, born of human necessity and racial instinct, contained not only the foundation-stones of material civilization in labor-power and skill, but also the only ethical quality by which society could exist—the quality of obedience to external human requirements.

Has it happened that in the broken course of human events there appears among us a class of separatists who refuse to give their life effort in labor force or mental activities to the co-operative and organized industry of the whole democracy? Have you seen any of these men? Have they come into your life? If so, you are up against the world's problem, and it is this: What is mankind going to do with these men, or what are these men going to do with mankind?

If there be a dollar aristocracy in this land already established, or forming, which must rule in order to exist, and whose rule over the workingman is only a transaction in "bookkeeping" for the maintenance of a perpetual and ever-growing credit on their own side and the reduction of the laborer to enforced payment of that debt by servitude—A debt ever increasing and never paid—then the only way to get rid of it is to be liquidated. If that debt relation between the worker and the dollar aristocracy finally filters down to the payment of an entire day's labor-force for the right to live, what are these men going to do with mankind? Or what is mankind going to do with these men? The instinct that led the savages to his first emergence out of the jungle is still there. This instinct of self-preservation has long ago invaded itself in the family, the tribe, and the nation, and it is now in the birth-throes of a larger sense, by which it is striving to "invest" itself in the race. To this end it has been feeling about the world these many years for its typical man. A long time ago it thought it had found him in the priest. And how generously did the social instinct bestow itself upon the robes of the priest, the priest, and the prophet! Then it thought it found him in the patriot. And how loyally it poured out itself at the feet of the professional patriot! Now the priest and the patriot are both absorbed and there remains only these two: The capitalist man who has absorbed the priest and the patriot; and the workman, who is getting his product, ready for use, as an inviolable section of the proletariat or the capitalist. In which of these shall the instinct of self-preservation invest itself seeking the largest and deepest laid security for its interest in the whole of the human race? To which of these two, the last of the classes, shall it yield itself? Shall it be this workingman or Barabbas?

Barabbas declines to give his labor-force or his labor activities co-operatively and organically to the whole equal life of the democracy. He is, by his own choice, declared an outsider when human solidarity makes demand. Under the guidance of renegade priests he has sought to rob man of all faith in mankind as a whole, and taught him to believe in himself only as the denizen of a rat-hole with some private property of a miser, and heretofore description. Barabbas is the arch-teacher of universal human depravity until baptized by private property. "It is not that mankind shall be damned," said Barabbas, "but how many individuals out of the damned multitude can prove themselves rescued by being able to show a full pocket-book." If the pocket-book be lost, our only way of salvation, the capitalist, is evidently the man not to be chosen by seekers for universal salvation through pocket-books.

If the capitalist aristocrat must live to rule and must rule to live, and if this he must always spell profit, the profit of his class; and if his rule must always spell increasing profits to a diminishing number of his class, and increasing loss to the increasing multitude of a broken population, then the instinct of self-preservation which seeks to realize itself in the preservation that is the largest, the deepest, and the most enduring, will not choose Barabbas for its running mate.

By choice, I say, Barabbas stands outside of human solidarity, in the ranks of the ballistae capitalists. He is a creature for isolate and lonely property. His sect is therefore an alien sect without virtue. If you doubt this, glance at the treatises of political police prepared for public teaching in our schools and called "economy," "economics" at the editorials of any "respectable" daily on the Socialist movement for a more collective life, and then choose, you who are choosing for the greater life of the world, between the only two typical historical men remaining, the worker and the savior of those that work, whether it shall be the former or the latter—"This man or Barabbas."

The half-born democracy of the world, in their political efforts after what is called government, have introduced nothing more remarkable than these seven laws: First, that government by parties is necessary and right; second, that politics moves on a different road from and for other purposes than do the footsteps of the world's laborers; third, that it is possible to continue a democracy (and be free) in which private appropriation is recognized to be the business of every citizen; fourth, that it is possible to arrive at order and to avoid anarchy under competition; fifth, that political equality can continue among men between whom the relation of slave and master has been established; sixth, that any society can endure which suffers some of its members to fight for bread and others to live upon all that the fighters lose above bread; seventh, that any society can be purely set at nought, which is based upon any other interest than that of its downmost men.

The world question, therefore, which men are called upon to answer at the great political assemblage to be held throughout the city during these coming days and nights of the fall campaign is this: Which is the criminal class? What, though the choice this time, be not a national one; it is nevertheless the same choice to the class-conscious voter. There is not a village election, however indifferent the nominal issues may appear, and whoever the candidates may be, that does not present to the trained mind of the class-conscious Socialist this same alternative—the choice between the cause and the friends of the criminal profit-monger, and the cause and the friends of the wealth-producers. All other men have vanished out of political life and there is no other life now, save that these two; they have been cast in the iron moulds of history; but yet, happily for the hope of the world, leaving the mind comparatively free; free enough at least to make this choice; and free if we vote right. Which shall it be—Hanford or the automob, Socialism or more capitalism—"this man or Barabbas?"

The Canadian Socialists have been allowed complete "home rule" so far as the work of propaganda was concerned, and no charter fees or membership dues were drawn into a central fund to aid in the work of the organizing secretary, appointed by the Toronto league, who has been favorably situated for this work by his connection with "Citizen and Country."

Seventeen Socialist leagues have been formed together with Socialist clubs in Nelson, Vancouver, and Nanaimo, B. C., and Brantford, Ontario. An Icelandic Socialist club in Winnipeg, Man., and a Fabian Socialist league in St. John, N. B., are two recent additions to the list. Through the aid of this paper \$500 has been pledged by various comrades towards paying the expenses of a paid organizer for Socialism. An organizer is working on Manitoulin Island and will do a month's work in Ontario, and it is now proposed to guarantee sufficient money from the central fund to allow the British Columbia comrades to place an organizer in the field for three months' work in Western Canada.

"Citizen and Country" believes that Canadian Socialism has outgrown its semi-organized condition, and should take another step forward by completing its national organization and enunciating its principles as a political organization. In many districts it will be wise to continue an educational campaign, but others are ready to take political action. A national organization is needed to raise funds for literature and organization work.

The Canadian movement should follow the example set by our United States comrades at the recent Indianapolis convention, by forming the Canadian Socialist Party, the branch organizations to continue to be called leagues. The recently drafted declaration of principles might be reinforced by a number of "immediate demands" similar to those adopted by the American Socialists, and a national constitution and by-laws similar to those of the United States Socialist Party, or the Independent Labor Party of England, adopted. A fee of ten cents per member per month would probably supply sufficient funds for the movement, although the dues in the United States are twenty cents per month. Provincial organizations should supplement the national body and a national headquarters could be chosen by a referendum vote.

British Columbia Socialists have already called a convention to complete their provincial organization, and their gathering on October 2 in Vancouver will do good work by aiding in the work of national organization. Let wise action be taken in Vancouver and a convention of all Canadian Socialists will be called to complete the work in the East, to meet on Thanksgiving day.

The anniversary of the revolution of 1808 was celebrated at Madrid and other towns last Sunday. At a meeting of 20,000 Republicans and Socialists at Barcelona the crowds proceeded to lay a wreath upon the monument of General Prim, the once famous insurgent leader in Spain. The police interfered and a fight ensued, the crowd using stones and the police firing upon them. Two policemen and three of the demonstrating crowd were wounded.

The Japanese Socialist "Labor World" contains a pitiful account of the system of slavery which has been followed by the introduction of the factory system of western civilization into that country. The writer deals specifically with the case of some 15,000 women and girls who are employed in the silk industry in the province of Nagano, which is noted for its silk. Each factory engages 50 to 500 hands. In order to get cheap workers, the masters employ the peasant girls, fees to obtain girls from the rural districts. The farmers are deluded by glowing stories of good wages to sign contracts handing over their daughters to the agents. The girls are then shipped in cages like African slaves, and brought to the factory to complete the contracts. Brought to the factories, the girls are subjected to horrible conditions. They have to begin work at 4 a. m., and continue till 10 p. m., seven days a week. From June to December the girls are not allowed to leave the filthy foul-factory. Incredible as it may seem, the factories are surrounded like prisons with fences or ditches to prevent their escape. Every liberty is taken away from the girls. They are neither allowed to strike, nor receive letters, nor must all the time—even when going to the water closet and are fined one yen for standing! They are only allowed a few minutes to take their food, which is of the coarsest description. No pay is given till the girls have served their contracts (which appear to extend six months). The sick girls can earn 20 sen (equal to 2 cents) a day, while inferior workers may not receive more than 8 to 10 sen. It is alleged that the girls—even of tender age—are subject to the grossest outrage, and many of them are morally and physically ruined for life.

### NEW LONDON NOMINEES.

The Socialists of New London, Conn., have a ticket in the field for the local election of Oct. 7. The candidates are:

For Treasurer—Abraham H. Kellen.  
For Sheriff—Gottfried Laidle.  
For Assessor—Max Frank.  
For Member of the Board of Relief—Frank Schwann.  
For Town Clerk—Henry Devan.

### COOPER UNION, OCTOBER 12.

Regular Sunday evening lectures will be held, as before, on Sunday, Oct. 6 beginning at 8 p. m. Algernon Lee speaks on "Class Interests and Social Ideals." Following him will come, on Oct. 13, John Spurgeon, on "Essential Differences between Socialism and Anarchism." Oct. 20, Peter E. Burrows on "The Present War and the Socialists." Oct. 27, Leonard D. Abbott, on "The Issues of the Campaign." Nov. 4, Alexander Fraser, on "Crime and Its Causes." Besides these lectures, meetings will be held in the headquarters almost every night till election. Good open-air meetings are also being held by the League, and Comrades Nicholson, Loewenthal, Phillips, Spargo, Reichenbach, Mayell, Goldfarb, Sachs, and others are working faithfully.



## PARTY NOTES.

**BEN HANFORD'S LECTURE** at Colonial Hall, One Hundred and First street and Columbus avenue, on Sunday evening last was listened to by a large and attentive audience, who liberally applauded our minority candidate's able exposition of Socialism and Socialist politics as contrasted with capitalism and capitalist politics. At the conclusion of the lecture questions were answered by Comrade Hanford in a clear and satisfactory manner. Comrade Mayes presided, and the meeting was under the direction of Comrades Martin, Hall, and others. Next Sunday evening, Thos. B. McGuire will speak on "Dangers of the Present Social Conditions." Mr. McGuire is not a Socialist, and an interesting discussion is expected.

**THE 20TH D. D. BROOKLYN**, was twenty-six districts organized under the supervision of captains, who have charge of distributing literature, etc. There is a good supply of literature at headquarters. Captains are called upon to get out all literature possible before registration days; also each captain shall send to the secretary the names of at least ten persons to be put on the list of the Young People's Social Club. The "Campaign Committee" meets every Friday, at 8 p. m.

**THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIAL** Democratic Club, of Yorkville will have a picnic and summer festival at Old Homestead Garden, Third avenue and Ninetieth street, on Saturday, Oct. 5, which promises to be a grand success. Comrade Glutner, who was elected manager of this affair, has made every arrangement for the enjoyment of young and old. As the proceeds are for the campaign fund, the support of all the comrades for miles around is asked for. The admission will be 15 cents at the gate. If tickets are bought before hand, 10 cents.

Comrades Paul, Ulrich, Friedl, and others have been doing good work as platform committees at the street meetings in the Yorkville district.

**THE LADIES OF THE SOCIAL** at Club, Fulton street, Brooklyn, will give a party euchre, Wednesday evening, Oct. 10. Tickets, 15 cents. A good time is assured. All are welcome.

**COMRADE KRAFFT, OF JERSEY** City, never loses an opportunity to secure public attention in the interest of the cause. Upon learning of President McKinley's death he placed over his door a large placard, draped with white ribbons, reading: "Lack of school accommodations breeds ignorance; ignorance breeds crime; crime breeds poverty; poverty breeds crime." The placard attracted a great deal of attention and has been discussed in the local papers. The Hoboken "Observer," of one week later, said: "Socialist Krafft's theory, announced on the corpse-surrounded over his house door, that McKinley's assassination was due to the inadequacy of school room found its echo in some of our local pulpits yesterday."

Comrade Krafft advises Socialists to attend meetings of the Board of Education and other municipal bodies, and ask perplexing questions, such as only Socialists can devise. This would arouse the ire of public servants; and something would come out of the present. The Socialists would probably "get a roaring" from the journalistic slave drivers, but this would attract attention to Socialist theories and provide an opportunity for stating the Socialist position. We believe the plan a commendable one. Socialists should never lose an opportunity to point out that lack of school accommodations arises from the refusal of the capitalist class to pay the wages which they hold, but did not produce, to educate every child of the wage-working class, which produced their ill-gotten riches.

Comrade Krafft has been challenged to a debate by the disciples of Dan, and has replied to this tribe of Abnissians that he will debate with them only upon condition that they retract the lies they have printed about the party and himself, and make public apology for the slanderous epithets which they have applied to him personally.

**CHARLOTTE, PA., HAS A NEW** local of the Socialist Party, organized last Sunday with the assistance of Comrade Lewis of Pittsburgh. Louis Gordon, editor of "L'Union des Travailleurs," is an active member. Comrade Higelow will speak there next week.

**LUZERNE COUNTY, PA., AT ITS** last meeting, heard highly satisfactory reports of work done. Gathering of signatures for county nomination papers is proceeding well; those still holding papers are urged to get them filled out, acknowledged, and returned to the organizer.

An appeal to labor organizations was read and orders printed in 500 copies to be sent to unions throughout the county. The organizer was instructed to rent a room on the third floor of the Tuck Building, Wilkes Barre, for county headquarters. A quantity of song books and other pamphlets were ordered from the Socialist Literature Co. A class in the Correspondence School of Social Economy was formed, with eight members.

Two new members were admitted to the party. Contributions to the campaign fund received: Konrad Goerner and Fred Schade, 25 cents each.

**MOTHER JONES HAS BEEN** INVITED to address a convention of oil workers that meets in New Baltimore, O., on Oct. 9. She then goes to Virde, Ill., where she addresses a memorial on Oct. 12.

**THE OHIO STATE COMMITTEE** of the Socialist Party has issued for general distribution a little card bearing on one side the names of our state candidates and on the other the following legend: "Shall the People own the Trusts, or shall the Trusts own the People? If you want the people to own the trusts, vote for the Socialist Party. If you want the trusts to own the people, vote for one of the other parties."

**AT POMEROY, O., ON SEPT. 21**, Comrade Geo. Higelow spoke to a good crowd on Fountain square. The result is his speech are that some people are exceedingly furious, while the Socialists are immensely hilarious.

**COMRADE STRICKLAND OF CHICAGO** has spoken to good audiences in Cincinnati, O., and Newport, Ky., in spite of the assertion that the murder of the President had put a damper on Socialist agitation.

**COMRADE W. C. GREEN OF OHIO**, Fla., has had a small paper printed which he sticks on the envelopes of his letters or wherever it will attract the most attention. The sticker reads as follows:

**BEWARE OF SOCIALISM!!!**  
It is Dangerous!  
Don't read anything on this, old paper, continue to vote the right party ticket, and let capitalist rulers revel in luxury on the fruits of YOUR labor. Slaves have no right to read and think. If you should read a Socialist paper it might cause you to think. Don't do it.

**COMRADE FRED P. YOUNG, OF** Springfield, Mass., suffered outrageous persecution at the hands of ignorant fanatics, incited to their dastardly doings from the pulpit by a local ignoramus, who knows no more about Socialism than he does of the spirit of Christ.

**DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENT.**  
Let us do all we can to aid the Campaign Committee of the 34th and 35th Assembly Districts financially. These were the words which closed the last joint meeting of Dramatic Section, "Egmont," and the Entertainment Committee of the Young People's Club of the Bronx.

It also affords us great pleasure to inform the comrades of New York that in the latter part of October these clubs will give Comrade Kraft's play, "Now and Then," for the benefit of the Bronx districts. On the same evening the Dramatic Club, "Egmont," will produce a German play also, to the comrades will have quite a variety. Watch The Worker for future notices.

## QUEENS BOROUGH CONVENTION.

The Social Democrats of the Borough of Queens have held their borough convention and nominated their candidates. The city ticket, with Benjamin Hanford at its head, was enthusiastically endorsed, and nominations were then made as follows:

For President of the Borough—Victor Fahrendorf, of Long Island City.  
For Comptroller—Jacob Hill, of Wyckoff Heights, and William Conrad, of Astoria.

For Assemblyman, First District—Peter Heller, of Wyckoff Heights.  
Comrades Louis Hahn, Christ. Bub, and Jacob Hill were elected as a committee to fill vacancies. The comrades promise to make a good fight.

## DEBS GOES TO THE K. O. F. L. CONVENTION.

Comrade Eugene V. Debs, our presidential candidate in last year's campaign, has been elected by the Federal Labor Union of Terre Haute, Ind., as its delegate to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

## PARTIAL VICTORY FOR TENNESSEE MINERS.

The arbitrators to whom was referred the questions in dispute in the coal miners' strike in Tennessee, have rendered a decision. The men demanded a nine-hour day instead of ten hours, a general advance of wages, and two pay days monthly. They get the nine-hour day and a slight advance of wages, but the monthly payday continues.

## REMEMBER THESE.

Since the "Run" strike, Typographical Union No. 62, published a list of those who have proved their disregard for the interests of organized labor by continuing to advertise in the Run. The following are the names of those who have refused to do so:

A. J. O'Connor, 6th avenue and 2nd street, New York.  
J. J. O'Connor, 6th avenue and 2nd street, New York.  
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## OFFICIAL

**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, John Greenleaf, Room 27, 100 Madison St., New York.

**THE SOCIALIST LITERATURE CO.**  
134 William Street, New York City.

**CALIFORNIA STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, John H. Reynolds, 222 Sutter Street, San Francisco.

**CONNECTICUT STATE COMMITTEE.**  
W. E. White, 220 Exchange Street, New Haven.

**KENTUCKY STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Dr. Walter E. Roberts, 214 West Main Street, Louisville, Ky.

**MAINE STATE COMMITTEE.**  
N. W. Leonard, Thomaston.

**MASSACHUSETTS STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, Squire R. Palmer, 4 Belmont Street, Boston.

**MICHIGAN STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, John H. Reynolds, 121 N. State Street, Saginaw, Mich.

**MINNESOTA STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, Geo. H. Leonard, Room 535, 1st Avenue North, Minneapolis.

**MISSOURI STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, Wm. J. Hager, Room 7, 22 North Fourth Street.

**NEBRASKA STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, George K. Baird, 215 New York Life Bldg., Omaha.

**NEW JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, John P. Wright, Trenton.

**NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, Leonard D. Abbott, 64 E. 4th St., New York.

**OHIO STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, John H. Reynolds, 121 N. State Street, Saginaw, Mich.

**PENNSYLVANIA STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, W. E. White, 220 Exchange Street, New Haven.

**VERMONT STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, P. V. Danahy, Brunswick House, Rutland.

**WASHINGTON STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, Joseph Gilbert, Box 67, Seattle.

**NEW HAMPSHIRE.**  
GENERAL NOTE.

The State Committee of the N. H. D. P. has submitted to the following questions for general vote, as called for by three branches of the party:

1. Shall the word "Democratic" as a prefix to the party name be dropped, and the name "Socialist Party, New Hampshire," be used instead?  
2. Shall all branches be required to pay state per capita dues?  
3. Shall the party be organized as a committee to fill vacancies?  
4. Shall the party be organized as a committee to fill vacancies?

## CONNECTICUT.

**STATE COMMITTEE.**  
The financial report for September is as follows:

Local New Haven stamps ..... \$5.00  
Local New Haven stamps ..... 3.00  
Local New Haven stamps ..... 2.50  
Local New Haven stamps ..... 2.00  
Local New Haven stamps ..... 1.50  
Local New Haven stamps ..... 1.00  
Local New Haven stamps ..... .50  
Cash on hand, Sept. 1 ..... 2.17  
Expenses ..... \$4.07  
Local New Haven, loan returned ..... 17.50  
N. E. C., supplies ..... 6.20  
Cash on hand, Oct. 1 ..... \$24.97

## NEW YORK.

**STATE COMMITTEE.**  
The State Committee met Sept. 24, John Reed in the chair. A committee from Kings County was called upon to report on the matter of a separate charter for that county.

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## LOCAL NEW YORK.

Below is a list of the subdivisions of Local New York Socialist Party, with time and place of meeting. If you are not at the place of meeting, please write to the local secretary, who will be glad to inform you of the place of meeting.

**MANHATTAN AND FOURTH BRANCH.**  
1st and 2nd A. D. (Branch 2, 1st and 2nd A. D.)—First and third Monday, at 100 Madison St., New York.

**ASTOR LENOX TILDEN BRANCH.**  
1st and 2nd A. D. (Branch 2, 1st and 2nd A. D.)—First and third Monday, at 100 Madison St., New York.

**BROOKLYN.**  
1st and 2nd A. D. (Branch 2, 1st and 2nd A. D.)—First and third Monday, at 100 Madison St., New York.

**BRONX.**  
1st and 2nd A. D. (Branch 2, 1st and 2nd A. D.)—First and third Monday, at 100 Madison St., New York.

**CHAMBERS STREET BRANCH.**  
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kind you seem to endorse, has nothing to do with Socialism. If you are a Socialist, you can hold anarchistic views and still be a Socialist.

Finally, do you think that the views expressed in your paper represent the sentiment of the Socialist Party, or at least the Socialists of New York?

With hopes that you will print this letter, I remain, Sir, your obedient servant, New York, Sept. 20.

The editor, Comrade Ellis, replied that he wrote from facts, and that anarchists are the most he editorially disapproved. He also said he would be glad to hear from you. Editor of The Worker, what do you think of it?

New York, Sept. 20.

RICHARD S. BROOKS, Springfield, Mass. The national platform as printed in The Worker is a masterpiece of the kind of the National Committee, and was copied directly from the minutes of the meeting of the National Committee. The form of the last paragraph as you have seen it is somewhat different from that of the original. In the original, the word "anarchist" was used.

STUDENT, New York.—An excellent book for the Socialists is "The Socialism of the Future," a good translation of which can be had from the Socialist Literature Company, 134 William Street, New York. It is a book of 200 pages, and costs 25 cents a copy; in cloth, 50 cents.

VICTOR SCHNEIDER, New Milford, N. J.—We are not able to give you the information desired, but have requested Comrade Wright to do so.

JOHN CONWAY, City.—Your contribution of \$5 to the Campaign Fund has been received at this office. In order to avoid confusion in our accounts, we acknowledge contributions only after they have actually been received by the Treasurer. This accounts for the delay in your case.

ENQUIRER.—William Mally may be addressed at 61 E. Fourth Street.

JAMES H. McFARLANE, Phila., Pa.—We are not able to give you the information desired, but have requested Comrade Wright to do so.

JOHN EVERETT, San Francisco.—One of the most interesting features about this week's Socialism is the fact that the Socialists of San Francisco are not only a powerful force in the city, but are also a powerful force in the state.

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## Trades' and Societies' Calendar

Standing advertisements of Trade Unions and other Societies will be printed under this heading at the rate of 10¢ per line per annum. Organizations should not lose such an opportunity for advertising their places of meeting.

BRANCH 2 (English), 20th A. D. (Brooklyn), every Saturday at 7:30 p. m., at 100 Madison St., New York.







TO SUBSCRIBERS:  
The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the wrapper.  
The paper will be stopped on that day unless previously renewed.  
No bills or receipts sent to individual subscribers.

VOL. XI.—NO. 23.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 13, 1901.

PRICE 2 CENTS.

## TAMMANY'S PROMISES.

### Present Administration Has Broken Every Pledge Made in 1897.

#### Tammany Denounced Injunctions and Issued Injunctions—Denounced Trusts and Took Bribes from Trusts—Promised Schools and Turns Away 65,000 Children.

Bill Nye once said that political platformers are like the platforms of railway cars—they are to get in by, not to stand on. When we look back at the platform upon which the present Democratic administration of this city was elected four years ago, and contrast the promises it then made with the course it has followed from that time to the present day, we are struck with the truth of the humorist's remark.

In its platform of 1897 the Democratic party of this city said:

"We demand in all municipal work the enforcement of the eight-hour law and the payment of the prevailing rate of wages."

That was a plain enough promise, was it not? How was it kept?

At almost every one of the weekly sessions of the Central Federated Union, during the four years since that platform was adopted, COMPLAINTS HAVE BEEN REGISTERED THAT THE EIGHT-HOUR LAW WAS BEING VIOLATED BY CITY DEPARTMENTS OR CONTRACTORS ON PUBLIC WORK AND COMMITTEES HAVE BEEN CHOSEN TO ASK THE ADMINISTRATION PLEASE TO ENFORCE THE LAW AS IT HAD PROMISED.

In February of the present year, at the instance of a contractor upon public work, the Court of Appeals, composed of four Democrats and six Republicans, decided that THE PREVAILING RATE OF WAGES LAW WAS UNCONSTITUTIONAL, and thereby made the contractors a free gift of more than \$6,000,000 of the public treasury. DEMOCRATIC JUSTICE DENNIS O'BRIEN WROTE THIS DECISION AND DEMOCRATIC JUSTICE GRAY AND CULLEN SUPPORTED IT, along with the six Republican members of the court.

That is how Tammany keeps its promises.

**PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.**  
In its platform of 1897, the Democratic party of this city said:

"All proper municipal functions should be exercised by the municipality itself and not delegated to others. We favor municipal ownership and municipal control of all municipal franchises."

That was a plain enough promise, was it not?

When the present Tammany administration came into office upon that platform the Brooklyn Bridge cars were run by the municipality and the employees received from \$3 to \$3.50 a day. This Tammany administration voted the franchise to a private company, and the men have to strike for living wages and tolerable hours of labor.

The citizens of New York voted that the underground railway should be owned by the municipality. The cost of building and equipping the tunnel, as calculated by experts is \$25,000,000. This Tammany administration has voted to pay Contractor McDonald and his partners \$35,000,000 for building the tunnel and to give him the use of it for SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS. The profits, as proven by Albert Johnston and Judge Gaynor, will be \$8,000,000 A YEAR. That is, Tammany has made the capitalists A FREE GIFT OF THE PUBLIC TREASURY OF \$7,000,000 DOWN AND \$8,000,000 A YEAR FOR SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS—in all, \$67,000,000 and the interest thereon. The workmen employed by the tunnel contractors have had to strike again and again for the enforcement of the eight-hour law and for union wages.

That is how Tammany keeps its promises.

**TAMMANY'S PROMISE ABOUT INJUNCTIONS.**  
In its platform of 1897 the Democratic party of this city further said:

"We protest against the extension of the law of injunction in suppression of the struggles of the laboring masses to alleviate their hardships, against the perversion of legal process contrary to time-honored precedent, and against the subversion of the rights of citizens by public assembly and freedom of speech to agitate for the redress of grievances."

That was a plain enough promise, was it not? How was it kept?

On August 5, 1899, the New York "Sun," long infamous for its bitter and slanderous attacks upon organized labor and its open contempt for the whole working class, discharged all its employees, some of whom had been creating wealth for its owners for thirty years, for the sole reason that they were members of trade unions. WHOLE COMPANIES OF POLICE WERE SENT BY DEMOCRATIC MAYOR VAN WYCK to help the "Sun" bring in seals and thus TO ASSIST IN THIS CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE PERSONAL LIBERTY OF WORKING PEOPLE.

Not the slightest attempt was made by DEMOCRATIC DISTRICT ATTORNEY Gardiner or by the police authorities to punish the managers of the "Sun," or the Pinkerton thugs employed by them for repeated, violent assaults upon the persons of union men.

**BOOKSTAYER'S INJUNCTION.**  
In December of the same year, DEMOCRATIC JUSTICE BOOKSTAYER of the Supreme Court, ISSUED AN INJUNCTION FORBIDDING THE ORGANIZED WORKINGMEN OF THE PRINTING TRADES EVEN "TO ADVISE OR REQUEST" OTHER

CEDEING IT, thousands of children have been taken away from the schools or put in part-time classes.

Since the beginning of the present year, six weeks ago, FIVE THOUSAND CHILDREN HAVE BEEN DENIED ADMISSION TO THE SCHOOLS OF THIS CITY AND ABOUT SIXTY THOUSAND HAVE BEEN PUT IN PART-TIME CLASSES, for lack of school room. That is to say, ABOUT ONE EIGHTH OF THE SCHOOL CHILDREN WHO APPLIED HAVE BEEN DENIED THEIR RIGHT TO ADEQUATE EDUCATION. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS LIES SOLELY WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WHICH MADE THAT PROMISE IN 1897, for it has had four years of absolute power in which to perform its duty.

That is how Tammany keeps its promises.

**BUT WHAT ELSE COULD ONE EXPECT?**  
But what else could one expect? When Tammany nominated a LAWYER-POLITICIAN like Van Wyck for Mayor, a WALL STREET BROKER like Celer for Controller, and a CORPORATION LAWYER AND REAL ESTATE OWNER like Guggenheimer for President of the Council, how could the workingmen of the city suppose that Tammany for one moment intended to keep its promises to the working class?

And now, when Tammany has nominated THREE LAWYER-POLITICIANS upon its ticket, how can the workingmen suppose that it intends to keep any promise that it may now make?

The Central Federated Union and the unions represented in it have been begging the Democratic administration, all through the four years, to keep its promise, and enforce the laws. HOW MUCH BETTER IT WOULD HAVE BEEN IF THEY HAD VOTED, FOUR YEARS AGO, FOR MEN OF THEIR OWN CLASS TO ADMINISTER THE CITY'S AFFAIRS. Instead of begging from their enemies and begging in vain, they would at least have had only to present the facts to their chosen servants and their will would have been done.

They have a chance to right their mistakes now. They have a chance to put into the Mayor's chair one of the men against whom Democratic Justice Bookstayer and the "Sun" conspired.

BENJAMIN HANFORD, of the International Typographical Union. They would at least have had only to present the facts to their chosen servants and their will would have been done.

They have a chance to right their mistakes now. They have a chance to put into the Mayor's chair one of the men against whom Democratic Justice Bookstayer and the "Sun" conspired.

**GOOD FOR ST. LOUIS!**  
Central Trade and Labor Council Resolves by Increased Vote Its Demand for Resignation of Officer Who Trains with Capitalist Politicians.

Three weeks ago we reported the fact that the St. Louis Central Trade and Labor Union had, by a vote of 43 to 23, demanded the resignation of its president, George Melz, because, without authority and against the known wishes of the Council, he had invited a capitalist politician, Governor Dockery, to speak at the Labor Day picnic.

Melz refused to consider this action as final, urging that the attendance was light and that it was a "snap vote." The matter therefore went back to the affiliated unions and at the next meeting of the C. T. & L. U. most of the delegates had instructions, explicit or understood. The attendance was unusually large.

The question came up on a motion by the leader of Melz's friends to expunge the record of the resolution from the minutes. On a standing vote the motion was lost and the original resolution sustained by 80 votes to 40 votes.

Melz's friends were then foolish enough to demand a roll-call, with the result that 114 voted to support the demand for his resignation, while only 54 took the opposite stand.

Such an overwhelming defeat for this labor leader who plays into the hands of capitalist politicians was a pleasant surprise to the Socialists.

The St. Louis workingmen learned a great deal from the hostile attitude of the Republican local authorities and the Democratic state authorities in last year's street car strike. They are coming into the Socialist camp in large numbers.

**EUGENE FIELD ON CAPITALISM.**  
The following little fable from Eugene Field's "Tribune Primer" shows how clearly this genial poet saw through the shams and hypocrisies of our capitalist civilization, with that clear-eyed comprehension which a sense of humor gives:

"The old man is blind and cannot see. He holds his hat in his hand and there is a dime in the hat. Go up quietly and take the dime out of the hat. The man cannot see you. Next Sunday you can put the dime in the Sabbath School Box, and the Teacher will praise you. Your Papa will put some money in the Contribution Box. He will put more in than you do. But his opportunities for robbing are better than yours."

**BEN HANFORD WILL SPEAK.**  
At the ratification meeting of the Social Democratic Party, in Cooper Union, Saturday evening, October 12, Come and bring others with you to hear the workingmen's candidate for Mayor of New York. Come early, or you may not get in.

## FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK.



BENJAMIN HANFORD.

### ARE THE WORKERS COMPETENT TO GOVERN THEMSELVES.

Fellow workingmen, you may think that you could not creditably fill the public offices of this city and state. Maybe you think that you and the members of your class have not the ability required for such important places. It would seem that the workingmen of this country must have formed such a low estimate of their own character, from the astounding regularity, with which they elect lawyers, capitalists, and saloonkeepers to make and execute laws for them. IT IS AN UTTERLY FALSE OPINION.

In the first place, you could hardly, if you eat about it deliberately, elect a set of men from any class outside the asylems, who would govern city, state, and nation in a way more injurious to your interests and more detrimental to social welfare than those at this moment in office.

But the case is stronger than that. IF YOU WERE TO CHOOSE MEN BY LOT OUT OF YOUR OWN CLASS, YOU COULD HARDLY FAIL TO GET HONESTER AND ABLE MEN than those whom the Republican and Democratic machines have nominated for you and whom you have accepted.

What sort of ability is it that you want in public officials? Do you want men who can dress well and spend a great deal of money and put on a great deal of external dignity to hide a great deal of real stupidity?

Do you want legislators who will know how to frame laws that seem to say one thing and that really say something else?

Do you want judges who are skillful in finding loopholes by which law-breakers can escape and in detecting technical flaws upon which laws may be declared unconstitutional?

Do you want executive officials who are good at finding pretexts for neglecting to enforce some of the laws and who can make shrewd bargains, on the sly, to the great enrichment of their own pocketbooks?

If that is the sort of ability you want, a man should have to qualify him for public office, you should look to the capitalist class and the hangers-on of the capitalist class for your candidates. The Republican and Democratic machines will offer you candidates in abundance, endowed with such ability as this.

But that is not what you want. This sort of ability is just what qualified public officials to serve the capitalist class and disqualifies them to serve the working class.

What you want is, in the first place, men WHO KNOW YOUR CONDITIONS, your wrongs, your wants, your wishes. SUCH MEN YOU CAN FIND ONLY IN YOUR OWN CLASS.

Among those who have stood in the ranks and fought with you in the labor movement, such men the Social Democratic Party nominates.

Further, you want HONEST MEN, honest men who have been tried and found true to the interests of your class. You know that THERE ARE PLENTY OF SUCH MEN IN THE WORKING CLASS; and if you will go over the list of candidates of the Social Democratic Party, you will find many good records in the labor movement go back for many years, and not one whose record is not clean and honorable.

Finally, you want men of STRONG CHARACTER AND EXECUTIVE ABILITY. Do you think the working class lacks such men? On the contrary, THAT IS JUST THE SORT OF ABILITY THAT IS TO BE FOUND IN ABUNDANCE AMONG THE WORKERS.

## ON THE EAST SIDE.

Fourth A. D., with Hillquit and Halpern as Candidates, Opens a Lively Campaign.

The comrades of the Fourth Assembly District have fallen to work in the campaign with all their old-time enthusiasm. They propose to make this a memorable campaign and to pile up an unprecedented vote for the ticket of the Social Democratic Party.

Morris Hillquit is the candidate for Assemblyman and Dr. Julius Halpern for Alderman. Both are well-known in the district, and will take an active part in the campaign. A great ratification meeting will be held Thursday evening, Oct. 17, at Pythagoras Hall, 177 E. Broadway, which will be addressed by the district candidates as well as by Benjamin Hanford, candidate for Mayor.

At the last meeting of the district arrangements were made to organize the election districts and distribute literature thoroughly. One thousand copies of the present issue of The Worker were ordered, as well as 20,000 cards bearing the party's emblem and ticket, and 25,000 copies of leaflets in English and Jewish especially adapted to the district. A large transparency was ordered and a wagon with signs showing the emblem and ticket was secured for the use of speakers at street meetings. Morris Hillquit has signified his acceptance of the nomination in the following

**LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE:**  
"To the Executive Committee of the Fourth Assembly District, Social Democratic Party.  
Gentlemen:—I accept your nomination for the office of member of the Assembly from your district with a full appreciation of the honor it implies and the duties it involves."

"The Fourth Assembly District is one of the most typical workingmen's districts in the city of New York, and presents all the deplorable features of such districts. Its neglected and dirty streets are lined with rows of huge, ugly tenement houses, and within those are crowded tens of thousands of poverty-stricken slaves of the sweatshops, with their overworked wives and sickly, ragged, and neglected children."

"The area covered by the district contains a larger number of human beings than any similar area in the world, with the exception, perhaps, of the most densely populated sections of China; and it contains a larger quantity of human misery than any district of similar size. China not excepted. The poverty of the population is unparalleled, its sanitary conditions wretched, and its rate of mortality appalling."

"This cheerless life of the working population of your district could be vastly improved by the city and state administration. It lies within the powers of the municipal government to provide clean streets, sanitary dwellings, and plenty of playgrounds, parks, nurseries, and schools within the workingmen's districts, and it lies within the power of the state legislature to improve the conditions of labor and existence of the workingmen."

"The Fourth Assembly District is and always has been represented by an alderman in the Municipal Council and by an assemblyman in the State Legislature. But these men never represented the interests of the working class, they were not labor candidates, but the tools of employers and exploiters of labor. If members of corrupt Tammany, they coined wealth out of the misery and vice of their unfortunate constituents, and if 'decent' Reformers or Republicans, they had no feeling for the needs of their labor constituents, and made sport of their misery."

Not a single measure of relief for the workingmen was ever offered in municipal or state legislature by the representatives from your district!

"And now the Social Democratic Party enters the field of politics as the party of the working class. The Social Democratic Party and all its candidates pledge to the interests of labor in all municipal, state, and national affairs, and pledged to speak, vote, and work for that class aggressively and incessantly until such time as our disgraceful social system, based on exploitation and oppression of labor, shall give way to the system of industrial brotherhood and equality of all men."

"It is with this distinct understanding that you have tendered me the nomination, and it is with this understanding that I assume the responsibilities of the same; and I hereby pledge myself to devote my best abilities to the great cause represented by the Social Democratic Party at all times during this campaign; and in the Hall of Assembly, if I am elected."

"I consider it a special honor to run on the ticket of the Social Democratic Party, which is headed by a workingman, so well-known for his noble character and devotion to the cause of his class as BENJAMIN HANFORD, and on which I will have for running mate in your district so true and steadfast a friend of labor as DR. JULIUS HALPERN."

"Fraternally yours,  
"MORRIS HILLQUIT."

**COME EARLY AND AVOID**  
the rush at Cooper Union, Saturday night, Oct. 12. YOU don't want to miss hearing Ben Hanford, the Social Democratic candidate for Mayor of New York; James F. Carey, the Socialist member of the Massachusetts legislature, and Fred W. Long, the veteran Socialist agitator of Philadelphia. Unfortunately, Cooper Union will not hold ALL who want to hear them. There will be overflow meetings on the streets, but YOU want a comfortable seat inside. Come early.

**DON'T FORGET TO REGISTER.**

## THE CRY OF "ECONOMY."

### How the Program of the "Reformers" Threatens Workingmen's Interests.

#### "Reform" Victory Means Economy for Benefit of Capitalists. Tammany Victory Means Extravagance for Benefit of Healers—Social Democratic Victory Means Government by and for the Working Class.

Both the old parties in this city are talking "economy" and "business-like government" just now. This is because election is at hand and they think this a good way to catch votes.

When Tammany promises to practise economy, Tammany lies. Tammany's business is to make all sorts of promises in order to get its men into office, and then to loot the city treasury to reward its heblers. That is what Tammany always has done and always may be expected to do.

The "reformers" are a little more sincere when they declare for economy. The "anti" combination represents the sort of people who like to call themselves "respectable citizens" that is, the merchants, manufacturers, and real estate owners, who do not want to pay high taxes.

But what difference does it make to the workingman whether the city government is economical or not? What difference does it make to the workingman whether the capitalists have to pay high taxes or not?

Almost all the taxes are levied either upon real estate—land and buildings—or upon "securities"—bonds, stocks, and the like.

You laborers, mechanics, factory workers, clerks—all you wage workers—do you count yourself in the same class with the property owners? You don't own your home, do you? You don't own any stocks or bonds, do you? How will it benefit you to lower the taxes on other people's property?

**WILL NOT REDUCE RENT.**  
Maybe you think that if taxes on real estate were lowered your landlord would reduce your rent. If so, you will be badly disappointed.

If there were more houses than the population of the city needed—if landlords were competing to get tenants—the lowering of taxes might possibly lower rents a little. But that is not the case. New York City is crowded. The population is growing faster than the housing facilities. The landlord has you tight, and he will squeeze you for all he can get.

In such a city as this, at least, rents are fixed, not by the needs of the landlords, but by the general ability of the people to pay. If taxes are lowered, the landlord will continue to get just as much out of you as he can—just as much as he gets now—but he will gain by not having to pay so much over to the city. He will be richer and you will be just as poor. Why should you vote for his interest? He never votes for yours.

Suppose the "reformers" get in and reduce the tax rate. What would be the result? They would have to cut down expenditures, would they not?

**ECONOMY AND SCHOOLS.**  
The largest item of city expenditures is for public education. It takes nearly one-quarter of the whole revenue. Even now, there are 65,000 children either shut out of the schools or put in part-time classes, for lack of funds to build and equip schools. Do you think the "reform" administration could or would increase the school appropriations while it was cutting down the tax rate?

Remember, it is YOUR children, the children of the working class, who are shut out of the schools, the "respectable citizens," as they all themselves, would prefer to send their children to private schools, and let yours grow up in ignorance.

Do you think the appropriations for the departments of public health, water, sewers, street cleaning, fire protection, and charities ought to be cut down?

Is it you workingmen who spend your lives in disgusting tenements, work in unsanitary shops and are in danger of bodily accident at your work. It is you workingmen who suffer most for lack of water when the supply runs short, as happened last spring. It is you workingmen who live in narrow, crowded streets that need careful draining and sweeping. It is you workingmen who inhabit fire-trap houses and run the risk of being burned in your beds. It is you workingmen, who, when you are too old to be profitable to a boss, stand in need of public assistance.

Do you think the city does too much for the working class now? Would you like to have it do less? If not, why should you vote to reduce the taxes of your employers and your landlords, with the certain result of reducing the little benefit that you now get from the public service?

But maybe you think if the reformers get in they would cut down their own salaries and give you good service at bargain-counter rates. Don't be too sure. Beth Low may be a truly respectable citizen, but the wings haven't sprouted on his shoulders yet. You may safely assume that they would lay off a thousand street cleaners or laborers before they would cut down a single high salary.

If the "reformers" get in you may count on their practicing a very shrewd economy, for the benefit of the capitalists and AT THE EXPENSE OF THE WORKING CLASS.

If the Democrats get in again, you may count on their continuing to practise lavish extravagance, for the benefit of the politicians and at the expense of both the workers and the capitalists.

If only Shepard and Low were in the field, it would be hard for you to make a choice.

**SOCIALISM vs. ANARCHY.**  
Capitalism creates poverty and ignorance. Riot and assassination are the result of poverty and ignorance. Socialism would put an end to poverty and ignorance. Socialism is the hope of civilization.

**FRED LONG WILL SPEAK**  
at Cooper Union, Saturday evening, October 12. BRING YOUR FRIENDS to learn why they should vote for Hanford, Brown, and Stahl. You don't have such a chance every day.



## The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY  
(Known in New York State as the Social  
Democratic Party.)  
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## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	2,068
In 1890 (Presidential).....	15,361
In 1892 (Presidential).....	91,167
In 1894 (Presidential).....	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,504
In 1898 (Presidential).....	82,204
In 1900 (Presidential).....	9,545

S. D. P. .... 96,918  
S. L. P. .... 33,450

## NEW YORK CITY TICKET.

FOR MAYOR—

BENJAMIN HANFORD.

FOR CONTROLLER—

MO RIS BROWN.

PRESIDENT BOARD OF ALDERMEN

HENRY STAHL.

THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

The Socialist Republic or the Trust  
and Empire—Which will you have?

Chauncey M. Depew says there is  
not a single Socialist among the rail-  
way employees of this country. Chan-  
cey will get a far one of these days  
when he finds how many of his em-  
ployees on the New York Central read  
The Worker and vote the Social Dem-  
ocratic ticket.

At the last city election, the "Sun"  
considered Low a very bad man. Now  
it supports him. Has Low changed for  
the better? Not a mite. Perhaps the  
"Sun" has changed for the worse—if  
that were possible.

WHY SOCIALISTS SACRIFICE  
FOR THE CAUSE.

Never has there been a political  
movement which inspired, and rightly  
inspired, such life-long enthusiasm and  
such unlimited devotion as that of So-  
cialism. It offers the noblest ideal—  
that of universal human brotherhood  
—to stir and elevate men's minds. It  
holds out the certain prospect of the  
emancipation of the great toiling ma-  
jority from the yoke of wage slavery—  
an emancipation which is de-  
sired by the necessity of economic evo-  
lution, but which can be hastened by  
our present work. It presents, too, the  
means of immediate relief that no less  
radical movement can honestly prom-  
ise. These are the three reasons why  
it moves men to such activity and such  
sacrifice. Never was there greater  
need for devoted work on the part of  
Socialists than now. Never were the  
prospects of speedy success so sure as  
now. This is the time to work. We  
can rest and think it over when our  
task is done, which Socialism is estab-  
lished.

If the scab "Sun" supports Low, how  
can self-respecting men of the work-  
ing class cast their votes for him. A  
man is known by the company he  
keeps. The support of the "Sun"  
should mean defeat for Low at the  
hands of the working class.

THERE IS WORK FOR ALL.

It is not only for party members  
that we expect ready and energetic  
service in this campaign. Among the  
readers of this paper are thousands  
who have not seen fit or have not been

able to join our organization, but who  
wish success to our efforts. They can  
contribute to the party's campaign  
funds. They can distribute the party's  
campaign literature and circulate the  
party papers. They can talk to their  
friends about the object of the move-  
ment, tell them of the Social Demo-  
cratic candidates and emblem and  
urge them to cast their votes for the  
emancipation of Labor. There is work  
for all in this movement.

At the last city election, Shepard  
thought Croker a danger to the wel-  
fare of the city, and said that how was  
the man for mayor. Now he is running  
against Low by Croker's favor. What  
can we think of a man like that? Only  
that he has surrendered his conscience  
to the keeping of a man whom he  
knew to be a disgrace to the commu-  
nity. Is he fit to be mayor?

THE SPOKEN WORD AND THE  
PRINTED WORD.

The age of oratory is passing rapidly  
away. In politics of all shades, as in  
all other phases of social life, the  
speaker counts for much less than he  
did fifty years ago, even twenty-five  
years ago. It is the printed, rather  
than the spoken word that now influ-  
ences great masses of men. The lesson  
of this fact for us in this campaign is  
that, while we should by no means neglect  
the holding of public meetings, we  
should depend chiefly upon the distribu-  
tion of leaflets, the sale of books and  
pamphlets, and the circulation of the  
party press to disseminate our prin-  
ciples and win supporters for our cause.

Judge Rockefeller, who issued an in-  
junction against the "Sun" strikers, is  
supporting Shepard. So is Judge  
Freeman, who issued an injunction  
against the locked-out cigar makers.  
The "Sun," at whose instance Rock-  
efeller issued his injunction, is support-  
ing Low. You observe that none of  
the union-busters, none of the ene-  
mies of Labor, are supporting Han-  
ford. They know that Hanford would  
be a workingmen's mayor. That's  
why.

## ONE OUT OF A HUNDRED.

If one leaflet out of every ten that  
we distribute is read, and if one out of  
every ten that is read reaches a man  
who is just in the right state of mind  
to consider our arguments and be con-  
vinced, we may count that the ninety-  
nine which pass unread or uncollected  
are paid for over and over again by the  
careful reading of that one. Suppose  
it takes a million leaflets to make ten  
thousand new votes for the party. "A  
million leaflets" sounds large. It costs  
a great deal of money to print them  
and a great deal of labor to distribute  
them. But that is what we are in the  
party for. "Ten thousand new votes"  
also sounds large, does it not? Think  
what it means for the cause of Labor!  
Think what an impression every ten  
thousand taken from the ranks of the  
capitalist parties and added to ours  
will make! Think what added respect  
for the working class will be inspired  
by any increase of our vote! It is  
worth working for, is it not?

The how men would rather have  
Shepard for mayor than Hanford. The  
Shepard men would rather have Low  
for mayor than Hanford. The reason  
is, both Shepard and Low stand for the  
continued exploitation of the workers  
by the capitalist, and that is what  
Hanford is against.

## THEY DO NOT KNOW.

There are tens of thousands of men  
in this city who do not know that we  
have a ticket in the field. The capital-  
ist papers will not inform them of it.  
When they go into the election booth  
their minds will already be unalterably  
made up; or, if not, still they will be in  
too great a hurry to give much thought  
to a ticket that they have not consid-  
ered in advance. Out of these multitudes  
of voters who do not know of our ex-  
istence there are thousands who are in  
sympathy with our ideas, who are So-  
cialists at heart, though unaffiliated,  
and who need only to have their atten-  
tion called to our party name, our em-  
blem, and our candidates, in order to  
make their votes sure. There are other  
thousands who are intending to vote a  
Socialist ticket, but are in danger of  
casting their ballots wrong unless they  
are reached by our campaign workers.  
Banners, leaflets, stickers, cards, and  
party papers—all these display the  
names of the Social Democratic Party,  
the emblem of the Arm and Torch, and  
the names of Ben Hanford and the rest  
of our ticket. They must be used to  
the utmost between now and Election  
Day.

Many of the great capitalist corpora-  
tions in New York contribute to both  
old-party campaign funds, so as to  
"stand in" with whichever may win.  
None of them contribute to the Social  
Democratic campaign fund, because  
they know the S. D. P. is not for sale.  
It is the hard-earned and freely given  
nickels and dimes of wage workers  
that pay for the literature that bears  
the emblem of the Arm and Torch and  
the name of Benjamin Hanford. The  
literature that bears the names of Low  
and Shepard is paid for by blackmail  
or law-breakers—law-breaking gam-  
blers and prostitutes and law-breaking

tenement-house landlords, contractors,  
and street railway owners.

"THAT HE WHO RUNS MAY  
READ."

If the average number of listen-  
ers at one of our street meetings at  
any given moment is two hun-  
dred and fifty, it is safe to say  
that a thousand different persons are  
in attendance for some part of the  
time, some going early, some coming  
late, comparatively few staying from  
beginning to end. There should always  
be a supply of leaflets and cards on  
hand and every person should be given  
a copy of each sort. Forty street meet-  
ings a week, one thousand persons at  
each—that means putting party litera-  
ture into the hands of 40,000 persons  
each week. Some of these will throw  
the leaflets away; others will read  
them carefully and forget them; but  
many will read and at least begin to  
think; and some will at once become  
interested, will talk about our party to  
their friends, will study up the ques-  
tion and become, not only voters, but  
active workers for our cause. Even  
if it takes a hundred leaflets to make a  
voter for our ticket and ten thousand  
to make a worker for the party, the  
money and time has been well spent.

The ten-hour law for street railway  
employees has not been enforced under  
Democrat Van Wyck. It was not en-  
forced under "Reformer" Strong. Do  
you think it will be enforced under  
Democrat Shepard or "Reformer"  
Low? No. For the Metropolitan  
Street Railway, the Manhattan El-  
evated, and the Brooklyn Rapid Transit  
know enough to help both old parties  
in their campaigns. The only way to  
get such a law enforced is to elect to  
office workmen, chosen by a party  
of workmen, pledged to a labor  
platform drawn by workmen, and  
running in a campaign paid for by  
workmen's contributions. Such  
men are Hanford, Brown, and Stahl,  
the candidates of the S. D. P.

## NO EFFORT IS WASTED.

Still better than the distribution of  
literature at meetings is distribution  
from house to house. We have more  
than a thousand enrolled party mem-  
bers who are able to do such work.  
Suppose each covers a block each week  
—an average of one hundred families,  
that is, leaving two or three different  
leaflets and one of our cards (which  
advertise both our ticket and our lit-  
erature) at each house. That means  
one hundred thousand families reach-  
ed, and three or four hundred thousand  
pieces of literature distributed each  
week. That means several thousand  
men induced to vote our city ticket by  
each week's work, and several thou-  
sand more started to thinking why,  
if they do not vote with us this fall, will  
do so next time. No effort is wasted  
in a movement like ours. The results  
may be slow, but they are sure. The  
seed may be late in germinating, but it  
will eventually bear fruit a hundred  
fold. And remember, too, that it is  
cumulative—for the fruit of this year's  
seed is many more seeds for next  
year's sowing. The ground is ready,  
it is our business to sow it so thick and  
so quickly that there will be no room  
for the weeds to grow.

Neither of the old parties ever by  
any chance chooses a real workingman  
as a candidate for any important office.  
If they occasionally nominate a work-  
ingman for some insignificant subor-  
dinate place, it is always a man who  
belongs to the class known among  
workmen as "suckers"—the sort  
that toady to their bosses for special  
favors instead of boldly fighting their  
bosses in defense of the common rights  
of their fellow workers. That is why  
of the old parties, honest workmen  
in office would be poor tools for the  
capitalists, when, in fact, they are to be  
used and police and militia sent out  
against strikers. Now that the lawyers  
and brokers and landlords have made  
such a sorry mess of the government  
of this city, why not try an administra-  
tion composed of actual workmen  
taken from the shops and the union  
halls?

## NOT MEN, BUT PARTIES.

We are often asked, by men who  
have become disgusted with the rot-  
tenness of politics as represented in the  
two old parties: "What assurance can  
you give us that, if the Social Demo-  
cratic candidates are elected to office,  
they will not sell us out and break  
their pledges? How do we know that  
you are any honest men than the others?"  
The question is a legitimate one, and  
we are always ready to answer it.  
We do not claim that Socialists, as  
individuals, are any better than cap-  
italists. We are all human, largely the  
product of circumstances, with human  
virtues and human weaknesses. With-  
out claiming any superior virtue, we  
have an answer ready for that ques-  
tion.

In the first place, we answer: You  
have never tried a Socialist adminis-  
tration. In the few cases in America  
where Socialists have been elected to  
office—never yet in the majority—they  
have been found so true to their prin-  
ciples that their capitalist opponents  
have been unable even to insinuate a  
charge against them.

You have never tried a genuine labor  
administration—one composed of real  
workmen, nominated upon a plat-  
form drawn by workmen, and elect-

ed by a workmen's party without  
fraud or endorsement from one of the  
old parties. Where you have had work-  
men elected to office upon semi-in-  
dependent tickets, they have proven  
themselves at least as honest and as  
efficient as any other officials. And  
when the Social Democratic Party pre-  
sents the plan of completely indepen-  
dent labor politics, it is not fair to  
reject it without a trial—especially if  
you are thoroughly disgusted with cap-  
italist politics.

But further we answer: As a rule,  
the politicians of every party are true  
to the powers which really put them  
into office. Of all the men who have  
been nominated for office on Republi-  
can or Democratic platforms through  
the influence of the capitalist class  
or certain portions of it, and who have  
been elected in campaigns paid for by  
those capitalists, not one in a thousand  
has ever proven false to the capitalists  
who gave him his place.

The man who should play false with  
the real power that has supported him  
would be a fool. Most men are not  
fools. If the power behind him is  
capitalistic, he will be true to capital-  
ism. If the power behind him is the  
organized working class, he will be  
true to the working class.

In a word, it is not men that rule,  
but parties. A good man can hardly  
be elected by a bad party; and if he is,  
he will find that his hands are tied, that  
he can do no good; that he will not dare  
to oppose his real masters; he is only a  
tool in the hands of his party machine.  
So, too, a bad man will hardly be  
chosen by a good party; but if he were,  
he would not dare to oppose the force  
that made him and can unmake him:  
it is the party and the class behind the  
party that rules, and the official is its  
instrument and its mouthpiece.

Decide between the parties, and you  
will find that the men chosen will rep-  
resent your choice.

If you boycott the "Sun" and the  
firms who advertise in the "Sun," you  
should boycott the politicians who are  
supported by the "Sun." Boycott Low  
and vote for Hanford, the candidate  
of the working class.

The Western trade unions are setting  
a good example for their brothers in  
the East. Read the news from Michi-  
gan, St. Louis, and Chicago on another  
page. If the trade union movement of  
this city, with its present numerical  
strength, was inspired with such a  
spirit as animates these Western bod-  
ies, there would be no doubt about  
their getting labor laws passed, and  
the courts, and enforced, by the ex-  
ecutive officers. Time to wake up, boys.

The Seattle "Post-Intelligencer" is  
openly advocating the disfranchise-  
ment of Socialists. Why should this  
paper be suppressed for advocat-  
ing measures which would subvert  
the constitution of the United States?  
This is the ground upon which it calls  
for the suppression of Socialists.

The "Post-Intelligencer" also says  
that Socialism should be suppressed  
because it is a "foreign exercise"  
and an alien product. Was not the  
Darwinian theory, or say the Bible, an  
alien product? When Columbus and  
the settlers who followed him came  
here, were they not aliens? Why  
should not the poetry of Alfred Austin  
be suppressed because it is a "foreign  
exercise"?

The "Post-Intelligencer" is a fatuous  
exercise. It is the "Sun" of the  
Pacific coast. It is the paper which  
maligned the striking miners and was  
foremost in vituperation of the work-  
ers at the time of the outrages in  
Idaho. It is one of the crawling curs  
which stands on its hind legs and  
barks when the capitalists snap the  
whip.

## COAL TRUST GROWING.

Another step in the transmutation  
of the coal industry. The (Cincinnati)  
Fuel Company has assumed ownership  
and control of the properties of nine  
formerly independent coal and coke  
companies in West Virginia. The new  
company has a capital stock of \$5,000,000.  
The directors are James T. Gar-  
diner, T. Moore Jackson, W. H. Bal-  
dwin, Jr., Walter G. Oakman, Charles  
T. Barney, George W. Young, August  
Belmont, Charles K. Flint, and C. W.  
Watson.

The new company, it is announced,  
will work in harmony with the Fair-  
mont Coal Company, which was orga-  
nized a year ago with a capital of  
\$5,000,000 to take over all the mines  
between Morgantown and Monongahela  
and in which the Watsons of Fairmont  
are the leading spirits.

Practically all of the developed coal  
lands in the Monongahela Valley are  
now controlled by the four corpora-  
tions formed during the last two years  
—the Pittsburgh Coal Company, capital-  
ized at \$64,000,000; the Monongahela  
River Coal and Coke Company, capital-  
ized at \$40,000,000; the Fairmont  
Coal Company, and the Clarksburg  
Fuel Company. Apart from these four  
companies are six small independent  
companies operating on the river in  
Pennsylvania and the constituent com-  
panies of the Steel Trust which manu-  
facture coke only and at some distance  
from the river.

## TOO LIBERAL.

Wife: "Here's an advertisement in  
the paper that you'd better look into.  
It says a man is wanted, and he won't  
be worked to death, and he'll get paid  
enough to live on."  
Husband: "Say he won't be worked  
to death, eh?"  
Wife: "Yes; and they promise pay  
enough to live on."  
Husband: "Some catch about that!"  
—Pick Me Up.

MUNICIPAL PLATFORM  
—OF THE—  
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

## OUR CANDIDATES:

For Mayor—BENJAMIN HANFORD. For President of the Board of Alder-  
men—HENRY STAHL.  
For Controller—MORRIS BROWN.

The Social Democratic Party of the  
City of New York, in entering upon the  
municipal campaign of 1901, declares  
its unswerving adherence to the prin-  
ciples of revolutionary Socialism as  
laid down in the National Platform of  
the party.

We call upon the workmen of this  
city to recognize that their interests in  
this campaign are totally different  
from and opposed to those of the cap-  
italist class.

Hitherto our city has been adminis-  
tered exclusively in the interests of the  
possessing classes and their political  
henchmen. Franchises of fabulous  
value have been given away for nomi-  
nal considerations to a small number  
of capitalists, who now monopolize our  
means of transit, communication, light  
and power supply, and other public  
utilities, extort a profit of many mil-  
lions a year for an inadequate and  
wretched service, exploit, overwork,  
and maltreat their employees and form  
a fruitful source of political corrup-  
tion.

Amid the immense wealth of the City  
of New York, a large portion of the  
population succumbs in abject poverty.  
A great army of workmen and  
workingwomen daily besedge the shops  
and factories of our city in the vain  
search for work and bread; thousands  
of them, exhausted by their fruitless  
efforts, are driven to crime, vagabond-  
age, and prostitution; they through our  
streets and fill the prisons and the dis-  
orderly resorts of our city, while thou-  
sands of others, grown old and feeble  
after a life of hard and useful work,  
are mercilessly cast aside by the com-  
munity and exposed to beggary and  
starvation.

While the residential district of the  
wealthy of the metropolis, with its  
vast and picturesque parks, its beau-  
tiful avenues and palatial mansions,  
stands almost unrivaled in the uni-  
verse, the portions of this city inhab-  
ited by the workmen are the worst  
that ever disgraced and disgraced a  
large city. Congested more than any  
other place on the globe, with their  
filthy streets as the only playground of  
the unfortunate children of the work-  
ingmen, with their hideous tenement  
houses and their squalid little rooms  
as the only dwelling places of the toil-  
ing masses, these districts are, the  
breeding places of disease, and the  
mortality of their inhabitants is ap-  
palling. And while our city govern-  
ment expends vast sums of money on  
beautifying the residential portion of  
the rich, no serious attempt was ever  
made to relieve the unsanitary condi-  
tion of the workmen's district by the  
introduction of public parks, baths,  
playgrounds, etc.

The City of New York, with its enor-  
mous revenues, does not even provide  
properly for the education of the chil-  
dren of the poor, and while millions  
upon millions are squandered every  
year in high salaries for useless offi-  
cials and professional politicians,  
about 100,000 children are allowed to  
grow up in our city without any school-  
ing or education.

This disgraceful state of affairs can-  
not and will not be changed by the  
Democratic party, the Republican  
party or any so-called citizens' reform  
party.

The Democratic party, now in power  
in this city, has time and again been  
convicted of flagrant corruption and  
maladministration, and has repeatedly  
proved its hostility to Labor by the  
brutal interference of its police  
with striking workmen seeking by  
peaceful means to improve their con-  
ditions, by the monstrous injunctions of  
its judges against such workmen,  
by its constant encouragement of the  
violation of laws designed for the pro-  
tection of the working class, and by its  
callous indifference to all demands of  
the organized labor.

The Republican party, despite its ap-  
parent difference with the Democratic  
party, is at one with the latter in its  
hostility to the interest of the cap-  
italist class. The law reducing the force  
and crippling the efficiency of the  
department charged with the enforce-  
ment of the factory laws passed by the  
Republican state legislature, the call-  
ing out of state troops to defeat strik-  
ing citizens in order to shoot the work-  
ingmen, the creation of a new party or  
the Republican governor, and the de-  
cision declaring unconstitutional the  
prevailing wage law, rendered by the  
Republican Court of Appeals, are suf-  
ficient to indicate what the working  
class would gain by voting that party  
into power in the city of New York.

Not will the existing social and po-  
litical evils in the city of New York  
be relieved by the so-called reformers.  
These gentlemen, who as employers  
and exploiters of labor and owners of  
the most disgraceful tenement houses  
of this city, force workmen into  
prostitution and in their well-fed mor-  
tality amuse themselves by branding  
the unfortunate victims of their own  
greed, who open the campaign with  
disgraceful tirades against political  
boss rule and at the first opportunity  
make deals with the Republican ma-  
chine, are the last to whom the work-  
men of this city could look for suc-  
cor.

The only class which has a real inter-  
est in changing the evils of our city  
administration for the benefit of the  
working class, is the working class  
itself, and the only political party that  
can effect such change is the party of  
the workmen, the Social Democratic  
Party.

The Social Democratic Party is well  
aware of the fact that the existing so-  
cial evils can be entirely removed only  
by the complete overthrow of the cap-  
italist system of production and the  
substitution thereof of the Co-opera-  
tive Commonwealth through the pow-  
ers of the state and nation.

But it lies within the power of a  
city administration, if controlled by a  
class-conscious labor party, to put into  
effect many measures of immediate re-  
lief which shall, at the same time, be  
steps toward the realization of the  
Co-operative Commonwealth. We,  
therefore, put forth the following pro-  
gram of immediate measures, to which  
we pledge our candidates, and for  
which we ask the support of all work-  
ingmen desirous of real freedom and  
justice:

The city to acquire and operate all  
those industries which require a fran-  
chise for their operation, such as street  
railways, ferries, gas and electric  
lighting, and heating plants, tele-  
phones, etc. The income from such in-  
dustries to be applied for the improve-  
ment of the condition of the mass of  
the employees by the reduction of  
working hours, the increase of wages,  
and the protection of life and health,  
and to the improvement and extension  
of the now inadequate public service;  
any surplus remaining after these ends  
have been provided for, to be applied  
to the reduction of charges.

All public work to be done upon pub-  
lic account, without the intervention of  
contractors or middlemen.

Eight hours to constitute a maxi-  
mum day's work for city employees in  
all departments; and this maximum to  
be further reduced as fast as it may  
become practicable to do so.

The fixing of a minimum wage for  
city employees, sufficient to assure to  
the laborers a proper human existence;  
men and women to receive equal pay  
for equal work.

The establishment of a complete sys-  
tem of re-employment bureaus to be  
conducted by the city under the super-  
vision of the labor organizations.

The creation of a municipal fund  
for the pensioning of aged, sick or  
disabled workmen and working-  
women.

The city to undertake public works,  
especially in times of depression, for  
the purpose of giving employment to  
workmen displaced in the competi-  
tive system; such works to be carried  
out under the same conditions as in  
hours of labor, etc., specified above for  
all public employees.

The city to provide adequately for  
the care and education of all the chil-  
dren of the people.

By the establishment of free day  
nurseries for the children of work-  
ingmen.

By the establishment of free kin-  
dergartens as a part of the public  
school system.

By the provision of ample school  
room with an adequate force of  
teachers to keep pace with the  
growth of the school population;

By the provision of meals, and,  
where necessary, of clothing, to  
school children—not as a measure  
of charity, but as a measure of jus-  
tice and of public necessity, in or-  
der that the school system shall be  
really accessible to all alike;

By the co-ordination of physical  
and technical training with general  
education throughout the whole  
course, in order to fit every pupil in  
the highest degree for the various  
duties and opportunities of life; and

By the improvement and exten-  
sion of the system of free libraries  
and reading rooms, museums, art  
galleries, lectures, concerts and  
evening classes, in order to give the  
greatest facilities for the further  
self-education of the people.

The establishment of a complete sys-  
tem for supplying the people at cost  
with such prime necessities of life as  
pure food and medicines; fuel and ice.  
The establishment of municipal res-  
taurants to be conducted at cost.

The extension of the parks, play-  
grounds, public baths, and similar  
conveniences, adequately to meet the  
needs of the whole population.

The city government to use all the  
powers conferred upon it by law to  
prevent the creation of tenement or  
unsafe tenement houses and to bound  
the destruction of such as exist in  
violation of law.

The city government, further, to be-  
gin at once the erection of modern  
tenement houses, with ample pro-  
vision for light and air, for proper ven-  
tilation, and for privacy; such tenement  
houses to be let at rates sufficient to  
cover the cost of care and mainte-  
nance; the work to be begun in the poorest  
quarters of the city, and to be ex-  
tended as rapidly as possible, with the  
ultimate object of providing adequate  
dwellings at cost to the whole popula-  
tion.

The Social Democratic Party, when  
elected with the administration of  
the city, will at all times use the police  
powers on the side of and for the pro-  
tection and benefit of the working  
class in its conflicts with the capitalist  
class; in every case of doubt we will  
construct the law in favor of the work-  
ing class, as against the capitalist class,  
and so far as the law permits, we will  
use the resources of the city treasury  
for the benefit of the working class as  
against the capitalist class.

## PROFITS ABOVE LIFE.

Overwork of Employees on Steam and  
Electric Railways Accounts for Many  
Fatal Accidents—A Direct Result of  
Private Ownership—Old Parties Will  
Not Enforce the Law.

Two freight trains collided a week  
ago last Monday, on the Berkshire di-  
vision of the New York & New Haven  
Railway, with the result that three  
men were killed and three others seri-  
ously injured. One of the engineers  
has been arrested on a charge of crim-  
inal negligence. The man by the  
way, lost a hand and was otherwise  
badly hurt in the collision.

On investigation it appears that this  
man had been kept on duty



## NOTES.

COMMITTEE OF  
It met last Saturday  
at the residence of the  
refugee Union.

ANDER FRASER, OF  
of the newest socialist  
of speakers, who is  
summed up by the workingmen  
our street meetings.

LAYLOR WILSHIRE WILL  
at Columbia Hall, One Hundred  
and First Street and Columbus Avenue,  
Sunday evening, Oct. 13, at 8 p. m.

"THE OLD AMERICAN BRANCH,"  
Brooklyn, now calls the Socialist  
Boulevard Club and has arranged  
a series of Sunday evening lectures to be  
held at Smith's Assembly Rooms, 102  
106 Court Street, near the City Hall.  
The series begins Sunday evening, Oct.  
13. Among the speakers engaged for  
the course are Comrades Abbott, Wil-  
shire, Hanford, Furman, and Spartz.  
Out-of-town Socialist speakers are re-  
quested to correspond with Warren  
Atkinson, 25 S. Oxford Street, if they  
can make it convenient to address one  
of these meetings.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC  
Young People's Club of Yorkville  
made a complete success of the festival  
last Saturday night. Receipts at the  
ball have more than covered all  
expenses, so that all receipts from out-  
standing tickets will go to the cam-  
paign fund. There was a large at-  
tendance and nothing to mar the pleasure  
of the evening. The Club is doing good  
work in other ways besides raising  
funds. A number of its members are  
acting on committees and as chairmen  
at street meetings, and some will de-  
velop into good speakers. The Club  
has undertaken horse-to-horse work,  
and proposes to do so the 25th, 29th,  
and 30th A. D. with party literature.

COMRADES GOLDBERG, GID-  
don, Herman, and others have helped  
the Organizer greatly during the past  
two weeks by volunteer work at the  
Labor Lyceum. More are wanted.  
There is plenty to do—letters to be  
folded, envelopes to be addressed, seal-  
ed, and stamped, wrappers to be writ-  
ten, bundles of literature to be packed,  
envelopes to be done—all sorts of useful  
work, the kind of which ought to be  
taken seriously by the Organizer's  
shoulders during the rest of the cam-  
paign, so that he can devote himself to  
the other duties. He will be kept  
busy, but busy, even if he is relieved of  
all this routine. Come up and volun-  
teer, as many as can.

THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL  
League of the Twenty-second and  
Twenty-fourth Assembly Districts has  
been organized. The League is now  
headed by Dr. J. E. P. Schorr, at 215 E. Fifty-first  
street. Last Sunday evening's meet-  
ing, although the first in the new place,  
was announced by the comrades to be  
the best ever held by the League. The  
venue filled, the majority of those  
present being strangers, and an excel-  
lent discussion followed the lecture.  
The League will undoubtedly continue  
to grow and to increase its sphere of  
influence.

ATTENTION IN YONKERS IS BE-  
ing called on with great energy. On  
Thursday, Oct. 3, Comrade Malley  
spoke at Gerry Square; on Friday,  
Comrade R. L. Gaylord Wilshire and Joe  
Smith, a local comrade, spoke, and on  
Saturday, Comrade Frederick Kraft  
delivered an effective speech. The  
comrades are distributing literature  
quite freely, and the results of the S.  
D. P. agitation is bringing dismay to  
the local disciples of Dan, and to the  
capitalist politicians. During Comrade  
Kraft's speech, the father of Leslie  
Kraft, the mayor of Yonkers, at-  
tempted to interrupt the meeting and  
had to be escorted by a policeman.

Comrade Spartz will speak in Yonkers  
on Thursday, Oct. 10, and Com-  
rade Hanford on Thursday, Oct. 12.  
All party members and sympathizers  
in Westchester County should send in  
contributions to the campaign fund to  
Dr. Paul L. Bauerberg, 41 Hudson  
street, Yonkers. Make your contribu-  
tion as large as possible in order that  
the campaign may be an effective one.

CHARITABLE FOR SEVEN NEW  
leaves of the party were held last  
week, besides four lapsed chapters re-  
newed; the Wisconsin and Kentucky  
state committees signified their adhe-  
sion to the National Committee at St.  
Louis.

LOCAL LIZERNE COUNTY, PA.,  
has opened headquarters on the third  
floor of the Turk building, 7 S. Main  
street, Williams Barre, where will be  
open every evening. All workmen  
are invited to call, to get Socialist lit-  
erature, and get acquainted with those  
who are now carrying on the move-  
ment.

ARTHUR CORRIHAN HAS  
been preaching against Socialism. Our  
comrade, Thomas McGrady, a well-  
known Catholic priest of Kentucky,  
has challenged his reverence to de-  
bate the question. It remains to be  
seen whether Corrihan will come up  
like a man and try to prove his false  
charges against the Socialists, or  
whether he will intrigue to get Father  
McGrady excommunicated. Either way,  
we wish.

Father McGrady has also challenged  
Father Maloney, Father Mackay,  
Father McHugh, and the several De-  
mocratic aspirants for the United States  
senatorship from Kentucky, to debate  
the subject on which they have pub-  
licly shown their ignorance. Wherever  
Socialism has been attacked, within  
his church or without, Father McGrady  
has been quick to defend the  
movement for the emancipation of the  
wage slaves and the brotherhood of  
man. The courage his stand is to be  
commended, and we hope that the  
possible result will be able to avert  
him from this fearless course.

THE DEBS PUBLISHING COM-  
pany has been reorganized, and will  
now be known as the Standard Pub-  
lishing Company. The company has  
purchased the copyright and plates  
of the Socialist novel, "Beyond the  
Black Ocean," and a new and revised  
edition will soon be ready.

## IN ROCHESTER.

Good Prospect That at Least One Work-  
ingmen's Representative Will Sit in  
the Common Council.

A fifth Socialist Democratic campaign  
club was organized in Rochester last  
Tuesday night, with twenty-four char-  
ter members. The club meets every  
Tuesday evening at Kirchner's Hall,  
corner of Berlin street and Joseph  
avenue. The first meeting was addressed  
by Frank A. Sieverman, our candidate  
for Alderman in the Seventeenth  
Ward, and James Altman in English  
and by William Lippert in German.  
Comrade Sieverman, referring to the  
recent laborer's strike, said:

"Under a Socialist municipal govern-  
ment the laborer's strike would have  
been successful. The present adminis-  
tration, with all its hypocritical  
claims of being the workers' friend,  
did nothing for the laborers, although  
the time limit of two public contracts  
had expired and work on them was  
not begun. A Socialist mayor would  
have canceled such contracts at once,  
but the Republican mayor, conscious  
of the interests of the capitalists,  
extended the time for the benefit  
of the contractors, without collecting  
one cent of indemnity."

It was pointed out by the other  
speakers that the Socialist Democratic  
municipal platform proposes to do  
away with the contract system of  
public works, so that instead of giving  
profits to "sweating" contractors, the  
city should pay the laborers and me-  
chanics good wages for eight-hour  
work.

Comrades Bach and Swain are kept  
busy addressing the various clubs of  
all phases of the Socialist movement.  
The meetings are well attended, and  
there is good reason to believe, not only  
that the Socialist Democratic vote  
throughout the city will unpleasantly  
surprise the bosses, but that Frank A.  
Sieverman will be the next alderman  
from the Seventeenth Ward. Most of  
the inhabitants of the ward are work-  
men, and Sieverman is known for his  
record as a fighter for his class in  
the strikes of his own organization, the  
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, and of  
other trades. When the Street and  
Building "Laborers' Union" went on  
strike last summer, before nominations  
were thought of, Sieverman was in the  
fight, but the gentlemen who are now  
running against him on the Republican  
and Democratic tickets were never  
heard from.

Frank A. Sieverman as a member of  
the Common Council would be a pow-  
er to be feared by the political bosses  
and the union-breaking capitalists. If  
the workingmen know what is good for  
them they will put him there by mark-  
ing their ballots under the emblem of  
the Arm and Torch.

## BUFFALO'S TICKET.

The Social Democrats of Buffalo, N.  
Y., have held their city convention and  
nominated the following ticket:  
For Mayor—Joseph Calton, west on  
For Controller—R. F. Schorr.  
For Corporation Counsel—R. Billa.  
For Assessor—Charles Burkhardt.  
For Commissioner of Public Works—  
August Winkemann.  
For Comptroller—Frederick Kins-  
dorf, Henry Kline, E. Petersen, and A.  
Albersohn.

For Alderman, Eighteenth Ward—  
Edward Dickman.  
For Supervisor, Eighteenth Ward—  
Edward Dickman.

A strong municipal platform was  
adopted and arrangements made for a  
vigorous campaign.  
A grand ratification meeting will be  
held at Jefferson Park Hall, Jefferson  
street near Syracuse, Saturday evening,  
Oct. 19, to be addressed by good  
English and German speakers.

All Social Democratic sympathizers in  
Buffalo are called on to form in and  
work for the ticket.

SOCIALIST PARTY  
AND TRADE UNIONS.

The Socialist Party, in convention as-  
sembled, declares that the trade union  
movement and independent political  
action are the emancipating factors of  
the wage working class. The trade union  
movement is the natural result of  
capitalist production and represents  
the economic side of the working class  
movement. We consider it the duty of  
the Socialists to join the unions of their  
respective trades and assist in building  
up and unifying the trades and labor  
organizations. We recognize that trade-  
unionism has been hindered by the  
political affiliation is concerned.

We call the attention of trade unionists  
to the fact that the class struggle is  
not waged by the trade union forces  
alone, while it may result in lessening  
the exploitation of labor, can never  
abolish that exploitation. The exploitation  
of labor will come to an end only  
when society takes possession of all  
the means of production for the  
benefit of all the people. It is the duty  
of every trade unionist to realize the  
necessity of independent political action  
on class-conscious lines, to join the  
Socialist Party, and to assist in build-  
ing up a strong political movement of  
the wage-working class, whose atti-  
tude and object must be the aboli-  
tion of wage slavery and the establish-  
ment of a co-operative state of society  
based on the collective ownership of  
the means of production and distribu-  
tion.—Resolution of National Conven-  
tion, Socialist Party, Indianapolis, 1901.

## Letter Box

J. J. Brooklyn—Comrade Ben Hanford  
never at any time served on any com-  
mittee of the New York "Proletarian" Union  
or any other union.  
O. STEINHAUER, Elizabeth, N. J.—Your  
note will be printed next week. Do not  
confer with me in this campaign issue.  
This may serve as advice to others.  
C. H. CARP, Park Avenue, N. Y.—What  
you think our editorial on McKim's  
"all right." It seems to be the general  
opinion.

JAMES CAREY WILL SPEAK  
at Cooper Union, Saturday evening,  
October 12. See that your unconverted  
unbeliever comes to hear reasons why  
he should vote under the Arm and  
Torch. DON'T COME ALONE.

## PATERSON CAMPAIGN.

Plan to Organize a Rival Party Fails  
—Vail and Glanz Stand as Work-  
ingmen's Candidates.

The Socialists of Passaic County, N.  
J., and of the city of Paterson have  
their ticket in the field and consider  
the prospects very bright. Our candi-  
dates are as follows:

CITY TICKET.  
For Mayor—William Glanz.  
For Alderman, First Ward—G. S.  
Schmidt; Second Ward—F. Grass; Third  
Ward—A. Schukla.  
COUNTY TICKET.  
For County Clerk—Charles Graf.  
For Assembly—P. Huck, William  
Gilbert, Charles Lindner, Charles  
Schmidt, Samuel Morgan.

The campaign was opened last Mon-  
day with a meeting at Helvetia Hall,  
at which Comrade Glanz presided and  
Charles H. Vail spoke with good ef-  
fect.

A movement was started among the  
silk workers about two weeks ago to  
launch an "Independent labor" party,  
but it has died in the moment of birth.  
A conference was held last Monday  
night at the call of the Executive  
Board, to which each of the four  
unions was invited to send twenty-five  
delegates. Only about fifty persons  
appeared, including the representatives  
of the United Ribbon Weavers, whose  
organization had already declared  
against the plan, on the ground that  
the Socialist Party filled all the re-  
quirements of a true labor party and  
that it would be a mistake to start a  
rival organization. At Monday's con-  
ference there was a lively discussion,  
in which Comrade Comiskey, of the  
Ribbon Weavers, took a prominent  
part, and the result was the adoption  
of a motion to adjourn until Nov. 6.

With Charles H. Vail as Governor  
and William Glanz as Mayor, the silk  
workers would be able to renew their  
strike next year with much better  
prospects of success.  
Comrade Vail has addressed good  
meetings at Orange, Hoboken, and  
Hudson, as well as at Paterson. No  
interference or disorder has occurred  
and he reports the comrades enthusi-  
astic and working hard for the cause.

THE IRONY  
OF CAPITALISM.

Millionaires to Teach Labor How to  
Cope with Capital.  
Chas. M. Schwab, S. S. of the Steel  
Trust; E. M. Harriman, S. S. president  
of the Southern Pacific and general  
railroad magnate; H. H. Rogers, S. S.;  
Alexander E. Kerr, S. S.; Seth Low, S. S.,  
and other multi-millionaires, are about  
to establish a school for the purpose of  
elevating the workingmen and their  
sons in political economy. So states a  
New York daily.

"The institution is to be located in  
Paterson, N. J., in order that it may  
be within easy reach of this city, so  
that men like Charles R. Flint, Seth  
Low, H. H. Rogers, Alexander E. Kerr,  
John D. Rockefeller, and others who  
have made a study of the problems af-  
fecting the relations of labor and capital  
can at short notice run out and de-  
liver lectures to the students.

"It is also said that the projectors of  
the enterprise contemplate the employ-  
ment of the correspondence scheme of  
education, which has worked so well in  
Scranton, Pa., and by which informa-  
tion in the subjects included in the  
curriculum is imparted by a system of  
letters from prominent educators,  
which are then distributed throughout  
the section desired to be reached by a  
special train service."

A school book trust already controls  
not only the mechanical production  
and supply, but it also dictates what  
shall and what shall not be taught  
the children of America. Not with-  
standing that the capitalist class,  
realizing the influence of education,  
are doing all in their power to pre-  
vent the American workingman and  
his children from learning what is  
really for the best interest of his own  
class to know, they cannot prevent him  
from learning some things, for the  
American workingman has still some  
independence of thought, and while we  
must admit that a majority of them  
still allow the capitalists and politi-  
cal tricksters to do their thinking  
for them, an ever and rapidly increas-  
ing number are beginning to recog-  
nize the truth and to realize that  
such enterprises as the above are  
simply intended to prolong the sys-  
tem of capitalist rule, interest, and  
profit—and the wage-slavery of the  
working class. The idea of the capital-  
ist class establishing a school to edu-  
cate the working class in the art of  
fighting its battles against the capital-  
ist class! If it were to be declared  
between England and Russia, and  
England were to offer to train the Rus-  
sians in military tactics and to  
supply them with arms and ammunition,  
it would be just as sensible as the  
above proposition. Imagine if you can  
the tactics England would teach and  
the amount of sand and mud that  
would be furnished the Russians un-  
der the name of powder and the work-  
ingmen will have a first-class idea of  
the quality of the working-class polit-  
ical economy that will be served by the  
capitalists in this new school.

## THE PARTY NAME.

To All Readers of This Paper in the  
State of NEW YORK:—The party  
which this paper represents, heretofore  
known as the Social Democratic Party,  
decided at its recent convention in In-  
dianapolis to assume the name of SO-  
CIALIST PARTY. The provisions of  
the election laws of this state are such,  
however, that it has been found ad-  
visable to retain the old name in the state  
of NEW YORK through the present  
campaign. Our ticket will be found on  
the official ballot under the name of  
SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY and  
under the party emblem of the ARM  
AND TORCH. That is the ticket for  
workingmen to vote.

Government and co-operation are  
in all things and eternally, the laws of  
life: Anarchy and competition, eternally  
and in all things, the laws of death.  
—John Ruskin.

## THE WORKER CONFERENCE.

Comrade Paulitsch presided in the  
last meeting of The Worker Confer-  
ence. All delegates reported progress.  
Branch 12, Paterson, has a Demo-  
cratic Women's Association, contri-  
buted \$1. Branch 4, Long Island City,  
contributed \$5, together with two yearly  
subscriptions. The total income was  
\$15.65; on hand, \$34.40. The auditing  
committee reported the books of the  
treasurer correct.

The next meeting of the Conference  
will be held at the Labor Lyceum,  
Sunday evening, Oct. 14. All delegates  
are requested to be present. Every as-  
sembly district should have an active  
delegate who will see to it that organ-  
ized work is done for the benefit of  
the party press.

—The freest government cannot  
long endure where the tendency of the  
law is to create a rapid accumulation  
of property in the hands of a few and  
to render the masses of the people  
poor and dependent.—Daniel Webster.

READ THIS AND PASS IT ON.

## THE WORKER FAIR.

First Meeting of Conference Shows  
That It Will Have Trade Union Sup-  
port.

At the trade union conference for  
The Worker Fair, held Saturday eve-  
ning, Oct. 5, the following organizations  
were represented: Central Federated  
Union; American Federation of  
Women of New York; United Broad  
Sleeve Weavers of Paterson, N. J.; Paint-  
ers and Decorators No. 174, Passaic, N. J.;  
Metal Polishers No. 12; Upholsterers  
No. 20; Machine Stone Workers; Glass  
Packers Nos. 125 and 202; I. T. U. No.  
6; I. A. M. West Side Lodge No. 320,  
Essexia Lodge No. 494, and Belvedere  
Council; Lithographers, Engravers, and  
Designers; Pattern Makers; C. M. I.  
F. No. 144; Wood Carvers; Neckwear  
Cutters; Electrical Workers No. 20;  
Gilders; Franklin Association (Pres-  
enters' Assistants); Jewelers No. 1; Wire  
Lathers, and Coppersmiths.

Morris Brown, of the Clear Makers'  
Union, presided, and E. R. Jennings,  
Jr., of Typographical Union No. 1, acted  
as secretary. A Fair Committee,  
consisting of one delegate from each  
union, was chosen, with instructions to  
do all possible to make the Fair a suc-  
cess; also a committee of five, consist-  
ing of J. Phillips, Mrs. Symant, of the  
Federation of Women; Daniel De-  
Lara, of Clear Makers No. 144; Patrick  
Scates, of the Machine Stone Workers,  
and E. P. Jennings, Jr., of I. T. U. No.  
6, to draft a statement of the position,  
purpose, and condition of The Worker  
Fair, to be printed and sent to all organ-  
izations, with a request that they con-  
tribute to the next conference, which  
will be held at the Labor Lyceum, Oct.  
19.

Chairman Brown made a brief ad-  
dress, in which he called to mind the  
many injustices issued against the  
working class in their struggles for  
their rights and for a betterment of  
their condition. The Worker, he said,  
had always opposed such injustices,  
and these injustices had and supported  
the workingmen in all their fights. It  
is a paper published primarily for the  
purpose of making men true and loyal  
union men, 365 days of the year, not  
union men on 364 days and scales on  
election day. In this, he said, it is  
the only thoroughly true labor paper  
in the city of New York.

It was suggested that this Confer-  
ence might do more than simply  
make this Fair a success. It might be-  
come a permanent Labor Press Con-  
ference, forwarding The Worker in  
every way, until ultimately a daily pa-  
per devoted solely to the interests of  
the working class should be establish-  
ed. Such a daily, it was said, would  
be of inestimable value to the work-  
ing people, but the expense would be  
so great that it could not be wise to  
start it without organized support that  
would assure it of success. To build  
up a wide and general education for  
The Worker would be the best way to  
lay the foundation for a future daily.

E. P. J. Jr., Secretary.

The C. F. T. last Sunday donated  
\$15 for The Worker Fair, to be held at  
Grand Central Palace, Nov. 10 to 15.

A committee for the Fair has been  
organized in Essex County, N. J., and  
meets every Monday evening at 123  
Market street, Newark. All labor or-  
ganizations are invited to communicate  
with this Committee, to take tickets,  
and to contribute for presents.

## GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Following is a report of the last  
meeting of the General Committee of  
The Worker, held on Saturday,  
September 28, with Comrade Berlin  
in the chair.

Thirty-two new members were ad-  
mitted.  
Comrade Finger resigned as finan-  
cial secretary and Comrade R. Christ-  
ian was elected to fill vacancy.

Committee elected to visit the 24th A.  
D. for the purpose of adjusting the  
trouble existing there, reported that  
harmony reigned and that it was  
decided to send the charter for  
another branch. It was moved and  
carried that the new branch be recog-  
nized and delegates be sent.

The Grievance Committee reported  
the following recommendations:  
"After hearing the evidence in the  
case of Comrade Kiebauber, in answer  
to questions, he stated that he was  
willing to again make application to  
rejoin the Architectural Iron Workers'  
Progressive Union. In view of this the  
Grievance Committee voted that Kiebauber  
be suspended from the party until  
such time as he makes proper settle-  
ment with his union."

And in the case of J. F. Nubel:  
"Whereas, J. F. Nubel has been  
proven to be a member of the Fran-  
cisco Tax and Municipal ownership  
League, and whereas, said League is  
a party containing a clause favoring a  
non-partisan administration of mun-  
icipal affairs; and

"Whereas, The Social Democratic  
Party has a view a partisan adminis-  
tration by the working class; be it  
therefore

"Resolved, That said J. F. Nubel be  
hereby expelled from membership in  
the Social Democratic Party."  
Comrade Giddin was elected to City  
Executive Committee to fill the vacan-  
cy caused by the resignation of  
Comrade Harriman.

OBSERVE THE  
DIFFERENCE.

To All New Readers of This Paper—  
Please observe that the party which  
this paper represents—the body which,  
at its recent convention in Indianapolis,  
adopted the name of Socialist  
Party, but which, for campaign pur-  
poses is known in the state of New  
York as the Social Democratic Party—  
has absolutely no connection with the  
Socialist Labor Party, who so unfavorably  
shown among workingmen for their ag-  
gression to the trade union movement.  
This paper, in accordance with the  
policy of the Socialist Party, supports  
the principle of trade unionism, but  
calls upon the trade unionists to use  
their political power at the ballot box  
for the emancipation of the working  
class.

LECTURES IN EAST NEW YORK.  
The comrades of East New York have  
arranged the following series of Sun-  
day evening lectures, to be held in  
Penn-Pulton Hall, corner of Penn-  
sylvania avenue and Fulton street:  
Oct. 12—Morris Hillquit, "Socialism  
as a Science."  
Oct. 19—Leonard D. Abbott, "The Is-  
sues of the Campaign."

Oct. 25—Dr. C. L. Furman, "The  
Workingman, His Boss, and Politics."  
All workmen and others interest-  
ed in political and economic questions  
are invited to come and hear the views  
of Socialist speakers, to ask questions,  
and participate in general discussion.

DON'T FORGET TO REGISTER.

## The Economic Struggle.

The Fall River, Mass., cotton manu-  
facturers have refused the 5 per cent.  
advance asked by the operatives. It  
is possible that a strike will follow.  
One independent manufacturer, M. C.  
Borden, had voluntarily increased  
wages 5 per cent. for his 3,000 em-  
ployees, and the unions therefore made  
the demand of all the members of the  
Manufacturers' Association.

On Oct. 1 all the employees of the  
South Side Elevated Railroad of Chi-  
cago received an advance of 10 per  
cent. Although the company denies it,  
this is construed as a direct result of  
the strike of the men. Employers sel-  
dom raise wages unless employees  
fight for it.

The Michigan State Federation of  
Labor, at its recent convention in Sag-  
inaw, adopted a resolution calling at-  
tention to the concentration of wealth,  
the class struggle between capitalists  
and wage workers, and the exploita-  
tion of the latter, and urging the mem-  
bers "to study the question of trade  
unions with a view to the estab-  
lishment of the ownership of the same in order  
that the class struggle may be elimi-  
nated and the worker receive the full  
product of his labor." Another resolu-  
tion forbids any officer of the Federa-  
tion to accept any appointment or nomi-  
nation from either of the capitalist  
parties.

The Federated Trades Council of  
Milwaukee adopted a resolution re-  
specting the death of President McKin-  
ley, and calling on all liberty-loving  
citizens "to unite with us at the ball-  
box, in order that we may abolish the  
present system of exploitation and es-  
tablish a new and higher order of civi-  
lization, where party, misery, and  
prostitution, and all the crimes and in-  
sanities emanating therefrom will be  
unknown."

## AS TO STREET CARS.

Useless Capitalists Now Pocketing  
\$9,500,000 a Year in Manhattan and  
Bronx—What the Social Democratic  
Party Will Do When Voted into  
Power.

A company in Baltimore, Md., has  
applied for street railway franchises,  
upon the following lines: The com-  
pany shall sell six tickets for 25 cents;  
it shall give free transfers on all its  
lines and for exchange with all other  
lines; and it shall pay the city a tax of  
9 per cent. on its gross receipts.

The offer shows what enormous pro-  
fits street railway companies are now  
making. These Baltimore capitalists  
expect to make money on these terms.  
They are not going into the business  
for fun. The fact that such offers are  
made shows the possibilities of public  
benefit in municipal ownership as it  
is advocated by the Social Democratic  
Party.

The figures for the city of New York  
are worth considering. The Metro-  
politan Railway Company makes an aver-  
age net profit every year of \$3,500,000.  
The Manhattan Elevated Railway  
Company makes average net profits,  
every year of \$3,500,000. After deduct-  
ing the tax of \$352,000 a year which  
the Metropolitan pays, we find that  
these two companies, which practically  
monopolize the transit facilities of  
Manhattan and the Bronx take out of  
the people's pockets every year the  
sum of NINE MILLIONS OF DOL-  
LARS, absolute profit, over all running  
expenses. The Brooklyn Rapid Trans-  
it Company makes a similar stake in  
the Borough of Brooklyn.

The Social Democrats propose that  
these street railway lines, the product  
of the labor of tens of thousands of  
workingmen, not one of whom owns  
any share in them, shall become public  
property, so that the wages of the em-  
ployees shall be increased, so that it  
shall be possible for them to live com-  
fortable human lives and provide prop-  
erty for their families; that their hours  
of labor shall be reduced to eight a  
day, as the maximum, and still lower  
as time goes on; that more men be  
employed, to make up for this reduc-  
tion of hours; that the present  
shamefully inadequate service shall be  
improved to meet the growing de-  
mands of the population; and that, if  
any surplus still remains after these  
improvements have been made, the  
fares be lowered in the proper  
proportion.

Does that program suit your tastes?  
Or do you prefer to see two and a half  
cents out of every five you pay in fares  
go into the pockets of men who do no  
work, while the men who run the cars  
are overworked and underpaid? If you  
like the Social Democratic idea, vote  
under the Arm and Torch.

## THE COMRADE

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cialist artists and writers. Fifty beautiful  
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DON'T FORGET TO REGISTER.

## Trades' and Societies' Calendar

Standing advertisements of Trade Unions  
and other societies will appear under  
this heading at the rate of \$1 per line per  
annum.  
Organizations should not lose such an op-  
portunity for advertising their places of  
meetings.

BRANCH 2, S. D. P., 34th and 35th A. D.  
(formerly Socialist Release Club), meets  
second and fourth Thursday evenings of  
each month at the Workingmen's Educa-  
tional Club, 5303 Third Avenue.

BRANCH 2 (English), 29th A. D. (Brook-  
lyn), S. D. P.—Meets every second and  
fourth Tuesday evening at 700 Evergreen  
avenue. All Socialists of the district are  
invited to join. E. Bloom, 633 Evergreen  
avenue, will receive subscriptions for The  
Worker.

CARL SARN CLUB MUSICIANS'  
UNION, Meetings every Tuesday at 10  
p. m., at 64 East 44th Street, New York  
Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary,  
Fred.

CIGARMAKERS' PROGRESSIVE INTER-  
NATIONAL UNION No. 90, Office and  
Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th Street,  
—District I. (Bohemian), 231 East 71st  
Street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—Dis-  
trict II. (German), at 10 Stanton Street,  
every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District VI.  
meets at the Clubhouse, 200 East 90th  
Street, every Saturday at 7:30 p. m.—  
District V



## TAMPA CAPITALISTS OFFER NEW YORK WORKERS A LESSON.

Workingmen, you remember how thirteen of the leaders of the striking cigar-makers at Tampa, Fla., were kidnapped by a committee of business men, who do not approve of strikes, were carried away to the coast of Central America and left on a desert island to starve; how it was only by the chance aid of a squire Indian that they escaped this living death devised by their civilized bosses. You remember, as an incident of the affair, how one of these men was torn from the bedside of his wife, who had just given birth to a child, and how the wife died from the shock.

These are among the things that the New York "Times"—a paper which hates Socialists and trade unions, and supports Mr. Low, by the way—referred to as "the humorous features of the strike."

There is now another chapter in this story of capitalist outrage. It is not quite so startling, but it is even more instructive.

THE POLICE AUTHORITIES AND JUDGES OF TAMPA HAVE TAKEN TO ARRESTING THE STRIKERS EN MASSE AND GIVING THEM THE CHOICE OF GOING BACK TO WORK IN THE SHOPS AT THE BOSSES' TERMS OR OF WORKING THIRTY DAYS IN THE CHAIN GANG ON THE STREETS, UNDER THE TAUNTS AND BLOWS OF BRUTAL OVERSEERS. SIXTY STRIKERS WERE ARRESTED AND SENTENCED IN ONE BUNCH LAST WEEK.

The Democratic city authorities of

Tampa are doing this, and the Democratic state authorities of Florida and the Republican-national authorities do not lift a hand or speak a word in protest.

What are YOU going to do about it, workmen of New York and of other Northern cities?

Maybe you think that because this happens in Tampa, a thousand miles away, it does not concern you. Maybe you think your bosses in New York or in Boston or Philadelphia or Cleveland or Chicago or St. Louis or San Francisco, will never think of trying such measures on you.

Don't be so sure. If you fail to register your protest at the polls against the two old parties which allow or quietly permit such outrages, against the capitalist system which gives rise to them, then there is every chance that YOUR masters will try the same sort of treatment on YOU. They are watching you now, to see how docile and servile you will be.

An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Every Socialist vote you cast next month will be a warning to the capitalist class that you know them and are ready to resist.

Read that bit of news over again and then answer whether the Social Democratic Party is not right when it pledges itself that IF ITS CANDIDATES ARE ELECTED TO OFFICE THE POLICE WILL BE USED TO KEEP SCABS OUT AND TO HELP STRIKERS, NOT TO BRING SCABS IN AND HELP BEAT STRIKERS.

### SOCIALIST DODGERS.

Only three weeks more!

Simple Tom (groaning): "Republican hemorrhage. Democratic diarrhea. Reform nausea."

Oh, my!

Sam Wasthere: "Here is a sure cure. Make a cross under the Arm and Torch on November 5."

"Vote for Hanford" is the watch-word.

(To the tune of "Yankee Doodle.")

Workmen, Hanford is your man. Vote, vote, vote for Hanford! On the ballot look for Ben. Vote, vote, vote for Hanford!

Low is Tommy's goo-goo boy. Vote, vote, vote for Hanford! Shepard will be Dickey's toy. Vote, vote, vote for Hanford!

Hanford stands for the S. D. P.; vote, vote, vote for Hanford! Hanford stands for you and me; vote, vote, vote for Hanford!

Vote for Hanford, vote for Ben; vote, vote, vote for Hanford! Vote for Hanford, and again vote, vote, vote for Hanford! (His ad libitum.)

Parading comrades should march to the tune of "Yankee Doodle."

If you get hold of a Socialist leaflet or paper, read it and then pass it to your neighbor.

Fifty-eight thousand one hundred and twenty-three children in part time classes, getting deficient instruction; 5,200 children refused admission to schools because of lack of accommodation; and it is estimated that at least 20,000 children have not applied, because it was of no use.

A vote for Hanford will bring more schools sooner than a vote for Low or Shepard.

Seth Low stands for cant, sham, hypocrisy, and respectable fleecing of the working class. The workmen should spurn this Saint Lucifer.

Every vote for revolutionary Socialism is like the hammer blow on the Wall. It compels the capitalists to make concessions to the working class.

The cards announcing our ratification meeting in Cooper Union, on Saturday, Oct. 12, should be widely distributed. They can be had in the Labor Lyceum.

Tammany wants municipal ownership for the benefit of pollsters. Vote for the Social Democratic Party and municipal ownership for the benefit of the workmen.

The time is not far distant when the capitalist class will attempt to destroy the liberties of this country by subverting the rights of free speech. It will then be proven that the Socialists are the true republicans and true democrats.

Workmen, don't throw away your votes on Low or Shepard. A vote for Hanford will bring about a betterment in your conditions much sooner than a vote for the tools of the capitalist class.

John indignantly: "Vote for the Socialists? Why Seth Low gave a million to a university."

Mrs. John: "Yes, universities! And our boy was not admitted to primary school because there was no room."

The nomination of Low and Shepard shows that the great capitalists are bent upon wrecking the political machine out of the hands of politicians pure and simple.

H. S.

THEY KNOW SHEPARD.

James Shevlin, of Tammany Hall, being asked if any pledges were asked of Edward M. Shepard when the Democratic nomination was offered him, replied that such a suggestion was "preposterous." It would be an insult, he said, to propose pledges to Mr. Shepard. If Mr. Shevlin tells the truth, it simply means that Tammany is "dead sure" of Mr. Shepard, without any formal pledges. Tammany knows what it is about. It does not choose its candidates in the dark. It never got fooled yet—for not one Tammany man in all history ever failed to serve the gang at the expense of the people. Mr. Shepard will not break the rule.

## CAPITALIST SYSTEM CRUSHES CHILDHOOD.

### Hypocritical "Benevolence" of Southern Mill Owners—Poisoning Babies for Profit in Our Own State.

At a recent meeting of Southern mill presidents, at Columbia, S. C., a committee was appointed to represent their interests before the legislature, in regard to the question of child labor. This committee is to urge the fixing of the age limit for child labor in South Carolina at TEN YEARS FOR DAY AND TWELVE FOR NIGHT WORK, and "to explain to the legislature what the corporations are doing in an educational way for employees."

And in our own state law suits are in progress against the manufacturers of condensed milk for selling bad milk. ESPECIALLY INJURIOUS TO YOUNG BABIES.

These two little items of news, which the great public presses by mean the wheels and ruin of scores of young lives. They call to mind the whole long list of crimes against childhood by which capitalism thrives.

In many of the cotton mills of the South children of six and seven years of age are dragged out of bed at half-past four in the morning to go to work at 5:30 and work till 7 in the evening. Some of them are paid TEN CENTS A DAY. "Mother" Jones, the beloved old friend of the workers, who obtained employment in the cotton mills of Alabama in order to learn the truth about the conditions there, says:

"I must give the company credit for having hired a Sunday-school teacher to tell the little things that Jesus put into the heart of Mr. — to build the factory so that the children have work with which to earn a little money to enable them to put a nickel in the box for the poor little heathen Chinese babies."

Perhaps this is part of "what the corporations are doing in an educational way for employees."

Miss Irene M. Ashby, the young English woman who was sent to Alabama by the American Federation of Labor to acquire for the passage of a bill against child labor, says:

"I asked one tiny girl, 'What do you do when you're tired?'"

"I cry," she answered.

"And then what happens?"

"The superintendent tells me to go on with my work."

"DON'T KNOW HOW TO PLAY."

Miss Ashby tells of factory children taken into the country who "didn't know how to play."

These are the conditions that prevail in most of the mills of Alabama, Georgia, and the Carolinas. There was once a law in Alabama prohibiting the employment of children under twelve years of age for more than eight hours each day. This law was repealed at the request of the Gaston Company, which would not invest capital until the repeal of the law was promised.

The powerful lobby of the Southern mill owners defies all attempts to legislate against the evil.

The insolent assassins of childhood occasionally wait on the legislature to forestall opposition with their recommendations under the guise of generosity. They are willing to have a law passed prohibiting the employment of children under ten years of age if they are allowed to drive to death the slaves who have reached the advanced age of ten and eleven. They are willing to let the child slaves be educated—if it is done outside of the twelve hours that they labor in the factory. How kind these gentlemen are! How noble are these fine plotters, grown fat on the tortuous labor of tiny toddlers!

If your workman's shirt is made of cotton, look down on the sleeve and reflect that into that cloth are woven the cries of children, the blood of babes and the means of mothers. How pleasant to think that any common piece of cloth we have use for is fashioned for us by the tired tiny fingers of underfed, pain-racked children.

POISONING THE BABIES.

And what of the condensed milk companies of our own Empire state? Why have they sold bad milk which poisons babies? Because it is made, not because the babies need it but because the capitalist needs the money. It is made, not for use, but for profit. So capitalists think things should be made for the use of the people, not for the profit of an individual. One set of capitalists overwork and underfeed the women of the working class, with the result that they are not able to nurse their own children, and then another

set of capitalists sell them bad milk which kills their babies.

The cotton mills of the South and the lupine milk sold in New York are only two items out of the long record of the sacrifice of childhood to the greed of capitalism.

Go into the sweat-shops of the New York slums, where humanity rots and reeks in filth, misery, and disease, and you will see little children with wan, white faces, working day and night for bare existence, often without food, without clothes enough to shield them from the blasts of winter, without education, with no music in their lives but the hum of a spindle or a machine, with no sunshine penetrating the cellar of the sweatshop, that human hell where poverty slowly grinds to death the body which the soul has long since left, where filth and stench take the place of sunshine and air, where humanity is outraged and crushed to fill the pockets of the capitalist.

Go to the coal breakers of the Pennsylvania mines and you will find mere boys, children who ought to be in school, working under similar conditions, sorting their gloved hands beneath with icy rain water and bruised by the heavy lumps.

Go to the slaughter houses of Chicago and you will find other boys cutting up the meat which is to feed the world, surrounded by horrible odors and stinking squalor in a stream of water used to carry off blood and refuse into drains—while the beef-packer piles up his millions. You can read about this in the report of the state inspector of factories of Illinois for 1895.

DO YOU REALIZE IT?

Do you realize that the meat you eat, the clothes you wear, and the coal that warms your fireside have passed through the tiny weak hands of suffering children, children who pile up profits for the useless capitalist?

Thus so much of the work of the world is done by emaciated boys and girls who go to work at six in the morning, without the healthful play of childhood, without education, even without pure food or pure air or the light of the sun. Stunned and stolid they are, mentally and physically starved, morally debauched and degraded.

In our cities, the girls of our slums have their choice between the false glitter of prostitution and the lifeless death of the factory; the boys choose between starvation, crime, and hopeless, merciless, never-ending wage-slavery; the babies, in the summer time, confined in the hot tenements, die like insects for lack of fresh air and pure milk.

THE PRICE OF PROFIT.

And this is the price that we pay to preserve the sacred institution of profit—profit—profit. This is the tribute that is exacted from the race to satisfy the inordinate greed of the man whose only joy in life is to see one dollar become ten.

Through all this dismal chaos of despair, the Socialist alone sees the ray of hope, the dawning light of a better day. For it is the children of the working class and the working class alone, who are robbed and wronged, and the working class is becoming conscious of its own interests and its own might. It is learning that it must work out its own salvation; it is learning that its condition is becoming worse and worse under the system of private ownership of the means of production. It is learning that the only hope lies in uniting as a class to overthrow this private ownership of that upon which all men depend and bring in the common ownership of the means of production. And when the working class has learned its lesson it will unite to take into its own hands the mills and mines and factories and all means of production. And under the co-operative commonwealth and the common ownership of the means of production, each will get the full product of his labor, machinery will be used to decrease the average hours of labor, work will be safe-guarded and made pleasant, and when the waste of competition is done away with, and when no man has too much, every man will have enough, and the children of free men and free women living in a free and free society will develop into a race grander than Time has yet seen.

## WHAT YOU CAN DO FOR SOCIALISM.

SEE THAT EVERY WORKINGMAN WHO LIVES IN THE SAME HOUSE WITH YOU GETS "THE WORKER" EVERY WEEK FROM NOW TO ELECTION DAY. SEE THAT THE WORKINGMAN WHO LIVES NEXT DOOR GETS IT. YOU CAN GET TEN COPIES OF "THE WORKER" EVERY WEEK FOR 10 CENTS. IF EVERY COMRADE WILL SEE THAT 10 COPIES OF "THE WORKER" ARE JUDICIOUSLY DISTRIBUTED AMONG WORKINGMEN EVERY WEEK FROM NOW TO ELECTION, THAT ALONE WOULD DOUBLE THE VOTE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

### TICKET IN THE 23D A. D.

The Social Democrats of the Twenty-third Assembly District have nominated candidates as follows:

For Member of Assembly—Ensl Nephel.

For Alderman, Twenty-fourth Aldermanic District—Charles A. Sprenger.

For Alderman, Twenty-fifth Aldermanic District—L. Sohr.

The workmen of the 23d A. D. are invited to attend a series of public meetings to be held on Sunday evenings, beginning Oct. 13, at Beckmann Hall, 1423 street and 8th avenue, where the principles of Socialism and the purpose of the party will be explained. Admission is free and questions and general discussion are invited after each lecture.

COOPER UNION, OCTOBER 12

### TEN THOUSAND A DAY.

The New York City Campaign Committee has issued a second leaflet, addressed to trade unionists. The matter appeared in The Worker two weeks ago under the headline, "Put the Capitalists on the Defensive." It is a good one—short, clear, and strong.

The leaflet is a small one, only four by seven inches. It is an easy matter to carry a sufficient supply with you for house-to-house work or for distribution in your shop and at meetings. Get them out. Put them before workmen everywhere. One hundred thousand copies were printed last week. They ought all to be out within ten days. That means ten thousand a day. That means "hustle." Do it.

DON'T FORGET TO REGISTER.

COOPER UNION, OCTOBER 12

## OPEN-AIR MEETINGS IN GREATER NEW YORK.

Open-air meetings will be held in the following places during the coming week. Platform committees are instructed to have platforms, literature, banners, etc., on hand promptly at 8 p. m. at the appointed places. Speakers should also appear promptly on time.

### MANHATTAN.

FRIDAY, Oct. 11.—8th A. D., N. E. Ludlow and Hester. Speakers: Weinstein, Pine, Katz.

10th A. D., N. W. Lewis and Stanton. Speakers: Fieldman, Havidon, Letkowitz.

24th A. D., N. W. 57th street and Second avenue. Speakers: Phillips, Mayes, Reichenthal.

10th A. D., N. E. 64th street and Amsterdam avenue. Speakers: Nicholson, Edlin, Spang.

30th A. D., S. W. 80th street and Second avenue. Speakers: Finger, Panken, Lemon, Lee.

SATURDAY, Oct. 12.—Ratification meeting at Cooper Union. Speakers: Benjamin Hanford, Fred. W. Long, and James F. Carey. Open-air meetings around Cooper Union. All speakers must be present.

SUNDAY, Oct. 14.—10th A. D., N. E. Stanton and Ludlow. Speakers: Pine, Cahn, Goldstein.

10th A. D., N. W. 7th street and Avenue C. Speakers: Fieldman, Letkowitz, Nicholson.

14th A. D., N. W. 11th street and Avenue B. Speakers: Modest, Hensner, Paulitsch.

4th A. D., N. E. Jefferson and Madison. Speakers: Josephson, Havidon, Panken.

8th A. D., N. E. Ludlow and Grand. Speakers: Paulsen, Reichenthal, Goldstein.

12th A. D., S. E. Cannon and Livingston. Speakers: Weinstein, Sherman, Katz.

TUESDAY, Oct. 15.—18th A. D., S. W. 22d street and Second avenue. Speakers: Paulitsch, Phillips, Fieldman.

22d A. D., 48th street and Second avenue. Speakers: Havidon, Nicholson, Pine.

24th A. D., 60th street and First avenue. Speakers: Lowenthal, Hensner, Panken.

8th A. D., S. W. Broome and Eldridge. Speakers: Friedman, Sherman, Glidden.

12th A. D., S. E. Livingston and Ridge. Speakers: Hanch, Katz, Alexander, Jones.

S. E. 10th street and Eighth avenue. Speakers: Hanford, Mayes, Finger.

9th A. D., S. W. 24th and Eighth avenue. Speakers: Miss Dahme, Finger, Butcher.

10th A. D., N. E. 5th street and Avenue B. Speakers: Fieldman, Letkowitz, Hensner, Lowenthal.

THURSDAY, Oct. 17.—Ratification meeting 4th A. D., Pythagoras Hall, 177 E. Broadway. Speakers: Hilgitt, Hanford, Halpern.

4th A. D., S. E. Rutgers street and East Broadway. Speakers: Josephson, Havidon, Lee.

4th A. D., N. W. Jefferson street and East Broadway. Speakers: Panken, Sherman, Havidon.

33d A. D., N. E. 11th street and Third avenue. Speakers: Edlin, Hensner, Mayes.

34th A. D., N. W. 12th street and Lexington avenue. Speakers: Reich, Lemon, Maikell.

31st A. D., S. E. 13th street and Fifth avenue. Speakers: Phillips, Lowenthal.

23d A. D., N. E. 15th street and Eighth avenue. Speakers: Miss Dahme, Nicholson, Neben.

FRIDAY, Oct. 18.—8th A. D., N. E. Grand and Eldridge. Speakers: Goldstein, Hensner, Havidon.

16th A. D., W. W. Livingston and Clinton. Speakers: Cahn, Pine, Glidden, Katz.

14th A. D., N. W. 9th street and Avenue C. Speakers: Modest, Hensner, Panken.

16th A. D., N. E. 4th street and Avenue C. Speakers: Miss Dahme, Fieldman, Letkowitz.

7th A. D., N. E. 50th street and Third avenue. Speakers: Mayes, Hensner, Finger.

SATURDAY, Oct. 19.—20th A. D., N. W. 70th street and First avenue. Speakers: Phillips, Nicholson, Lowenthal.

28th A. D., N. E. 82d street and First avenue. Speakers: Lemon, Phillips, Havidon.

30th A. D., N. W. 92d street and First avenue. Speakers: Edlin, Havidon, Nicholson.

30th A. D., S. E. 80th street and Third avenue. Speakers: Lee, Maill, Butcher.

8th A. D., S. E. Ludlow and Broome. Speakers: Weinstein, Katz, Friedman.

12th A. D., S. E. Livingston and Ridge. Speakers: Sherman, Pine, Glidden.

### BROOKLYN.

TUESDAY, Oct. 15.—177th street and Boston Road. Speakers: Hanford, Mayes, Atkinson.

SATURDAY, Oct. 19.—S. E. 14th street and Willis avenue. Speakers: Hinger, Panken, Paulitsch.

N. E. 136th street and St. Ann's avenue. Speakers: Edlin, Finger, Miss Dahme.

BROOKLYN.

FRIDAY, Oct. 11.—5th A. D., Milton street and Broadway. Speakers: Dooley, Globus.

SATURDAY, Oct. 12.—20th A. D., Thompson street and Knickerbocker avenue. Speakers: Well, Dooley, Buck. Also Central avenue and Troutman street. Speakers: Meyer, Lackenmacher, Well.

MONDAY, Oct. 14.—6th A. D., Elery and Broadway. Speakers: Dooley, Buck, Burrows.

19th A. D., Beaver street and Flushing avenue. Speakers: Butcher, Lackenmacher, Well.

15th A. D., S. W. Bushwick avenue and Varrett street. Speakers: Well, Buck, Hanford.

TUESDAY, Oct. 15.—20th A. D., Greene and Hamburg avenues. Speakers: Well, Burrows, Globus. Also Greene and Irving avenues. Speakers: Meyer, Lackenmacher, Buck.

WEDNESDAY, Oct. 16.—8th A. D., Havard street and Broadway. Speakers: Dooley, Burrows, Buck.

THURSDAY, Oct. 17.—7th A. D., Fort Hamilton avenue and 40th street.

Speakers: Burrows, Fieldman, Lackenmacher.

FRIDAY, Oct. 18.—5th A. D., Roebuck and Grand streets. Speakers: Dooley, Globus, Buck.

SATURDAY, Oct. 19.—21st A. D., Pennsylvania and Atlantic avenue. Speakers: Buck, Neben, Dr. Furman.

RICHMOND.

SATURDAY, Oct. 12.—Torce and Broad streets, Stapleton, S. I. Speakers: Havidon, Neben.

SATURDAY, Oct. 19.—Lincolntonville, S. I. Speakers: Well, Dooley.

QUEENS.

SATURDAY, Oct. 12.—Kerms Hall, Flushing avenue, Long Island City. Speaker: Phillips.

INDOOR MEETINGS—BROOKLYN.

SATURDAY, Oct. 12.—21st A. D., Probst's Hall, East New York. Speakers: Dr. Furman, Fraser.

SATURDAY, Oct. 19.—Brooklyn Ratification meeting. Labor Lyceum. Speakers: Ben Hanford, candidate for mayor; Morris Brown, Dr. C. L. Furman.

INCOME-TAX FIGURES.

English Returns Show Great Inequality of Wealth—Capitalists Object to "Inquisition into Private Affairs."

One of the objections most strongly urged against the income tax is that "it would involve an impertinent inquisition into the citizens' private affairs." Perhaps this is the very strongest reason why workmen should favor an income tax under the present system—because it would bring to light the real facts of the distribution of wealth. Workmen are figures for modern socialists in this matter. All his friends and acquaintances know what wages he gets, and he has no objection to their knowing it. It is the capitalist who objects to letting the public know how great is his income and where he gets it, and he has good reason for objecting—just as good reason as any plain burglar or professional "gold-brick man."

The fact that the income tax is in vogue in Britain brings to light some very instructive figures, which are published in a recent issue of "Justice," the organ of the Social Democratic Federation.

All incomes of under \$750 a year are there exempt. Out of a population of forty-four millions—about nine million families—there are only 730,231 persons who have a yearly income large enough to figure for income tax.

Of those who pay an income tax, 380,651 are employees of some sort, having wages or salaries of over \$750 a year. The other 349,580 are capitalists—landlords, manufacturers, merchants, bankers, etc.—having annual profits from other people's labor, ranging from \$750 up to many millions.

There thus remains more than 8,000,000 heads of families whose wages are below the very moderate exemption limit.

Of the 380,651 who pay a tax on their salaries or wages, 142,253 more than one-third have incomes between \$750 and \$800 a year; 90,000 more have between \$800 and \$1,000 a year; more than 80,000 between \$1,000 and \$1,500; and nearly 31,000 between \$1,500 and \$2,000. Only 40,000 persons, out of the whole wage-working class of the United Kingdom, receive salaries of more than \$2,000 a year.

These figures do not go very far to support the theories of those opponents of Socialism, who claim that wealth is becoming more widely distributed.

It is really a pity that we have not an income tax in this country, if only for the sake of getting at the facts and showing by official figures how unequally the product of labor is distributed.

FOR THE WORKER FAIR.

The Worker Fair, to be held in Grand Central Palace, November 10 to 15, will be an event quite unparalleled in the history of the labor movement of New York. It is sure to be a big success, but each reader of this paper can help to make it a bigger success and should take an honest pride in so doing. The bigger, the better.

Two things each reader should do. First, send the Fair Committee, at this office, some suitable object—not necessarily an expensive one, but whatever is within his means—to add to the list of prizes; second, take at least ten tickets for himself and friends, and as many more as he can sell to acquaintances. Ten-cent tickets are easily sold, especially for such an affair, as this will be. We want so many people to come that the great hall will be packed the whole week; and we want them all to go away satisfied. YOU can help.

Readers outside of New York City and vicinity are included in this invitation. You all want to help put The Worker in such a position that it can carry out its thousand-and-one plans for the improvement and extension of its work, the increase of its usefulness to the party. Join in, all hands!

IN THE BRANCH.

The Social Democrats of the Thirty-fourth A. D. have nominated the following ticket:



## GREAT ENTHUSIASM AT RATIFICATION MEETING.

### Large Audience Warmly Applauded Our Candidate, Benjamin Hanford, and Other Social Democratic Speakers.

### Hillquit, Long, Hanford and Carey Address a Crowded House—Class Struggle Between Capital and Labor Is the One Issue Dwelt Upon—No Doubt as to How a Social Democratic Administration Would Treat Law-Breaking Capitalists.

That the Social Democrats of New York are full of enthusiasm was proven by the splendid ratification meeting held in Cooper Union last Saturday, and addressed by Comrades Hillquit, Long, Hanford, and Carey. The hall was full and applause was loud and frequent.

Leonard D. Abbott, Secretary of the New York State Committee, called the meeting to order and with a few appropriate words introduced Morris Hillquit as the chairman of the evening.

Comrade Hillquit spoke with great earnestness and commanded the close attention of the audience throughout. He said:

"In opening the annual campaign in this city, we, the Social Democratic Party, feel it incumbent upon us to explain to the voters of New York why we refuse to join the 'Anti-Tammany forces,' as well as the 'Tammany forces,' why we appear on the political arena with a complete ticket of our own, and by what title we claim the support of our fellow citizens, and especially that of the working class."

"There are three things which the intelligent voter must consider in this as well as in any other political campaign. The parties, the issues, and the candidates. Let consider the campaign before us under these heads."

**THE THREE PARTIES.**

"What is Tammany Hall, who are the Fusionists, what is the Social Democratic Party, and what are the elements composing these three parties? We will find the answer to this very pertinent question in the official declarations of the three respective parties."

"I am quoted first from the platform adopted by the Republicans on September 24:

"We arrange Tammany Hall as a band of conspirators against the public welfare, as an organization devoted to public plunder, whose officeholders, in the conduct of the public business, use the language of their chief, 'are working for their pockets all the time.'"

"The administration of the Police Department embodies and illustrates the whole theory and practice of Tammany government. License to loiter and those who are sworn to enforce the law are the agents of its subservience. The machinery designated for the administration of justice is employed to promote vice and to protect criminals, and the system of blackmail is carried so far that in many parts of the city it is not possible to conduct even an honest and legitimate business until tribute has been paid to official and unofficial blackmailers."

"We will now turn for more information on the subject to the Democratic platform adopted October 3, and here is what we find:

"We denounce as a sham the pretense at reform which characterizes the combination made up of Republican-partisans, so-called Democrats notorious for their greed and dishonesty, and embittered against the regular Democratic organization, because of their failures and disappointments, and a small coterie, distinguished only for their unvarying hostility to the aspirations and interests of the common people."

"We are confident that the voters of New York are unwilling to repeat the experiment of 1885 to 1887, inclusive, which gave to the city an administration characterized by prodigality, inefficiency, hypocrisy, and intolerance."

"And now we will read for comparison a passage from the Social Democratic platform, adopted months before either others—it is an interesting comparison. It says:

"The Democratic Party, now in power in this city, has time and again been convicted of corrupt administration and maladministration, and has repeatedly proved its hostility to labor by the brutal interference of its police with striking workmen seeking by peaceful means to improve their conditions, by the monstrous injunctions of its judges against such workmen, by its constant encouragement of the violation of laws designed for the protection of the working class, and by its casual indifference to all demands of organized labor."

"The Republican party, despite its apparent differences with the Democratic party, is at one with the latter in its servility to the interest of the capitalist class. The law reducing the force and crippling the efficiency of the department charged with the enforcement of the factory laws, passed by the Republican state legislature, the calling out of state troops to shoot unarmed citizens in order to defeat the striking street car employees at Albany, by the Republican governor, and the decision declaring unconstitutional the prevailing wage law, rendered by the Republican Court of Appeals, are sufficient to indicate what the working class would gain by voting that party into power in the city of New York."

"Nor will the existing social and political evils in the city of New York be relieved by the so-called reformers."

These gentlemen, who, as employers, exploiters of labor and owners of the most disgraceful tenement houses of the city, force workingmen into prostitution, and in their well-fed, morally anaemic themselves by bountifully the unfortunate victims of their own greed, who open the campaign with grandiloquent tirades against political boss rule, and at the first opportunity make deals with the Republican machine, are the last to whom the workmen of this city could look for succor."

"To see there is no issue between us on the character of the contending political parties."

"The Socialists fully characterize Tammany as an organization devoted to public plunder, but we add that the only reason why the Republicans in this city are temporarily not engaged in public plunder is that they do not happen to be in power; and that wherever they are in power, they are just as corrupt as Tammany, as witness the city of Philadelphia, of which our friend, Fred Long, will tell you."

**NOT A SMALL COTERIE.**

"We fully agree with Tammany when it characterizes the leading Fusionists as a small coterie of enemies to the common people, but we add that the only reason why Tammany is not such a small coterie of enemies to the common people is, that it is a big gang of public thieves."

"And we further supplement their mutual disclosures by adding that both parties are operated in the interests of the greedy corporations, of the class of exploiters and oppressors of labor, with whom the working class cannot have any community of interest, but that matters but little to the workmen whether they are robbed by the open and brutal methods of the Tammany capitalists or by the refined and God-fearing methods of decent reformers; that it is in their interest to put a stop to all robbery and exploitation; that such end can only be accomplished by the working class, organized as a party, and therefore it is quite proper that the Social Democratic Party is the only party of the working class."

"The composition of the three parties reflects itself beautifully upon the issues raised by them in this campaign."

"The city of New York contains thousands upon thousands of workmen's families succumbing to misery. Our daily papers are full of the most horrible accounts of beggary, starvation, and suicide among the working population. The huge army of wage slaves in the dark tenement district of our great city cry out for work for the men, for some human comforts for their overworked wives, for food, shelter and pure air for their unfortunate offspring, and what answer do the political parties make to these outcries, what remedy do they propose? 'Economy and common honesty,' say the reformers; 'Economy and uncommon honesty,' says Tammany."

**THE ECONOMY ISSUE.**

"Economy, indeed! When the unemployed workman is dispossessed from his miserable tenement for non-payment of rent, and mercilessly cast into the streets with his family, to perish of cold and starvation, he may console himself with the cheerful thought that his landlord's taxes have been reduced three mills, owing to the economy of the city government."

"The Social Democratic Party does not stand for economy, but for the broadest liberality. It demands that the income of our great city be vastly increased at the expense of the capitalist class, and that it be applied to the improvement of the lot of the producers of all wealth, so long as the present system, based on exploitation of labor, continues; and it regards its participation in this municipal campaign only as part of the general political and social movement for the abolition of all wage slavery and class rule."

"This is the great distinction between both old political parties and the Social Democratic Party and the issues represented by them."

"Let us now look at the candidates representing these three parties. Who are they, and how did they come to be nominated?"

**NOW HOW GOT THERE.**

"Beth Low is a millionaire college president, whose nomination came about in a rather original way. Weeks before the nomination, a committee representing all reform and freak organizations met to select a proper candidate to join the Anti-Tammany forces. They say the Republican Party was also represented on it. The committee agreed in principle that the candidate was to be an independent Democrat, and promptly struck out all Democrats from its list; then it was decided that the candidate was to be a man known for his political integrity and independence, and had none to strike from his list. After that a number of ballots were taken on the thirty-third ballot Seth Low was by a very narrow margin elected to be the

## FORWARD STEP IN MICHIGAN.

### State Federation of Labor Urges. Members to Study Socialism and Forbid Officers to Accept Appointments from Capitalist Parties.

The action of the Michigan State Federation of Labor in its recent convention at Saginaw, to which delegates of time and space allowed us to give but slight mention last week, is of such importance, both as a sign of the times and as a good example to other labor organizations, that we now take occasion to report it more fully.

The first resolution to which we referred clearly indicates the conviction of the labor representatives there as embodied that Socialism is the urgent issue of the day, and that the Cooperative Commonwealth is the coming order of society. It is couched in these words:

"Whereas, The competitive system has divided society into two hostile classes, capitalists and wage workers; and the possession of the means of production and distribution of wealth gives the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workers to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery; and

"Whereas, It is evident to any intelligent thinker that as long as one class of people own all the means of production and another class is compelled to work for wages, that there will always be an irrepressible conflict between these two classes, by reason of the fact that the one class cannot increase its share of the wealth produced without decreasing the share which goes to the other; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we call upon every wage worker to join the trade unions and study the question of trusts and monopolies, with a view to the collective ownership of the same by the working class; and that the class struggle may be eliminated and the worker secure the full product of his labor; and that all the evils which are inherent in the system of private monopoly be abolished."

The second resolution covers an important question of trade-union policy, in spite of the old rule of "No politics in the union"—or, more properly speaking, just on account of that mistaken rule. It reads: "That the fact that a large part of the labor organizations all over the land are cursed with corrupt capitalist politics, prevent union leaders being seduced by the professional politicians of the parties dominated by the employing class and become mere passive tools of the worst enemies of the labor movement. To put a stop to this lamentable condition, we move a motion and effect, recommending the study of politics by the leaders, as shown above, has adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, During the ordinary course of events, every effort is being made by workmen, led by their ablest minds, to form organizations for their protection from the encroachments of capital; and

"Whereas, Capital is perfectly aware of the necessity of a united and efficient organization on the part of labor is to the special rights and privileges which they now enjoy; and consequently place every temptation in the way of our leaders by offering them lucrative political positions as officials, either elective or appointive, as well as on the stump during political campaigns; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That any officer of this Federation accepting the appointment to a political office from, or taking the stump for a capitalist political party, at once sever his connection with this Federation, and the acceptance of such office shall be considered as proof and sufficient reason for declaring such officer a traitor to the cause."

Socialists ask nothing more of the trade unions, so far as political action is concerned than what we would like to see these two resolutions: First, that the unions shall serve as a school in which the workmen shall study the existing conditions, and the Socialist program; second, that they shall guard themselves against the danger of being betrayed through the participation of their leaders in capitalist politics. We are sure enough of the rightness of our position to feel confident that, once these two points are established, the men of the rank and file who are so bravely carrying on the battle of labor by trade union methods will soon join us in fighting the capitalists by political methods also.

**TOWN ELECTIONS IN CONNECTICUT.**

The proposition for the revision of the Connecticut constitution having been carried by a large majority, the Socialist William E. White, a well-known Socialist and member of the machine party for that city. The workmen of New Haven should see that a member of their own class is sent to represent their city.

Reports of the Socialist vote in the town elections of Oct. 7 are meager. Montville gives a very pleasing report. This was the first time the Socialists have a town ticket in the field, and we cast 76 votes out of a total voting list of only 600. In last fall's presidential election we did not have a single vote.

Rockland gave us 128, a gain of only one over last year's vote. The total vote was light, so that our proportion was considerably increased. New London cast 11 votes, a considerable loss, which is attributed partly to neglect of agitation and partly to the effect of the misrepresentation of the movement by the country papers and persons who induced many of the voters to confuse Socialism with Anarchism.

## IN ROCHESTER.

A great Social Democratic parade was held in the Seventeenth Ward of Rochester, ending in a mass meeting at Seavey's Hall. A pleasing feature was that the crowd contained a greater number of absolutely new faces, showing that the movement is reaching the people at large and interesting them.

Our candidate for Alderman, Frank A. Sieverman, addressed the meeting, as well as Comrades Allman, Swain, Bach, Lippert, and Brown.

The Republicans and Democrats are working hard to defeat us and this, together with our well-attended meetings, proves the falsity of their chief argument—namely, that we have no chance of success.

Several more large meetings will be held in this ward before election. The Fifteenth Ward rally will be held at Allman's Hall, 433 Lyell avenue, corner of Chubb street, Monday evening, Oct. 21, 11 o'clock. Our candidate for Mayor, Frank A. Sieverman, and our other political contest—the interests of the producers against those of the parasites, of the makers of all wealth against the possessors of all wealth, of humanity against private profit, of laborers against capitalists, of slaves against masters.

This is the question that underlies all other questions—social, political, moral. Until this question is settled rightly, no other question can be considered rightly. We can have neither sympathy, compromise nor true peace, and who would divert the minds of the people to petty details while the universal fact of class rule is ignored. The fact that police lay blackmail on vice, that one thief robs another, is of trifling consequence compared with the capitalist class upon the whole working class. Set at large every one of the 5,000 convicts in New York State, and they could not in their remaining lifetime steal as much as is taken from the citizens of New York each year by the men who own the street railways, and who openly divide their legal plunder in the form of "interest" on bonds and "dividends" on stocks.

G. H. Lockwood has been made organizer of Local Minneapolis and will devote his whole time to the affairs of the party.

Every Thursday, at 8 p. m., Comrade J. E. Nash will conduct a class for the purpose of developing speakers for the Socialist cause. Anyone who wishes to learn to speak in public will receive great benefit from this class. No charges for admission. Give your name in to the organizer at any time.

Adolph Grethen, the violinist, who has been holding street meetings at Fifth street and Nicollet avenue, will organize a band, orchestra and chorus at Socialist Hall, 125 Nicollet avenue. See him for particulars.

## IN MINNEAPOLIS.

Minneapolis Socialists, in order to facilitate the work of education and organization, have established permanent headquarters at 125 Nicollet avenue, where regular meetings will be held during the winter. They have also established a free library and reading room which will be open every week-day from 9 a. m. until 5 p. m., and from 2 to 5 Sundays.

On Sunday, Oct. 20, at 3 p. m., J. E. Nash will lecture on "The Class Struggle," and on Sunday, Oct. 27, C. P. Meyers will lecture on "Why Workingmen Should Be Class Conscious." On Saturday evening, Oct. 26, an entertainment and dance will be given at the hall, to which an admission fee of 25 cents will be charged. Beginning in November, Dr. A. Hirschfeld will deliver a course of six lectures on Marx-Lenin Socialism.

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Adolph Grethen, the violinist, who has been holding street meetings at Fifth street and Nicollet avenue, will organize a band, orchestra and chorus at Socialist Hall, 125 Nicollet avenue. See him for particulars.

## NEW ROCHELLE NOMINATES.

The Social Democrats of New Rochelle, N. Y., have nominated a city ticket for the coming election. For Mayor—James Gagan. For Treasurer—John Hengel. For Recorder of Taxes—John Doyle. For Police Justice—Louis Effer. For Justice of the Peace—Frederick Schoette.

## IN THE 34TH A. D.

The Social Democrats of the Thirty-fourth A. D. have nominated the following ticket:

For Assembly—John A. Rowe, railroad worker.

For Alderman, Thirty-seventh Aldermanic District—Herman Reich, hotel employee.

For Alderman, Thirty-eighth Aldermanic District—James Gruber, clerk.

All workmen in the district who wish to come and bring their friends to the West Side ratification meeting at Wendell's Assembly Rooms, Forty-fourth street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues, Monday evening, Oct. 21, Benjamin Hanford will speak. Don't come alone. Bring your neighbors and shopmates.

## COME ONE, COME ALL.

All readers of The Worker are invited to come and bring their friends to the West Side ratification meeting at Wendell's Assembly Rooms, Forty-fourth street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues, Monday evening, Oct. 21, Benjamin Hanford will speak. Don't come alone. Bring your neighbors and shopmates.

## "NOW AND THEN."

For the first time in this city, Frederick Krafft's Socialist play, "Now and Then," will be given at the W. E. A. Clubhouse, 3300 Third avenue, Saturday evening, Oct. 26. Comrade Krafft will take the leading part. A German play will also be given. The proceeds will go to the campaign fund of the Bronx district.

## LECTURES IN THE 23D A. D.

John Franklin Clark was the first speaker in the Sunday evening lecture course, now being held by the 23d A. D. at Beckman Hall, One Hundred and Forty-second street and Eighth avenue. His subject was "Socialism, Its Aims and Objects." The further lectures of the course are:

Oct. 20—"The Issue of the Municipal Campaign," by Courtney Lemon.

Oct. 27—"The Class Struggle, Rightly Understood," by Peter R. Burrows.

Nov. 3—"New York for Socialism," by Leonard D. Abbott.

Nov. 10—"Our Position, Economic, Ethical, and Political," by John Spargo.

Nov. 17—"Socialism and Trade Unionism," by William Malley.

Nov. 24—"The Labor Problem," by John S. Crosby.

Dec. 1—"The Development of Socialism in the United States," by Morris Hillquit.

Dec. 8—"Class Interests and Social Ideals," by Albertus Lee.

Admission to these lectures is free and questions and discussion are invited.

## HANFORD'S ADDRESS OF ACCEPTANCE

### Social Democratic Nominee for Mayor of New York Defines His Position as a Working Class Candidate.

Workingmen—With a due sense of its high honor and responsibility, I accept the nomination of the Social Democratic Party for Mayor of New York City. Our object is the absolute overthrow of the capitalist system and the complete emancipation of the working class. No lesser purpose is far from worthy of the devotion of true men, and in helping to achieve that purpose no labor can be too arduous, no sacrifice too great.

We have heard and shall continue to hear much about the "issues" of this campaign. For the Social Democratic Party there is but one issue with those any other political contest—the interests of the producers against those of the parasites, of the makers of all wealth against the possessors of all wealth, of humanity against private profit, of laborers against capitalists, of slaves against masters.

This is the question that underlies all other questions—social, political, moral. Until this question is settled rightly, no other question can be considered rightly. We can have neither sympathy, compromise nor true peace, and who would divert the minds of the people to petty details while the universal fact of class rule is ignored. The fact that police lay blackmail on vice, that one thief robs another, is of trifling consequence compared with the capitalist class upon the whole working class. Set at large every one of the 5,000 convicts in New York State, and they could not in their remaining lifetime steal as much as is taken from the citizens of New York each year by the men who own the street railways, and who openly divide their legal plunder in the form of "interest" on bonds and "dividends" on stocks.

These abuses are not Democratic OR Republican; they are Democratic AND Republican, and ALWAYS CAPITALIST. The Republican government of Philadelphia is as thoroughly corrupt as the Democratic government of New York. Effects common to both cities must have a common cause, and that common cause is to be found in capitalism.

The only object toward which the political action of the working class can be consistently directed is the collective ownership of the means of production which the collective labor of the working class has created. Private ownership, always and everywhere, means, exploitation of labor, concentration of wealth, class rule, and poverty for the workers. Competition compels each man to strive for the sake of his own private gain, and the only alternative to profligacy and private monopoly is the Co-operative Commonwealth. When the people own the means of production which they create and use, then and only then will ALL be workers and ALL enjoy the product of their labor; only then will men cease to be masters and slaves and become equal freemen. This is the program of the Social Democratic Party, and this is the issue that we accept in every campaign.

Labor in political office, police corruption, protection of vice and crime are only incidents in the criminal conduct of the capitalist class. Capitalism breeds corruption, it breeds crime, it fosters vice. Capitalist parties can no more eliminate corruption or prevent crime or suppress vice than a tree can refuse to bring forth fruit after its kind.

Whoever owns the means by which I live is by reason of that fact, my master, and he will use his power to oppress me, to exploit me, to make me a slave, to follow citizen is mockery. We have to-day a small class of people owning as their private property the only means whereby all the people must live—land, factories, railroads, all the instruments of production and distribution. This capitalist class is more truly a ruling class than was ever any aristocracy or scented despot; with all their powers these have had social responsibilities and have acknowledged public duties. But dominant capitalist has no other law than its own private profit interests, and is absolutely without duty, morality or mercy. Capitalist rule because they have the power to say to every worker in the land: "You shall not be permitted to work and produce your product unless at the same time you produce profits for us." They use this power more ruthlessly, treacherously, vulgarly and murderously than any other ruling class that has ever deplored, disgraced and degraded the human race. The black lexicon of infamy contains no words which carry to the understanding mind any such horrors as are expressed by "dividends" on stocks and "interest" on bonds.

Every dividend-bearing stock and interest-bearing bond is a chattel mortgage on a slave. In little more than a generation capitalism has substituted for the chattel-slave the black workingmen.

men a stock-and-bond title to every workingman, woman, and child. Christendom, black and white alike, and every bond means a bondsman.

**THE ROOT OF CORRUPTION.**

Messrs. Low and Shepard protest against corruption in city politics. But while they denounce the evil fruits of the capitalist tree, they industriously water its roots. Neither the promises of the Republican and Democratic platforms, nor the protest of Messrs. Low and Shepard, are entitled to receive the slightest respect from workmen. Both platforms are the work of capitalist parties. Both candidates are capitalists and agents of their class. If any man suspects that there is any element of honesty in capitalists, he has only to read a New York "Times" (Morgan's own photograph and megaphone) editorial of Sept. 7, 1901, which declares that the personal property of the capitalist class is worth more than the real estate, and then points out that only 12 per cent. of that personal property pays taxes. That personal property is capitalist property, and such is the honor of our great capitalists of industry, that 88 per cent. of them would rather perjure their most Christian souls than pay their taxes. The New York "Journal" of March 21, 1900, declared that "among the lot of our high-minded business men there are not enough common honesty to fit out a reformed burglar." Honesty is impossible of coincidence with business success. The honest business man is a bankrupt business man. The blackleg who welters is ruled off the track, never to be reinstated. The business man who welters goes through the bankruptcy court and is given a license to wretch against society, the business character of his trade, light, only four cents can be deceived by platforms put forth by business men's political parties. Whether these business men be the thieves, thugs, and divekeepers of Tammany Hall, who are working for their own pockets all the time, or the high-minded, eminent and respectable gentlemen who own our railroads and spin the roulette wheel in Wall Street—all alike are but one class, the capitalist class.

Look at Tammany's platform of four years ago, which then, as now, promised home rule in New York by King Croker, of Wantage, England; denounced trusts, and has been for sale to every trust that would pay a price; declared for municipal ownership and control of all municipal franchises, and has turned over public franchises to private contractors and speculators whenever it has had the power; declared for adequate school accommodation, and puts more than 50,000 children on half time.

These abuses are not Democratic OR Republican; they are Democratic AND Republican, and ALWAYS CAPITALIST. The Republican government of Philadelphia is as thoroughly corrupt as the Democratic government of New York. Effects common to both cities must have a common cause, and that common cause is to be found in capitalism.

I have no personal quarrel with Messrs. Low and Shepard so long as they stand before this community as capitalists. They are capitalists, and they have the same right to stand for capitalism that I have to stand for Socialism. But when they claim to stand for the interests of the working class and their own words brand them as liars and hypocrites. In the face of 50,000 children reduced to half-time in our public schools, Tammany brazenly asks for a continuance of its public power. Had each of those children had one hand cut off by Richard Croker it would have been no greater crime than has been committed by the organized band of politicians who cut down half the school time of the children of the working class. Regarding the school question Mr. Low's Republican platform is a lie on its face; it declares for MORE and better schools and LESS taxes. More schools will cost more money, and cannot be had by reducing taxes.

But why consider further capitalist promises? They can only deceive those willing to be deceived. The capitalist class and its political henchmen stand before the world to-day openly and avowedly the most monstrously wicked and merciless economic and political rulers that history records. Each year our steam railways count their 2,000 killed and 35,000 wounded employees—99 per cent. of them the victims of overwork, under pay, and lack of safety appliances; victims of a system which makes capital the fatal enemy of the worker. And in this city the fatalities and cripples of our capitalist industry would show a like record, but that capitalist agents with villainous industry keep them obscured. Nor will Messrs. Low or Shepard, should either be elected, do anything to save the lives and limbs of the working people in any instance where it would reduce capitalist profits.

The sum of family and brutality for which Messrs. Low and Shepard stand is written in that statute of the state of New York which makes suicide a crime, and they aid in the perpetration of a society which produces paupers and would compel them to seek a political pull to enter the poorhouse.

**CLASS POLITICS.**

Opposed to all this, the Social Democratic Party proposes that the government shall be administered by the Working Class and in the interest of the Working Class. We propose that the political powers shall be used to make social property of the means to produce and distribute wealth. The private ownership of street railways is no more in the interest of the public than would be the private ownership of streets, and the Socialist proposes to extend that principle of public ownership to mine, mill, factory, and store.

Of course, some of our little business men are alarmed lest the Socialist in his conquest of capitalism should injure them. I told them fear not. Morgan is better than any of our capitalist enterprises. But he will neither overlook nor neglect the middle class. Were this earth one solid ball of gold, and all Morgan's, this industrial Alexander would hunger and sigh for more worlds to conquer. This one man has only to demand payment of his call loans to stop half the wheels of industry in the United States. He may do it because his dinner disagrees with him; he may do it for fun, but he surely will do it sooner or later to make more money for himself by putting the small business man out of business and buying him in at sheriff's sale. With Morgan it is not a craze for wealth, for he has already more than he can throw away. It is mad lust for power. With him every added dollar is another soldier for a day. The small business men would do well to understand that the chemistry of capitalism there is no such thing as honesty, and in the crucible of competition there is no element of mercy. The Socialist tells the man in the middle class that his house is afire and advises him to insure by hastening the coming of Socialism before the flames shall have destroyed him.

**THE RULERS' POLLY.**

And this capitalist class? What would be the wise course to them? What use to tell them? A ruling class at the height of its power becomes inevitable a fool class, and goes mad on its own success. Looking backward one can plainly see that Charles I., Louis XVI, were little other than suicides. It seems to be a wise provision of nature that tyrannical feed on their own weakness and in their own destruction. But an individual capitalist may rise above his class. To such it will be plain that swift progress on the part of the organized Socialist and trade union movement gives the greatest promise of peaceful change. Let this ruling capitalist class deprive Socialists of the power; to appeal to the ballot, let them succeed in destroying the trade union movement, and one fine day they will awake to find this country in the hands of a mob, who, not knowing justice, will have no other motive than revenge, and who, though they go after. And all the history of the world shows that a city full of soldiers and police either would not or could not prevent such a catastrophe.

This is an expression neither of prophecy nor desire, but of knowledge, from the part of a man who has seen the show and knows what is to happen in a country where human beings starve and seven-course luncheons are given to pet dogs. Capitalists who value their necks as well as their bonds and stocks would do well to think twice before they destroy trade unions, kidnap their officials, dismantle mills to beat strikers, and import tin can temporary men in order to defeat a labor organization. Let Messrs. Capitalists live to power; it easily may be they ascend the scaffold; and the more rapid their ascent the quicker their fall, and the higher the greater. They lack 88 per cent. of being honest; they lie in their prayers, and expect God to believe them. They have divorced law from equity, the church from religion, courts from justice, and the workers from the implements of labor; but while the world holds a wage-slave who aspires to freedom there will be no reconciliation between laborers and capitalists, and in that fact let capitalists read their sure destruction. For every drop of blood drawn by the lash of chattel slavery there was another drawn by the sword. What do our captains of industry owe? Let them remember, "the loser pays."

Messrs. Capitalists, to meet Socialism you will be compelled to pursue other methods in the future than those you have followed in the past. Hitherto you have hired intellectual and editorial prostitutes—who sell their pen instead of their person, but who, unlike the unfortunate woman of the town, take pride in their shame to misrepresent by casuistry, sophistry, and ambiguity all the theories and principles of Socialism and co-operation. You have hired reportorial Hessians, who sell their tongue instead of their work, and in your news columns about every act of Socialist and trade unionists, except where you ignored them. The result is on your head. The day will come when, should you tell the truth, you will not be believed. The day will come when, should you honestly consider the principles of Socialism, you will be discredited.

**SOCIALISM GROWS.**

And through it all, Socialism has grown and is growing with every hour. Ignore Socialism in your papers, and you make OUR papers grow. Shut Socialist papers out of the United States mails, and instantly you double their circulation. Read Socialists and trade unionists to jail, make the prison cell a place of honor, and you will arouse a population of candidate convicts. Hang Socialists, if it please you, and the more hanged, the more imprisoned. THE MORE SOCIALISTS. This world has often needed great men, and



# The Worker.

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(Known in New York State as the Social  
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NEW YORK CITY TICKET.

FOR MAYOR—  
BENJAMIN HANFORD.

FOR CONTROLLER—  
MORRIS BROWN.

PRESIDENT BOARD OF ALDERMEN  
HENRY STAHL.

FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.

In another column we print an article

on the outrageous practices of the

private employment agencies, com-

municated to us out of the personal

experience of one of the myriads who

know what it is to "hunt for a job."

The story is a simple one and a com-

mon one. It does not need to be elab-

orated. It does not call for much com-

ment. It is the well known story of

systematic fraud of the meanest kind,

perpetrated upon the most wretched

and defenseless portion of the people,

and committed under the protection

and with the sanction of the law as

made by Republican majorities at Al-

bany and administered by Democratic

officials at City Hall.

The public free employment bureaus

established by the state as a concession

to the demands of the organized work-

ing people are organized on so small a

scale that they do almost nothing to

mitigate this crying evil. It is appar-

ently not to the interest of the capiti-

lists who stand back of both old parties

to do anything to relieve the sufferings

or to reduce the members of the

"army of the unemployed" which the

regular processes of capitalism create.

The poorer, the more hopeless are the

unemployed, the keener is the competi-

tion for work, the better can the capiti-

list resist the most moderate de-

mands of his employees. Luxurious

leisure for one class depends on the

alternation of overwork and involun-

tary idleness and misery for the other.

The Social Democratic Party of New

York has incorporated in its municipal

platform the following as measures of

immediate relief, to which its candi-

dates are definitely pledged:

"The establishment of a complete

system of free employment bureaus to

be conducted by the city under the

supervision of the labor organization."

"The creation of a municipal fund

for the pensioning of aged, sick, and

disabled workmen and working

women."

"The city to undertake public works,

especially in times of depression, for

the purpose of giving employment to

workmen displaced in the competi-

tive system; such works to be carried

out in these columns. In view of the

many immediate issues in the cam-

paign before us, however, further con-

sideration of this subject will be post-

poned until after the coming election."

**PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.**

Edward M. Grout, fusion candidate

for Controller of New York City, has

views on public ownership that are cer-

tainly "childlike and bland." He be-

lieves in public ownership with several

large strings to it, as might be expec-

ted of a wire-puller. When he says he

believes in public ownership because it

would "save money for the people," he

means that it would save money for

the capitalists by reducing their taxes

on account of the new source of reve-

nuce to the city. He believes in public

ownership, but he thinks the vested

rights of "innocent purchasers of pub-

lic franchises" should be held sacred.

"For ways that are dark and for tricks

that are vain," the capitalist candidate

is popular.

The "innocent purchasers of public

franchises" secured for almost nothing,

by bribery and corruption, that which

a corrupt legislature had no right to

sell. They have already received in

profits an amount many times greater

than what they paid for the franchises.

The working class has no share in

these vested rights and there is no rea-

son why it should respect the nefarious

vested rights of the capitalists who

have stolen our public highways. Un-

der capitalist officials like Mr. Grout

public ownership would be designed to

make profits and thus decrease the

taxes on the rich. The workingman

would still be exploited. Under a So-

cialist working class administration

we would have public ownership for

the purpose of raising wages, lowering

fares, and bettering the service, and

the capitalist class would be taxed

more unmercifully than ever.

Public ownership, if itself, would be

of no benefit to the workers unless in-

augmented by a working class party

with the avowed intention of consid-

ering nothing but the interests of the

working class. Such a party is the So-

cial Democratic Party and such is the

public ownership which Socialists ad-

vocate.

**FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.**

In another column we print an article

on the outrageous practices of the

private employment agencies, com-

municated to us out of the personal

experience of one of the myriads who

know what it is to "hunt for a job."

The story is a simple one and a com-

mon one. It does not need to be elab-

orated. It does not call for much com-

ment. It is the well known story of

systematic fraud of the meanest kind,

perpetrated upon the most wretched

and defenseless portion of the people,

800 worth of personal property? Would  
your interests be better represented by  
Beth Low, who has \$167,800 worth of  
personal property which was created  
by your labor, or by Benjamin Han-

ford, the candidate of the Social Demo-

cratic Party, who is a union work-

er and knows your interests be-

cause they are his own?

No more passes will be issued to em-

ployees of the Pennsylvania lines west

of Pittsburgh. The men who run the

railroad will have to pay to ride on it,

but, of course, the legislators who help

the company rob the public will con-

tinue to ride free.

The capitalist papers are jubilant

over the fact that the excess of our

exports over our imports is constantly

increasing. This simply means that

the American workingman is doing the

dirty work of the world for the profit

of the American capitalist, and that

the wealth which the working class

creates is being shipped out of the

country because American work-

men, who need to use it, are too poor

to buy it.

Walters at the Fifth Avenue Hotel

are now compelled to shave off their

mustaches or beards and appear un-

iformly clean-shaven. A druggist re-

solutely advertised for a clerk with his

hair in the middle. Great herds of

employees are informed and number-

ed like so many automatons. And yet

some people fear "the paternalism of

Socialism," and think it might inter-

fere with individuality. The paternal-

ism of capitalism is complete and the

only forms of individuality capitalism

produces are bad ones.

Bishop Potter says the solution of

the labor problem depends upon the

working class understanding that their

interests are identical with those of

the men who pick their pockets. No

doubt this "solution" would be very

satisfactory to the capitalists, but the

Socialists have quite another solution

in store for them.

The reformers say they love the

working class so much that, if elected,

they will cut down their own salaries

in order to provide school accommoda-

tions for the children of the workers.

If your memory goes back to the time

of the "reform" administration under

Strong, you know that as many chil-

dren were denied an education then as

ever. If the reformers cut down any

salaries, they will be the salaries of la-

borers on public works.

The ship-subsidy bill will be brought

up again in the coming session of Con-

gress. The poor capitalists cannot af-

ford to build big ships for trade unless

they receive financial aid from the pub-

lic treasury—but they can always af-

ford to spend hundreds of thousands of

dollars to build little yachts for a few

days' racing.

The tenement-house landlords of

New York are strenuously objecting to

## ROBBING THE UNEMPLOYED.

Notes of a Workingman's  
Experience in Hunting  
a Job.

The Immigrant's Dream of American  
Justice and the Sad Awakening.  
Systematic Fraud on Poor Work-  
men Goes Unrebuked, While "Re-  
formers" Howl About Vice.

There is hardly another situation  
which, in regard to its misery, can be  
compared with that of the unemployed.  
The lack of purely physical comforts,  
as the result of inability to find work,  
although aggravating the situation very  
considerably, does not constitute the  
sole cause of its wretchedness. So  
long as the problem of to-morrow's  
dinner for the mothers and children is  
not only the problem of the day but  
of the long night as well, so long as  
there are mothers who shorten their  
belts in order to be able to buy a birth-  
day present for a child, there always  
will be a proof that there is something  
in the human breast that can still  
even the powerful appeals of the hun-

gry stomach.  
During my long and often fruitless  
searching for jobs I had many occa-  
sions to observe something which was  
the feeling of profound pleasure and grati-  
tude, that even the people whose moral  
are not necessarily of very high  
standard, even such people, I say,  
show often their good will and sym-  
pathy towards the unemployed. The un-  
deservedness of their sufferings is un-  
obvious as to impress even unrefined  
characters. Neither does it require, we  
may safely say, a very high education  
to appreciate the hopelessness and  
cheerlessness of the social position of  
the compulsorily idle members of so-

ciety.  
Looking on the matter in this light,  
it is the more provoking that there are  
people profiting through the misery of  
the unemployed, and some literally  
making their living by robbing these  
unfortunates of the last cents that may  
be left in their pockets.

One may think I am speaking of  
highwaymen, or men of that sort.  
Do not be alarmed, I am speaking of  
men doing legitimate business in non-  
forceable, open offices.

About ten years ago, when I first  
came to this country, I was the easy  
prey of the employment bureaus, agen-  
cies, and under whatever name they  
may style themselves, I paid my dol-  
lars faithfully, attributing failure to  
my bad luck, never suspecting any-  
thing wrong. It is easy to say, "Sus-  
pect anything wrong," and where? In  
this great country which seemed to me  
so much greater then. How could such  
a suspicion enter the mind full of ad-  
miration, respect, and love for the  
democratic free institutions of this  
country?

It was absolutely impossible for me  
to grasp the conception of the strong  
republican government, protected  
the people as fully, as I then imag-  
ined, against all abuses, with the con-  
ception that such nice looking, polite  
gentlemen (polite even to us green-  
horns) having offices on such fine  
streets, could do anything but good to  
us, fools like me, unable to find work,  
where work is so plentiful.

I tell you that no such a suspicion  
ever crossed my mind. It would have  
been an insult to this great land—the  
land of many magnificent discus-  
sions—drains I should say, of the  
young men on the other side of the  
ocean, who never tried to talk of the  
great achievements of the creators of  
the American Republic, seeing the  
great model in its constitution, always  
great and always new. Oh, who could  
think of crookedness?

Many years have passed; I have  
learned many things; I have learned to  
know that even the most polite and  
most respectable looking gentlemen do  
not care a fig for the unemployed, and  
this land no longer seems to me a land  
of easy-goingness and high liberty-  
loving people. I have learned a great  
lesson, it is true. But I still continue  
to contribute to the welfare of those  
gentlemen whom I now so despise.

At this juncture I can hear my sur-  
prised reader call my persistence in  
supporting those establishments, a  
foolish one; if so, rebuke is entirely  
undeserved.

There are thousands who are sys-  
tematically victimized by so-called em-  
ployment offices. But fools are an  
essential part of the world, and any  
sensible reader, and any sensible  
reader, and I should say, any sensible  
far from the truth, I admit. Let  
us, however, carry this little disquisi-  
tion to its end. Since it became altogether  
a foolish thing to apply for employ-  
ment to the employment offices, why,  
in the name of Heaven, does the law  
not stop it, and take the license away  
from them? Why there is such a great  
temptation to pool rooms, where only  
idlers and gamblers are victims, while  
employment agencies, robbing the  
poor unemployed of his last cent, are  
permitted to do their wicked busi-

ness under assumed names and hide  
the identity of their establishments,  
subjecting to the loss of time and  
money, even those that are quite famil-  
iar with their ways?

Who could suspect anything crooked  
in this advertisement of the New York  
"Herald" of Sunday, Sept. 3, 1900:  
"Janitor—Apartment; must be thor-  
oughly reliable, trustworthy and handy  
with tools, furnish satisfactory refer-  
ences; wages, \$20 and apartments. Ad-  
dress, Eldridge, 2 Court street, Brook-  
lyn."

is secured, but it is only a quarter;  
one would feel ashamed of raising any  
objection to the paying of  
"only a quarter," while expecting so  
much in return; the agent takes care  
surviving, and cannot be expected, after  
all, to work for nothing. Finally,  
where dollars are spent quarters cut,  
but little figures. Did not other offices  
charge dollars for their services, giv-  
ing no better guarantee of securing the  
position? These and similar thoughts  
seem to occupy the minds of the ap-  
plicants, and quarters are paid.

Droping in a few days after, you  
see that the office has removed to the  
larger quarters in the same building  
(415 Broadway), and quite a crowd  
there. You want to know how stand  
your chances in securing the position.  
Everything will be done in time, mean-

while it is not necessary to call at the  
office, as business is done by letters.  
You answer the ad, and in a few  
days receive a postal:

"It yet disengaged, call at once."  
Signed, Mercantile Agency, 306 Wash-

ington street, Brooklyn.  
Praising God that at last one of your  
letters was answered, you hasten  
there only to find that the Mercantile  
Agency is an employment agency, es-

tablished in the year 1878, where, in-  
stead of the expected job, you get the  
proposition to pay them \$10 for a job,  
which they are sure to get for you.  
Their plans of working are very dif-

ferent, but always ingenious. "Em-  
ployment guaranteed. No charges before  
position is secured," advertises the  
American Employment Bureau. The  
last point is especially attractive, as











# The Worker.

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PRICE 2 CENTS.

## NEW JERSEY. Socialists Are Making Headway in All Parts.

Charles H. Vail, Candidate for Governor, Speaks to Large Audiences—Activity in Hudson, Essex, and Union Counties.

Charles H. Vail, candidate for Governor, spoke at Elizabeth last week. The audience was large and a pleasing feature was the predominance of strangers, many of whom had never attended a Socialist meeting before. Vigorous applause greeted Vail's explanation of the evils of capitalism and the need for Socialism.

A few DeLeonites tried to shake trouble, but their foolish behavior only made it clearer to the crowd that Vail is the candidate who stands for true Socialism.

Fred, Tanke, Fred, Rahm, and Paul Koch are the Socialist candidates for Assembly in Union County. All comrades and sympathizers are urged to work for the ticket. Literature can be had of Comrade Koch, 218 South Street. This must be distributed all over the county and all comrades are urged to help.

Frederick Kraft, Socialist candidate for Mayor of Jersey City, is active in the campaign, as are all the Hudson County comrades. The local press has been forced to take notice of the movement and admits that the Republican and Democratic candidates are afraid to meet the Socialists in debate.

A new branch of the Socialist Party has been organized at Kearney, N. J., completing a chain of branches through the western part of Hudson County, all of which are active.

Charles H. Vail will speak at Pohlmann's Hall, Jersey City Heights, Saturday evening, Nov. 2. The hall will hold a big crowd—and the crowd will not doubt be there.

Another new branch was organized in Holmdel last week, with headquarters at Ninth and Garden streets. This organization has a good field to work in.

Essex County is also active. On Wednesday evening, Oct. 30, Comrade Vail and E. T. Nelson, Socialist candidate for Assembly, will address a mass meeting at Seiffert's Hall, Springfield and Fairmount avenues. Every laborer is well and favorably known in the trade union movement, and is earnestly supporting the ticket of the working class. He has lately been appointed local organizer of the A. F. of L. on the recommendation of the Essex County Trades Council, an organization which represents about 25,000 workmen. He will certainly do good work, both for the unions and for the political labor movement as represented in the Socialist Party.

Comrades Nelson and McIntosh spoke recently before the Brewers' Union of Newark and were well received. They pointed out the struggle that is constantly going on between the producers and the parasites, the workers and the capitalists, and showed that the working people must carry this same fight into politics, where their numbers make them strong. This is the reason the Socialist Party is in the field, and its object is to secure public ownership of the wealth created by the united labor of the working class, so that those who work shall get the whole product of their labor, instead of having to divide up with non-producing capitalists. Only these means can the present conditions of poverty and oppression be ended and justice and liberty brought in. This movement is growing stronger day by day, and every vote cast for Vail and for the other candidates of the Socialist Party will bring the dawn of freedom nearer and strengthen the hands of the workmen in their daily struggles.

The trolley men of Essex, Hudson, and Union counties are organizing rapidly. It is reported that the union now has 610 men on its rolls. The organization is, of course, secret for the present. It is preparing for the time when the trolley employees will have to fight for their rights. All trolley workers in the three counties are invited to communicate with the secretary, Charles Wehrle, 99 Wallace Street, Newark. They need not fear that the companies will discharge them, for all communications are strictly confidential.

Leaflets for use in New Jersey can be had for the asking from G. H. Strobel, 44 Hill Street, Newark. If you can afford to pay for it, just the same. We want votes for the Socialist Party in New Jersey.

**LECTURES IN BROOKLYN.**

The Socialist Propaganda Club, an organization founded by the Socialists of the First, Second, and Third Assembly Districts of Brooklyn, has arranged a series of Sunday evening lectures to be given at Social Assembly Rooms, 104 Court Street, near City Hall, Brooklyn, N. Y.

On Oct. 27, John Stegmo will speak on "Our Position, Economic, Ethical and Political."

On Nov. 3, Courtney Lemon will speak on "The Issue of the Municipal Campaign."

Open discussion follows the lecture. Admission is free and all are invited.

## PENNSYLVANIA SOCIALISTS

Have to Adopt New Official  
Name at Last Moment.

"Public Ownership Party" Will Be Designation on Official Ballot—Technical Ruling of Capitalist Court Makes Us Trouble.

Unfortunately for the Socialist movement, and entirely unexpectedly, the comrades of Pennsylvania have been thrown into temporary confusion by the decree of the Dauphin County Court sustaining the DeLeon objections to their nomination papers and denying their right to use the word "Socialist" as the party name for their state ticket. The reasoning (?) of the court by which this result was effected, namely, all understanding, and could easily be considered quite humorous were not the effects at this time of so serious consequence.

Litigation over the right to use the appellation "Socialist" in Pennsylvania began with the split of the S. L. P. in 1890. In that year the larger portion of the party, the progressive, anti-boss element filed a petition in pursuance to law, to the name Socialist Labor Party, and filed nomination papers; the DeLeon faction also filed nomination papers, but no claim to the name. A contest occurred thereupon in the Dauphin court (which is the tribunal appointed by the law to decide contests over state nominations). The DeLeonites filed objections; the respondents frankly admitted legal errors in their papers. Both factions sought to use the name "Socialist Labor Party." The court held the DeLeon papers to be regular, and struck the other off; the claim to the name by the larger faction was ignored.

In 1900 the "Socialist" party was formed in Pennsylvania by the union of the anti-DeLeonites and the Socialist Democratic Party, at a joint convention held in Philadelphia on July 4. A state ticket was named, including thirty-two electors for Debs and Harrison. An affidavit claiming exclusive right to use the party name, "Socialist," was filed, and later the papers nominating the candidates named at the convention. With the papers was filed a certificate in compliance with the ballot law. Thus, by the act of the July convention, the discredited name of Socialist Labor Party was abandoned to the little DeLeonite faction, and they filed nominations under that name, and objections to the use of the name "Socialist" by the new party. Counter objections were then filed by the Socialists. On hearing, the court dismissed all objections, and decreed both parties valid. The official ballot of 1900 contained the Socialists and the Socialist Labor Party tickets, and the right of both parties appeared to be judicially determined.

Immediately after the election of 1900 the Socialist Labor Party filed a renewal claim for the exclusive right to use that name in the election of 1901, and complied in other respects with the ballot law. These Socialists, Party, on the other hand, being advised and having been so justly determined could not again be questioned, simply filed the proper nomination papers, naming Comrades J. MAHLON BARNES for State Treasurer and CHARLES HEYDRICK for Justice of the Supreme Court.

But the DeLeonites had not abandoned all confidence in the capitalist courts to serve the interests of the capitalist class by confusing the Socialist movement, notwithstanding their vehement denunciation of the courts, and they again applied to them to be preserved from elimination from Pennsylvania state politics. (This time, as in 1890, they were successful. The court upon the flimsy pretext that failure of the Socialist Party to file a prethoratory certificate "with their nomination papers cost them the right to use that name.")

It is not to be imagined that the fact that at the election of 1900 the new party polled nearly twice as many votes as the old Socialist Labor Party, presaging the early elimination of the latter, indicated to the court the most effective way to preserve the existing system, but it will be difficult to read the court's intelligent ruling without putting that construction upon it, particularly after the text of the opinion shall have been published. More important matters preclude extended comment on the opinion at this time. Suffice it to say that the learned court satisfied itself, for the purpose of this judgment, that the filing of a trifling certificate from the prothoratory that certain electors of the state were in conflict with certain other electors in the use of an appellation to designate their political policy, would enable each to infringe upon the legal rights of the other—just what the court decided in 1900. Or in other words, that because one party had failed to certify to the state department the fact of conflict it forfeited its rights.

The court of Dauphin County being invested with sole jurisdiction in the matter, no review of its judgment is possible, and the Socialist Party state ticket will appear under the name of "PUBLIC OWNERSHIP PARTY" in the LAST column of the official ballot.

The decision of the Harrisburg court will have no effect upon the name of the party where local, city, or county tickets have been nominated in several counties the party secured official standing in the elections of 1900, and is beyond the reach of the "capitalist" courts, and, therefore, great care is enjoined upon party members, friends and sympathizers to examine the ballot closely and carefully, and

to vote the local ticket under the name "Socialist," and the state ticket under the name PUBLIC OWNERSHIP PARTY.

It is held by good lawyers and some courts in Pennsylvania that the ballot may be marked in such cases with an X in the circle under each party name, but a safer method will be to mark the name of each candidate with an X in the square provided for that purpose at the right of the column.

The decision in this case, while disastrous to the party at this time, does not necessarily imply that the use of the name "Socialist" is irretrievably lost; the opinion indicates that the forfeited right may be reclaimed, and we mistake the temper and mettle of the Pennsylvania comrades if they do not re-establish their former prestige at the earliest opportunity, and continue to be, as ever since their organization as the Socialist Party the only true exponents of the rights of the working class in that capitalist ridden commonwealth.

## TICKET IN CATSKILL.

Social Democratic Party Nominates Candidates for Town and County.

A Social Democratic ticket will be in the field this year in Greene County, N. Y., and in the city of Catskill. The county nominations are:

For Member of Assembly—B. Frank Dayter of Leeds.

For District Attorney—Harry T. Smith of Kiskatom.

For County Treasurer—James H. Burharts of Catskill.

The town ticket in Catskill is as follows:

For Supervisor—Simon Hock.

For Town Clerk—Joseph G. Doll.

For Assessor—Albert E. Smith, D.

For Justice of the Peace—Conrad J. Hammer and Andrew Baumann, Jr.

For Commissioner of Highways—Amos Wolven.

For Constables—John L. Davis, John D. Warner, Sr., and Gustav Schlenker. The comrades in Catskill have been doing good work during the last year, and expect a large increase in the vote. Anyone who desires further information about the party or is willing to distribute Socialist literature should apply to Joseph G. Doll, 59 Hill Street.

## ONEIDA ALSO NOMINATES.

The Social Democratic city ticket in Oneida, N. Y., is headed by George Hoover as candidate for Mayor. The other candidates are:

For Judge—Herman Quade.

For Chamberlain—John Selitz.

For Assessor—Charles Fischer and Samuel Cooper.

For Supervisors—Adolph Kindzcek and Carl Besselmann.

For Aldermen: Second Ward—Henry Ross; Third—Theodore Lindhorn; Fourth—August Lindkamp; Fifth—John G. Hillsdorf; Sixth—Bruno Lindhorn.

For District Attorney—Emil C. Koch.

For Coroner—George McNamara.

For Assembly—Franz Mueller.

All these are active union men and the city platform sets forth clearly the Socialist position and includes "immediate demands" directly based on the interest of the working class.

## JOHNSTOWN TICKET.

The Social Democrats of Johnstown and Fulton County, New York, have nominated a ticket as follows:

For Mayor—George W. Knowles.

For Recorder—Elliott Timmerman.

For Assessor—F. Joseph Bevington.

For City Chamberlain—W. R. Chandler.

Water Commissioner at Large—Jas. Kennedy.

Alderman at Large—Anthony Oeschger.

For Aldermen: First Ward—Henry Lux; Second—Roy T. Wicks; Third—Hugh Judge; Fourth—John Russell.

For Water Commissioner: Second Ward—Theodore Rees; Fourth—James Newnam.

For Supervisors: First Ward—John Laiminger; Second—Lynan Hawley; Third—William Canfield; Fourth—Geo. Bardie.

For Sheriff—Bart Leonard of Johnstown.

For County Clerk—George Williams, of Gloversville.

For Superintendent of the Poor—T. Richter of Johnstown.

For Assembly—August Hauserman, of Gloversville.

## SCRANTON STRIKERS APPEAL IN VAIN.

The striking steel railway employees of Scranton, Pa., have called on the city government to annul the charter of the company, pay the actual value of tracks and rolling stock, and operate the roads as municipal enterprises "for the accommodation of the public, not for profit." The company has forfeited its charter by the inadequacy of its service.

Of course, the appeal had no effect. If the workmen of Scranton will elect members of their own class to office on a Socialist platform, instead of entrusting the powers of government to Republican politicians, they will not have to beg for such action, for it is included in the Socialist program.

## IN EAST NEW YORK.

On Sunday evening, Oct. 27, Dr. C. L. Furman will speak in Penn Fulton Hall, corner of Fulton Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, Brooklyn, on "The Workingman, His Boss, and Politics." All workmen and others interested in the subject are invited to attend. Admission is free and those who attend are invited to ask questions and participate in the general discussion. Bring a friend with you.

## STIRRING THINGS UP IN ROCHESTER.

Sieverman, Candidate in Seventeenth Ward, Addresses a Monster Meeting.

Gad Martindale, Social Democratic Choice for Mayor, Tells How He Would Act if in Office—Prospects Never So Bright as They Are Now.

Last Friday night Frank A. Sieverman, Social Democratic candidate for Alderman in the Seventeenth Ward of Rochester, addressed the largest meeting of voters ever held in that ward. Comrades Bach, Swalm, and Allman also spoke. The meeting was held in Sachse's Hall, and there was not even a standing room for many who came to hear the exposition of Socialist principles.

After the other speakers had explained Socialism in its general features, Alderman Sieverman for there is every reason to expect his election took the platform, and with tremendous applause, he said in part:

"There is hardly much need of my addressing the voters of the Seventeenth Ward to-night, as all those who have preceded me have covered the ground. But let me tell you that our friends, the enemy, are trying to scatter the seeds of pessimism among you. They say that while our platform is all right, and our candidates above reproach, still we have no chance to win. Doesn't this large audience give the lie to their statements?"

"These professional politicians will come to you and try to tell you up with their own offer you perhaps two dollars for your vote. Just think of it! You can't buy a hog for that; but the politicians buy some men of this city with two dollars."

## NO PERSONAL APPEAL.

"Now don't think for one minute that I am appealing to you to vote for me, personally, because I DO NOT WANT YOU TO VOTE FOR ME UNLESS YOU KNOW THAT YOU ARE VOTING FOR THE INTERESTS OF YOUR WIFE, YOUR CHILDREN, AND YOURSELF."

"Some people now say: 'Suppose that one Social Democratic alderman is elected in the Seventeenth Ward, what could he do?' WHAT COULD ONE ACTIVE CAT DO IN A HOUSE CONTAINING NINETEEN RATS?" (Applause.)

He complimented the workmen of the Seventeenth Ward upon their manifest determination to make this campaign result in some material benefit for themselves, as was clearly demonstrated by the size of the meeting there. Continuing, he said: "There never was a time in the history of our country when the need for workingmen to enter the political arena, independent of all capitalist parties, radiated so strongly to the support of their own, was so great as now."

"It is not necessary to go to other cities or localities for examples of capitalist oppression visited upon the working class, both in the economic and the political field. While Democratic Florida calmly permits capitalist hirelings to kidnap the strike leaders, Republican Pennsylvania, by means of the military branch of government and judicial injunctions browbeats and overawes the working class, making it impossible for them to win in their economic struggles against organized capital. But as I said, we need not go out of Rochester for an example of what existing government means to the wage worker. Read Justice Day's decision in disposing of a case of a comrade of ours—James Arnold was the New York Central Railway."

## AN OBJECT LESSON.

"Those of us inside our party are familiar with the circumstances surrounding this case, and it is by no means an exceptional one, but for the information of those of you who may not have heard of it, let me say that Comrade Arnold, working for the New York Central Railway unloading freight cars, sustained a severe fracture of the right leg. He was carted to the hospital, and after three months of medical treatment he was able to be about again. He used the New York Central Railway Company for a few thousand dollars' damages so that he might in some slight degree be compensated for the physical suffering he endured and for time lost and expenses incurred."

"Justice Day, in disposing of the case, with characteristic devotion to the interest of the employing class, granted the company a non-suit. In what may seem to many of you very remarkable language. These are his words: 'The master (meaning the New York Central) when he furnishes the opportunity to work and the tools wherewith to work has done all that can in law be expected of him. The servant, when he embraces the opportunity offered and accepts the position with such tools as are proffered, assumes also, if the work is too dangerous and the tools inefficient, his (the servant's) sole prerogative in the matter is to reject the opportunity, that is, go without work.'"

"Here we have a man who sits on the judicial bench, not by divine right, not because of any accident of birth, but BY VIRTUE OF YOUR VOTES. This man, clothed with whatever of authority he may possess over any of us or all of us, has been granted that authority by your voluntary acts. This man who represents your combined votes, who rules by virtue of your suffrages, thus in a wholesale manner ABSOLVES THE EMPLOYING CLASS OF THIS ENTIRE JUDICIAL DISTRICT FROM ANY AND ALL RESPONSIBILITY WHATSOEVER."

## DARE THEY MEET HIM?

Morris Hillquit Challenges His Opponents in the Fourth A. D.

Morris Hillquit, Social Democratic candidate for Assembly in the Fourth Assembly District of New York City, has addressed to his Democratic and Republican opponents the following open letter:

"Messrs. William H. Burns and Max Brown.

"Gentlemen:—As the candidates of our respective parties for office of member from the Fourth Assembly District, we appear before the same constituency, with rival claims to the support of the voters."

"I believe the citizens of the Fourth Assembly District are entitled to know what we and the parties represented by us stand for in this campaign, and what policy we will respectively pursue in the hall of legislature if elected."

"To enable us to explain that, a mass meeting of the citizens of the Fourth Assembly District will be held on Tuesday evening, October 23, 1901, at the American Star Hall, No. 165 East Broadway, this city. I will speak at that meeting and will contend:

"1. That the overwhelming majority of the voters of the Fourth Assembly District are workmen, and that their interests lie in the improvement of the conditions of their class."

"2. That you, Mr. Burns, as the candidate of the Democratic Party, and you, Mr. Brown, as the candidate of the so-called 'Fusionists,' equally represent the class interests of the employers and exploiters of labor, and the personal interests of their political tools; that you have no understanding of the needs of the labor population of your district; that you have never by act or word defended the interests of labor against the oppression of capital, and that if elected by the workingmen, you will not serve them, but their masters."

"3. That the Social Democratic Party, as a Socialist party, truly represents the interests of the working class at all times, and on all occasions; that it has no interests other than those of the working class and that its representatives, if elected, will faithfully serve that class."

"4. That there is no reason in the world why the workmen of our district should vote for either of you, but that the only way in which they can vote intelligently and consistently is by casting their votes for the Social Democratic Party and its candidates."

"I hereby challenge you, each of you to a joint debate on the above proposition at the meeting mentioned. Should you appear, you will be treated with the utmost courtesy, and will be accorded the same privileges of debate as I. Should you fail to appear, the citizens of our district will have to construe your absence as an admission of my charges."

## "FRIENDLY TO BOTH."

The Democratic platform says: "In respect to capital on the one hand and labor on the other, the attitude of the Democratic party is to-day, as it always has been, friendly in the largest sense to both."

That is as if a policeman should say: "In respect to burglars on the one hand and honest citizens on the other, I am, in the largest sense, friendly to both."

When the owners of the "Sun" discharged all their old employees on an hour's notice, and the printers' organization began to fight the "Sun," the Democratic Mayor, "friendly to both," sent policemen to escort scabs to the office and a Democratic judge, "friendly to both," issued an injunction against the printers."

When the cigar manufacturers locked out six thousand cigarmakers, in an attempt to destroy their union, two Democratic judges, "friendly to both," issued injunctions against the union, and the Democratic Mayor, "friendly to both," sent policemen to arrest the union pickets."

When shirt makers, tailors, cloak makers, suspenders makers, cigarmakers, and other working people on the East Side were forced to go on strike against their employers this summer, the Democratic Mayor, "friendly to both," sent policemen to arrest girls and old men and drag them into the courts, where Democratic police justices, "friendly to both," fined them or sent them to jail."

If the Democratic party is a "friend of labor," then well may the working people adopt the old Scotchman's prayer, "Lord, deliver me from my friends!"

But let them not wait for the Lord to deliver them. Let them deliver themselves from their false friends by voting under the Arm and Torch on November 5.

## RATIFICATION OF THE 22D A. D.

Ben Hanford, candidate for mayor, will address the voters of this district at a mass meeting to be held Tuesday, Oct. 29, at 8 p. m., at Burich's Hall, 214 E. Forty-first Street.

Ben Hanford, candidate for mayor, will address the voters of this district at a mass meeting to be held Tuesday, Oct. 29, at 8 p. m., at Burich's Hall, 214 E. Forty-first Street.

## BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

## LIKE CRIMINAL SUSPECTS.

So the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company Treats the 7,000 Men Who Do Its Work.

The Philadelphia "North American" announces that "President Greisinger of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, has adopted a new system to insure honesty among his employees. He believes it will save enough of the company's money to pay dividends on the stock."

This interesting system, it says, "is for the uses of the railroad WHAT THE BERTILLOU SYSTEM IS TO CRIMINOLOGY."

Here is the system in brief, as explained by the superintendent: "All applicants must appear in the power station on the Heights on Tuesday or Friday mornings. Either Assistant Superintendent Yergence or I myself meet them there. \* \* \* Those who seem to be suitable are supplied with our yellow application blanks, containing nineteen questions. These they fill out and sign. They are then ordered to report to the school car depot at Fifty-eighth Street, and are taken at once under instruction, while their answers on the application blanks are subjected to close investigation. \* \* \*

"The applicants must give THEIR FULL PERSONAL HISTORY AND THEIR BUSINESS HISTORY FOR THE LAST FIVE YEARS. They must give five responsible persons as references, and two who have personally known the applicant for over five years. They must state specifically WHETHER THEY HAVE BEEN IN THE EMPLOY OF ANY RAILROAD."

"If the application blank is favorably returned to Superintendent Wheatley the applicant is ordered to report for a cap and badge. He pays \$3 for the badge. \* \* \* If his schooling has also been successful he gets an order for a uniform and is SENT TO THE BROOKLYN RAPID TRANSIT PHOTOGRAPHY. He signs his name in receipt for the uniform. These several signatures, taken during the course of his application are now supplemented by his photograph for means of identification. \* \* \*

"These the company preserves in an album in the general superintendent's office. Several copies are made, unmounted, and filed away. THEY MAY BE NEEDED, WITH CARBON TRACINGS OF THE SIGNATURE, IN CASE THE COMPANY SHOULD WANT TO ESTABLISH A FUTURE IDENTIFICATION."

Several details are omitted, for lack of space. But enough is given to show that the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company assumes to treat all the men who apply for work as so many CRIMINAL SUSPECTS."

It is pretended that the sole object

of this system is to bar from employment men who have been discharged for "knocking down fares." But every man, who has any knowledge of the business knows that this is not so.

The detection of dishonest employees is neither the sole nor the chief reason for the establishment of this "Rogues' Gallery," in which the B. R. T. has put the 7,000 men who do its work. If we want to know the real object of the scheme we will find a suggestion in this paper less than six months ago.

About the first of May, William J. Campbell, a conductor on one of the Brooklyn "L" lines, went to President Greisinger as one of a committee chosen by the men to ask the redress of certain grievances. Greisinger promised, and when, an hour later, Campbell reported at his usual place for work, he found that a PEREMPTORY ORDER FOR HIS DISCHARGE, FROM THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF, HAD GOT THERE AHEAD OF HIM."

When a supposedly influential friend of Campbell's asked for his reinstatement, the next day, General Manager Folger said:

"THE INTELLIGENT LOOKING MAN—CAMPBELL—CANNOT GET BACK. HE IS AN AGITATOR AND HAS ORGANIZED THE MEN AND IS APART TO MAKE TROUBLE FOR THE COMPANY. ANY MAN WHO IS A MEMBER OF A LABOR UNION HAD BETTER LOOK OUT FOR HIMSELF. HE IS APART TO GET IT IN THE NECK. I'VE GOT TO MAKE EXAMPLES OF SOME OF THESE MEN."

There you have the explanation of this "Rogues' Gallery." It is part of a gigantic scheme to BLACKLIST every street-car employee who has too much manly independence to tamely submit to the employers' tyranny.

And this criminal conspiracy will not be interfered with until a workman is put in the Mayor's chair by workmen's votes.

Elect Benjamin Hanford as mayor and the men discharged for trying to organize unions would be commissioned as detectives, in order to enforce the ten-hour law and the other laws that the street railway companies now brazenly violate.

We should "adopt a new system to ensure honesty" among the law-breaking, thimble-rigger, profit-grinding gang, who do as they please of themselves, unless they mend their crooked ways—which would be hard for them to do—we should have some new face; in the Rogues' Gallery in Mulberry Street—and among them might be these of Greisinger, Vreeland, and Gould.

## TWELVE DAYS' WORK FOR ALL.

Comrades—There is now a large supply of Socialist literature to be had of Organizer Gerber, at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth Street.

There are several new leaflets, some of the best we ever had—English, German, and Jewish.

There are pictures of our candidate for Mayor, Benjamin Hanford.

There are cards showing the party name, ticket, and emblem.

Some of the leaflets are small, but very much to the point. You can easily put a hundred of them in your pocket and from time to time leave a few in a street car or wherever you will do the most good. Leave a few leaflets and cards in the car when you get off—every time from now till Nov. 5. They will be read. Everybody in New York rides in the cars.

Distribute leaflets and cards at your union meetings. See that they are distributed among your shopmates and in the shops near yours. If you would be likely to lose your job for distributing Socialist literature in the shop where you work, give a nickel to a boy and have him do it.

Don't sit back and think that, because you have worked strenuously in the past, the future will take care of itself. YOU may be just the man whose services are most needed. Press forward and bring the glad tidings to your fellow workmen; show them how and why Socialism will and must bring them freedom from the galling chains of wage slavery.

Every sympathizer in the district can also help in the work and is invited to do so. Come to the Clubhouse, 200 E. Eighty-sixth Street, and ask for literature to distribute among your neighbors and shopmates. You will get it. Get your friends out to our meetings and tell them about our platform, our ticket, and our emblem. We need your assistance, for we have no "barrel," as the capitalist parties have; We depend upon the earnest work of volunteers.

Yours for the cause of Socialism,  
BOTH A. D. S. D. P.

W. H. GRAVEN, Sec'y.

—Send 20 cents to this office for ten copies of this paper. Hand them out to your friends. Ask them to read the paper carefully. That is the way to make votes for the Social Democratic ticket. THIS MEANS YOU.

Good campaign material. "What the Socialists Would Do if They Won in This City." Good for every city in the United States. Ten copies, 25 cents; 100 copies, \$2.50. Get a supply of them from the Socialist Literature Company, 154 William Street, New York City.



## The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY  
(Known in New York State as the Social  
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Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post Office on April 9, 1891.

## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1898 (Presidential).....	2,008
In 1899 (Presidential).....	13,331
In 1900 (Presidential).....	21,157
In 1901 (Presidential).....	33,133
In 1902 (Presidential).....	36,564
In 1903 (Presidential).....	52,204
S. D. P. (Presidential).....	9,543
In 1900 (Presidential).....	9,543

S. D. P. .... 96,918  
S. L. P. .... 33,450

## NEW YORK CITY TICKET.

FOR MAYOR—  
**BENJAMIN HANFORD.**  
FOR CONTROLLER—  
**MORRIS BROWN.**  
PRESIDENT BOARD OF ALDERMEN—  
**HENRY STAHL.**



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

Every man or woman in New York City who sympathizes with the aims of the Socialist Democratic Party can do something to make votes for the Arm and Torch. Not every one can make speeches or even help to organize meetings; but every one can take part in what is much more important than the holding of meetings—the distribution of Socialist literature. We have The Worker. We have several leaflets—the platform in English, in German, and in Jewish. Hanford's address of acceptance, a small leaflet, addressed to trade unionists, and one or two others. We have cards showing the party name, the emblem, and the ticket. You can get copies of The Worker; ten or more, at one cent a copy, by sending to this office, 184 William Street. You can get cards and leaflets at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth Street, free. See that you supply as many people as you can from now till Election Day.

"A man cannot serve two masters." When the Democratic party says that "in respect to capital and labor, it is friendly in the largest sense to both," it offers to attempt that impossible feat. The S. D. P. makes no such pretenses. It pledges itself to the interest of the working class, as against the interest of the capitalist class.

The "Times" appealed last week to wealthy citizens who had neglected to register, asking them to register and vote. The wealthy citizens are indifferent because they know that no matter whether Low or Shepard is elected the interests of the wealthy will be catered to. Just as soon as the Socialist vote becomes dangerously large every one of the wealthy citizens will be found voting with alacrity and alarm.

The annual rack-off of the Pullman Company amounts this year, after the "wages of superintendence" were paid, to about six million dollars, to say nothing of the surplus "profit" of \$7,762,370 which remains in the company's treasury.

George L. Wanamaker, the Republican who got taken in so badly in that forged Carnegie letter, explains that he met Kent, "not as a politician, but as a workman." Evidently George L. is playing a sort of "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" game. He ought to put up a card in his office showing during

what hours he puts off the part of gentleman and assumes that of politician. How are we going to get back as city property that Rapid Transit tunnel which Tammany has given away for seventy-five years to come? The simplest thing in the world. Elect Socialist judges who will declare the contract null and void, just as Republican and Democratic judges declare labor laws unconstitutional.

**ATTACK ON LABOR PRESS.**  
The withdrawal of newspaper mail rates from two Socialist papers, the "Challenge" of New York and the "Endeavour" of Redlands, Cal., is followed up by a ruling denying such privileges to all trade union papers that publish any advertisements other than those directly pertaining to their own organizations.

This is a body-blow at trade unionism, dealt straight from the shoulder by the Republican national administration. J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller could explain its motive, if workmen do not understand.

The order is a most infamous perversion of the law, made in direct antagonism to the interests of Labor, and explainable only as being directly in the interest of union-smashing capitalists. The only way to parry such a blow is to cast a straight Socialist ballot.

When the "reformers" ask the working people to vote against Tammany on the issue of "economy," it is as if the pickpocket who has relieved us of our money should ask us to protect him against the highwayman who wants to take it away from him. The working class is big enough—if it only realizes its strength—to knock down both pickpocket and highwayman and recover the stolen goods. The way to do it is to vote under the Arm and Torch, against both old parties.

## IN THE SPIRIT OF THE PRINCE OF GOLD.

The General Convention of the Episcopal Church, in session at San Francisco, has decided to elect a standing committee to study the labor question and to offer their services as arbitrators in labor disputes, "with a view of bringing about mutual conciliation and harmony in the spirit of the Prince of Peace."

The one fact that makes it absolutely certain that this convention will do nothing to settle the labor question, but that it may do much to confuse the issue and delay its settlement, is the presence of J. Pierpont Morgan as the "star actor" in the General Convention. The prominence of this modern autocrat in the Convention and his undeviating hostility to the interests of Labor in his business life suggest the thought that it is not the Prince of Peace that the gentleman at San Francisco really have in mind, but the Prince of Gold, whose throne is set up at the corner of Broad and Wall streets.

The Republican candidate for State Senator from Hudson County, N. J., has challenged his Democratic opponent to debate. It would now be proper for Comrade Kearns to make this a triangular affair. We will place all our available cash on Kearns in such a fight.

The New York "Journal," which, only a year ago, exclaimed, "Forgive us for Van Wyck!" is now supporting the ticket on which Van Wyck is running. There is capitalist consistency and "Journal" honor for you. Of course the "Journal" totally ignores the workmen's ticket, headed by Hanford.

The preachers and editors who capitalists like to do your thinking for you tell you that, by industry and thrift, all men can become capitalists. Carnegie says so, too. But it is a most palpable lie, for all that. If you are all capitalists, who would build the houses and make the food and clothing and run the street cars and do other useful work? A society of capitalists would be impossible. One capitalist means nine wage slaves, as things now stand. Socialism would pull the one capitalist down a little and lift the nine wage-slaves up a great deal, and make them all free workers, with common interests instead of conflicting interests. If you are a capitalist, you have good reason for ignoring or opposing Socialism. If you are a workman, you have good reason for supporting it with your vote and your in-

fluence. Whenever the nine—or even five of them—get ready to change this system, it will be changed—whether the one likes it or not.

**A FORGOTTEN PLATFORM.**  
What has become of the Citizens' Union platform?  
Six months ago the Citizens' Union held a convention and adopted a platform. It was a nice little platform. It had all sorts of sweet promises to the working people. We should have been delighted with that platform—if we had not known from the start that every promise in it was a deliberate lie.

It promised more schools and more teachers and more libraries; cleaner streets; more public baths; more playgrounds for children and more small parks; enforcement of tenement house laws; "judicious increase of direct employment of labor by the city on its public works;" the prevailing rate of wages and the eight-hour day on all public work; and several other things which, if carried into effect, would considerably improve the condition of the working people of this city.

When that platform was adopted on April 20, 1901, the newspapers which are now supporting the "reform" ticket said it was a very bad platform. The gilt-edged "Evening Post" said it was "too Socialist." Mr. Morgan's "Times" said it was "too Socialist." The vitriol-tongued "Sun" said it was "too Socialist." They all said that the respectable citizens—what means the citizens with fat pocketbooks—would not stand for such a platform as that. They said the "reform" movement could not win without Republican support, and that Mr. Platt would never endorse such a dangerous platform.

The managers of the "reform" movement winked the other eye, and let out several howls of righteous determination. They said it was a question of principle, and they were going to stick to that platform. Thereby they caught several more or less sincere and less or more intelligent "labor leaders" and a number of well-meaning but exceedingly glib "practical philanthropists." That was what they set out to do.

When they winked the other eye, it was Platt and his friends they were winking at. Platt understood them. They got together with Platt—they are great on "getting together," these "reformers"—and fixed things up. In 1897, Platt thought Mr. Low was a very bad man; so did the "Sun." Mr. Low returned the compliment; he thought Platt a very bad man and the "Sun" a very mean and nasty sheet. In April, 1901, Platt thought the Citizens' Union platform a very dangerous one; so did the "Sun." But after the "getting-together" process was finished, Platt and the "Sun" concluded that Mr. Low was a very nice man after all; and Mr. Low decided that Platt was a very nice man, too, and the "Sun" an excellent and public-spirited newspaper; and they all agreed that the Citizens' Union platform was an excellent thing to use in certain quarters—at certain times—for certain purposes—and that it would be the easiest thing in the world to forget it, and they forgot it.

Platt held a Republican convention and nominated Mr. Low. The Republican platform says nothing about the "Socialist" measures which the Citizens' Union platform set forth. It says a great deal about reduced taxation. Reduced taxation means fewer schools and fewer teachers, fewer public baths, fewer playgrounds for the children, still greater laxity in the enforcement of tenement-house laws; lower wages and harder work for laborers and mechanics employed by the city. It means the exact opposite of all the things the Citizens' Union platform promised.

The gilt-edged "Evening Post" and Mr. Morgan's "Times" and the vitriol-tongued "Sun," who thought the Citizens' Union platform "too Socialist," are all supporting Mr. Low in his current feat of running on two contradictory platforms.

They understand the game now. They know that Mr. Low never meant it, and that the Citizens' Union meant it. They know that the Citizens' Union platform of last April is nearly forgotten now and that, if Mr. Low is elected, it will be entirely forgotten—intentionally, carefully, and thoughtfully forgotten—on November 6.

That is what it was made for—just like Tammany's platform of 1897, which promised all the things that Tammany has not done since that time.

Yet again we have to report a continued deterioration in the quality of lighting gas in New York City. The power the gas, the bigger the profits of the Rockefeller-Whitney-Brady ring. Things would be different under Socialist public ownership.

Not even smallpox is more contagious than are courage and cowardice. If you sympathize with the Socialist Democratic Party, but are too much of a coward to vote for it because you are afraid it will not win this time, then your example will deter others from voting for it. If you are brave enough to vote for what you believe in and to declare your intention openly, beforehand, your example may encourage one or two or a dozen others to do the same.

We wish to be able to give fuller reports of the Socialist vote in the coming election and to give them more promptly than ever before. We must depend on the comrades throughout the country to help us in this. We therefore ask that in each local a certain comrade—be organizer, secretary, or other member—be charged with the duty of sending in the report as soon as obtained. The comrade so chosen is further requested to write us at once, stating the vote cast by the S. D. P. and by the S. L. P., if any, at the last national election and also at any local election which may since have occurred, in the territory covered by his organization. To have this information compiled in advance will help us greatly in making up reports in the issue following. Address these letters to the editor of The Worker.

**HOW TO MEET THE CONSPIRACY.**  
Never in the history of the United States has the direct conflict of interest between the capitalist class and the laboring class been made so manifest as in New York City during the past few months. The capitalist class in many different forms, but recently and conspicuously in that secret conspiracy known as the "Employers' Association" have conspired for the purpose of disrupting and destroying all organizations of labor in order that the workingman, being deprived of the support and aid of his fellow worker, may be more easily subjugated to the despotic will and power of his employer, that he may be rendered powerless in opposing long hours of labor and be forced by his necessities to accept the lowest wages. Knowing that at present the working class are strong only in their unions, and that united effort alone makes them able to resist the encroachments of the capitalist class, the "Employers' Association," in its greedy and infamous desire to reduce wages and lengthen the hours of labor, have determined to destroy that strength and to break up labor unions by rendering them completely powerless for good by depriving them of their arms—disrupting, poisoning, undermining, and finally destroying the weapons—the strike and the boycott. In these attempts the Employers' Association has been aided and abetted by the entire capitalist class.

The Socialist Party again repeats the undeniable and certain truth, that if the workingmen would free themselves from virtual slavery and overthrow their oppressors they must at once by their votes obtain possession of all the departments of the city government. These offices must be filled by class-conscious workingmen who can be relied upon to support the workingman's interest as against the interest of the capitalist class. After the capture of the municipal government, the efforts of the working class must not cease until it has control of the State and National Governments. Campaign address of the Socialist Party of San Francisco.

In accordance with this declaration, the Socialists of San Francisco have nominated a full ticket, headed by Charles L. Ames for Mayor, all but three of the twenty-nine candidates of which are workmen and members of trade unions.

**A GOOD RESOLUTION.**  
The following resolutions were adopted by a unanimous vote at a late meeting of the Amalgamated Sheet and Metal Workers' Union of Boston, which by this sensible and manly act proves its motto and intelligence:

"Whereas there is a strong drift toward militarism in this country, and such a ready response in the line of strikes to the call for troops and applications for injunctions by employers under the plea of protection of property rights and the defense of law and order, when the denial of these rights and defiance of the law on the part of employers is generally the cause of the strike.

"Resolved, That we proclaim the increase of armaments on sea and land in time of peace opposed to the spirit and the framework of republican government, and denounce the practice of the use of the military against strikers at the instance of employers as part of the scheme of industrial tyranny and exploitation which the powers of government are made to serve in these days, and

"Resolved, That the situation imposes on organized labor the duty of a keener vigilance and more determined opposition to these twin inequities of militarism and class rule, and that this end can be achieved only by a refusal to enlist in the militia or in the regular army save in the country's defense, and by a conscientious and intelligent use of the ballot in supporting the political party whose aim is the emancipation of labor, by striking off its shackles of servitude once and forever, and that the union in promoting itself to live up to the letter and spirit of these resolutions calls on its brother workmen throughout America to assist in making this plan of action real and effective."

THE FRANCHISE BRIGANDS.  
How the Rockefeller-Whitney-Brady Ring, by the Aid of the Old Parties, "Holds Up" New York City.

Value of Franchises Created by Growth of City's Life—Given Away by False Public Servants—Enormous Annual Ransom Extorted by Legal Means—Social Democratic Party Alone Offers Relief.

The greatest source of public corruption in American cities and in New York especially is undoubtedly the private ownership of franchises for street railways, lighting and heating plants, telephone systems, and similar public services. So long as these industries are left in private hands, it will be idle to profess against corruption in municipal government.

This is only one of the reasons why the Social Democratic Party demands public ownership of such industries as one of the necessary measures of immediate relief. Another reason is that the private ownership of franchises represents an enormous plunder of the public which is compelled to use the services of transportation and lighting systems and which gets very bad and inadequate service for its money. And the greatest reason of all is that public ownership upon Socialist lines would put an end to the shameful exploitation and oppression practiced by the franchise companies upon their employees.

**THREE GOOD REASONS.**  
In the interest of good government, in the interest of the public service, and especially in the interest of the overworked and underpaid employees, the Social Democratic Party declares for the immediate municipalization of all these so-called "public utilities," and pledges its candidates to carry out such municipalization whenever the voters of the city shall give them power to do so.

It is necessary to consider the peculiar character of these industries and the enormous and increasing value of their franchises before one will understand how fruitful a source of corruption they must everywhere be. The services they render are indispensable to the existence of a great city. New York could no more exist without her street railways, gas and electric plants, and telephone systems than a human body could exist without veins and arteries.

The nature of these operations is such, requiring certain special privileges and powers of using public streets, taking needful private property by condemnation proceedings, etc., that they cannot be established without special authorization from the public. This special authorization is what is called a "franchise."

For this reason, and also on account of the great cost of construction, the laws of competition do not apply to these industries as they do to others. In general, there is and can be no real competition in such services. Wherever separate systems do for a time partially compete, combination, lawful or unlawful, is immediately effected; and competition of any sort becomes more and more difficult as the industry becomes greater. The character of the service given and the price charged is therefore almost arbitrarily fixed by the owners, except as certain conditions are imposed by the terms of the franchise or by law.

All must use these "public utilities" and the individual is absolutely helpless before their owners. We may say that we find "standing room only" in a street car or receive an exorbitant gas bill; but as individuals we can do nothing more than swear. The company has us by the throat and only through using the public power can we defend ourselves.

The wealth of any company in such enterprises does not consist chiefly in the actual material equipment—in the tracks and cars of a street railway or the gas-burners and mains of a lighting system—but in the special authorization given by the public, the franchise of the company.

As the city grows in extent and density of population the income of these companies increases out of all proportion to the increased cost of operation. The growing value of a franchise depends solely upon the growth of the population; it is a direct product of the city's life, not at all a product of those who hold the franchise.

In the large and growing value of franchises lies the great cause of corruption. A franchise is the sure source of ever-increasing profits to its owners. The franchise which asks for a franchise is always willing to give liberal bribes to the public officials who have the power to grant it in the first place and to continue to pay liberally for protection as it grows more and more valuable.

## SOCIALIST ANSWER.

The Social Democratic answer to the question is this: RESUME THE FRANCHISES and establish municipal ownership and operation under a civil service system at once.

Reduce the labor time of all employees to EIGHT HOURS A DAY or less, and RAISE THEIR WAGES to such a point that the city, as an employer, will be a force in strengthening the cause of Labor in its demands upon private employers.

IMPROVE AND EXTEND THE SERVICE as the needs of the city demand. Make good gas instead of bad. Lay more tracks where needed and run more cars. Build more tunnels and lay off BY DIRECT EMPLOYMENT with eight-hour work and no lay wages, not through sweating and scabbing contractors. Equip the cars and tracks with every known device for the PROTECTION OF LIFE AND HEALTH for employees, passengers, and pedestrians.

Then, if the income still exceeds the expenditure, REDUCE CHARGES in proportion.

All this, in view of the facts shown above, is perfectly practicable, not ten years hence, but NOW—if only the voters have courage and sense to decide upon it.

But the question is raised: "Where would the city get \$400,000,000 to pay for these franchises?" The answer is: For the franchises whose value the city has created and which have been stolen from it by corrupt politicians and capitalists, NOT ONE CENT SHOULD THE CITY PAY.

city officers have been chosen as trustees of the city's wealth and welfare. If the trustee of a private estate gives away the property entrusted to him, the owner does not have to buy it back. The courts hold that the trustee had no right to give it away, that no one had a right to receive it, and that the act of gift is entirely without legal force.

REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC JUDGES WILL NEVER APPLY THAT RULE to the franchises which city governments have given away. But even upon capitalist principles, it is a right and just rule—and Socialist judges would apply it without hesitation.

If the Social Democratic Party were put in power in this city this year and authorized to carry out its immediate demands by lawful means, it would be in order, in receiving the ownership of the franchises, to pay the actual present value of the material equipment—its tracks, cars, and equipment—by the same compulsory process by which the franchise companies have been authorized to take other private property needed for their purposes. For the hundreds of millions already pocketed in the form of profits we would demand nothing. But for the franchises given away by official traitors to the public interest we would pay nothing.

And if this is unconstitutional—IT IS! IT IS UNLAWFUL! THE CONSTITUTION. The Provisional Rate of Wages law was constitutional until six Republicans and three Democrats on the bench said it was not. PUT SOCIALISTS ON THE BENCH AND THE RESTORATION OF THE PUBLIC PROPERTY TO PUBLIC USE WOULD BECOME CONSTITUTIONAL AT ONCE.

**TAMMANY POLITICIAN WHO LOVES THE WORKERS.**  
Editor of The Worker.

In one of the New York dailies on Saturday, Oct. 12, were reported the names of all those that were nominated for office by the two old political parties. I may mention here the fact that it is the MAKE THE CONSTITUTION last, stating that E. V. Debs had withdrawn in favor of Bryan, and then refused to report a plain denial by Comrade Debs himself.

## SOCIALIST DOGGERS.

If a workman wants to see a street well sprinkled, he should take a walk where the "tax-payers" and "business interests" reside. The city pays 3,723 men for NOT sprinkling the workmen's quarters.

Devery's definition of a policeman: "A dirty bum."

Devery is indisputably the chief of all bums; still not ALL policemen are bums.

John: "Low forever! His motto is 'The city for the poor.'"  
Mrs. John: "During the hot summer spell, especially when he and his plutes rush to the seashore and mountains."

That Banner is sustaining some strenuous tugging. The Fourth of Manhattan thinks it has a clutch on that Banner; but they talk of deep-laid schemes of the Twentieth of Brooklyn.

It would be just too mean on the part of Brooklyn comrades to carry off that Banner, right now, the start. In the meanwhile, the Bronx comrades saw wood and keep a weather eye on that Banner.

Wanted—A member of the C. F. U. who will accept \$50. Inquire of Street Cleaning Commissioner Nagle. Come often, but not after November 5.

Overheard inadvertently through a keyhole:  
Low: "Who would have thought that you, a man who..."

Shepard: "Oh, drop it. Spare me your cant and talk sense."

Low: "It grows on one as a habit. Well, old boy, what is Croker's cue to you, should you be elected?"

Shepard: "As ever—'Public treasury is my private pocket.'"

Low: "And your article to Croker?" Shepard: "It is not known. I have any." The same old stand; only the words "rehabilitated Democracy" to be painted on the old shingle. What are your lines?

Low: "There you have me. The Easy One, for all I know, struck it with Sir Richard to make a hab of me."

Shepard: "How about your City?" Low (disgustedly): "The stupid lot. He has got them where the hair is short."

Shepard: "The thing to do is to equal."

Low: "You bet. Should I be slaughtered, nothing short of an ambassadorship will appease me."

(Shouts of "Low!" and "Shepard!" are heard outside.)

Shepard: "The damned son's name me!"

Low: "The stupid blots wear me." (Shepard puts on his mask of Civic Virtue and reads from notes.)

"Before this assembly of sovereign voters, I again reiterate the unswerving allegiance of the organization to the noblest of the lofty ideals of Jeffersonian democracy."

(Low puts on the gown of Blunder Respectability and rehearses.)

"I am deeply indebted by the tokens of confidence of this body of intelligent voters and I reiterate my solemn assurance."

IF 8.

## WHAT YOU CAN DO.

Each individual Socialist and sympathizer in the city of New York can, between now and Election Day, supply copies of THE WORKER and of all our leaflets to each family in his house and to each man in his shop. Ten or more copies of THE WORKER will cost you only one cent each. You can get leaflets at 64 E. 4th Street, FREE. IF EACH of you makes only ONE new vote, our total vote will be doubled.

BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.



# Smile Producers In Abundance THE GRAND LABOR FAIR

Knee-Deep In Attractions. Just a Few Of the Many.

Coney Island Steeple Chase, Museum, Entertainment, and an endless variety of interesting and entertaining features, Vienna Cafe, etc., etc.

Fun! Fun! Fun! Fun! Fun!

You'll be glad if you do and sorry if you don't attend the

"THE WORKER" FAIR

Grand Central Palace, Lexington Ave. and 43d St.  
Don't forget the date November 10 to 16, 1901.

## PARTY NOTES.

**YOUNGSTOWN, O.** HAS BEEN organized as a result of Max Hayes' speaking there on October 5. Meetings of the local will be held on Sunday at 2 p. m., at 130 East Federal street, Room 11, until further notice.

**H. GAYLORD WILSHIRE** addressed a large audience at Lowell, Mass., on Oct. 14.

**HOWARD H. CALDWELL**, of Philadelphia, General Organizer for the A. F. of L., and State Organizer for Pennsylvania of the Socialist Party, spoke at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., twice recently. Thursday evening, Oct. 10, he addressed the regular meeting of the Central Labor Union, where he did a great deal to make Socialism popular among local labor leaders. On the following Saturday he addressed a meeting of workmen on "The Trust Problem from the Socialist Standpoint." Comrade Caldwell made an excellent impression and the results of his labors will be reaped on election day.

Comrade J. T. McEnaney has been elected organizer of the local.

**INDIANA SOCIALISTS** HAVE perfected organization in accordance with the provisions of the Indianapolis convention, and have selected Terre Haute as the seat of state headquarters.

**A MEETING OF THE MEMBERS** of the S. D. P. of Boston will be held at 73 Washington street, Sunday, Oct. 27, at 7:30 p. m., for the purpose of applying for a charter from the Socialist Clubs of Massachusetts.

**THE DOWN TOWN PARADE** CONFERENCE met last week with G. Gomez in the chair and W. J. V. Hennessey as secretary. Delegates were seated from Abolition, Kraken, Kass, Branches 1 and 432; Dramatic Club "Karl Marx," and the 14th A. D. S. D. P. The First Agitation District Committee is also co-operating. Several unions and organizations have accepted the invitation to participate and others were to be heard from. The parade will be held at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, on Tuesday evening, The 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 14th, 16th, 18th, and 20th Assembly Districts as well as all unions in this part of the city, are invited to participate and to send delegates next Tuesday.

**THE SIXTH AND TENTH ASSEMBLY** DISTRICTS has arranged a series of track meetings to be held from Oct. 28 to Nov. 2 in different parts of the districts. All members of the organization are requested to help in making up packages of literature for registered voters and in distributing it from Oct. 28 to Nov. 4. It is desired to make this the banner district, and all must help in the work. J. M. M. contributed \$1 and G. Goldberg 50 cents to the district campaign fund.

**THE UNITED BUTCHERS' UNIONS** of New York and vicinity, at their first annual convention, which was held last Sunday at the Labor Lyceum, adopted a resolution endorsing the candidates of the Social Democratic Party and pledging themselves to agitate and vote for them on Election Day.

**SOCIALISTS OF THE THIRTY-FOURTH AND THIRTY-FIFTH ASSEMBLY** DISTRICTS are carrying on a very active campaign. The campaign committee is doing good work, and reports that street meetings have everywhere met with success. Invitations to trade unions to participate in the parade have very generally met with a warm response. The parade will be held on Saturday, Nov. 2. There will be music by the Socialist Band, also the Fire and Drum Corps. Lanterns and torches have been ordered and transparencies are being made. A wagon has been hired for the week before election to go through the borough with large signs showing our ticket and emblem. A German mass meeting will be held in the large hall of the clubhouse, 3309 Third avenue, on Sunday, Nov. 3, at 3 p. m. sharp. Dr. Dugerman will speak, and will be followed by Comrades Stahl, Modest, Alex. Jonas, and Lissauer. Comrades should make it their duty to be at the clubhouse every night from now on.

election, as there is much work to be done. The Bronx is working for the banner.

**THE SUNDAY EVENING LECTURE** course of the 23d A. D., at Beckmann's Hall, One Hundred and Forty-second street and Eighth avenue, have been very auspiciously launched. Comrade spoke last Sunday to a good audience. An interesting discussion followed the lecture and the size of the collection indicated the satisfaction of the audience. Sunday, Oct. 27, Peter E. Burrows will speak. The business meetings of the district are held every Friday at 19 Manhattan street. Every reader of The Worker is invited to call and give his aid to the campaign. A watcher is wanted at every polling place on Election Day. The district ratification meeting will be held Saturday, Oct. 26, at Moser's Hall, 19 Manhattan street, and come and bring your friends.

**THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE**, at 215 E. Fifty-ninth street, is the center of activity for the 23d and 24th A. D. Comrades Chas. Connolly, Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick for Alderman, and the 24th Ed. Lowenthal is nominated for Assembly and Morris Seem for Alderman.

**GEORGE E. BIGELOW** of Nebraska will be in New York this week, and will speak on Friday and Saturday evenings in the city for the S. D. P. He goes to Rochester on October 27, and will assist in the campaign there for three days. On October 30 he speaks in Oneida, and October 31 in Watertown. He will also speak in Johnstown, Troy, Catskill, etc. Locals desiring dates should apply to the local branch or to the State Secretary, Leonard D. Abbott, 64 E. Fourth street, New York.

## FOR THE FAIR.

Preparations for the great Fair to be held in Grand Central Palace, Nov. 10 to 16, are rapidly progressing. Among the more valuable of the many prizes already donated are the following: Sohner & Co., O. W. Wurster, Krakenauer Bros., and the Sterling Piano Co., a piano case; Kruse, two sewing machines; Chas. Machoff, a fine parlor chair; J. Lauchner, two iron bedsteads; Macy, a valuable phonograph, etc.; Ehrlich, a beautiful picture, etc.; Baumann's New Store, an extension table; Bloomingdale Bros., a porcelain set of 56 pieces; J. Bessong & Sons, a chandelier; James R. Kneue & Co., a sofa; Holmwood & Co., a fine chair; Jacobson & Davis, a \$20 fur box; New Home Sewing Machine Co., a machine; Katz, Brooklyn, an iron bedstead; Macy, a valuable present. Comrade Reader of West Palm Beach, Fla., photographer, has contributed a set of beautiful photos of Florida scenery.

## "NOW AND THEN."

For the first time in this city, Frederick Krafft's Socialist play, "Now and Then," will be given at the W. E. A. Clubhouse, 3309 Third avenue, Saturday evening, Oct. 26. Comrade Krafft will take the leading part. A German play will also be given. The proceeds will go to the campaign fund of the Bronx districts.

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## OFFICIAL

**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, Leon Greenbaum, Room 427, Empire Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

**CALIFORNIA STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, John M. Reynolds, 622 Sutter street, San Francisco. Meets on first and third Friday in the month.

**CONNECTICUT STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, Charles H. Jones, 100 North Main street, New Haven.

**ILLINOIS STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, Charles H. Jones, 100 North Main street, New Haven.

**KENTUCKY STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, Dr. Walter T. Roberts, 2214 West Main street, Louisville, Ky.

**MAINE STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, N. W. Leonard, Thomaston.

**MARSHMOUTH STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, Squire E. Putney, 4 Belmont street, Somerville; Assistant, John J. Flick, 100 North Main street, Cambridge, Mass.

**MICHIGAN STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, Clarence Neely, 117 Johnson street, Saginaw. Meets at 123 N. Main street.

**MINNESOTA STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, Geo. R. Leonard, Room 635, Andrew Bldg., corner 3rd and 5th streets, Minneapolis.

**MISSOURI STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, J. Hager, Room 1, 22 North Fourth street.

**NEBRASKA STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, George E. Baird, 519 New York Life Bldg., Omaha.

**NEW JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, John P. Vogel, Trenton, N. J. Meets third Sunday in the month, at 3 p. m., at Newark.

**NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, W. J. Hager, Room 1, 22 North Fourth street.

**OHIO STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, W. G. Critchlow, 1145 W. Third street, Dayton. Meets every Monday evening.

**PENNSYLVANIA STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, W. J. Hager, Room 1, 22 North Fourth street.

**VERMONT STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, P. V. Jones, Brattleboro, Vt.

**WASHINGTON STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, Joseph Gilbert, Box 637, Seattle. Meets first Sunday in the month, at 3 p. m., at 220 Union street.

**WISCONSIN STATE COMMITTEE.**  
Secretary, W. J. Hager, Room 1, 22 North Fourth street.

**NOTICE:** For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 3 p. m.

## NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Oct. 11, 1901.  
To the state and local organizations of the Socialist Party.

In accordance with the provisions of the national constitution, I hereby submit a report of the financial and other business of the office for the month of September, 1901.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Sept. 1—Balance on hand, \$12.71.  
Amounts received from state and local organizations, \$10.00.  
Amounts received from individuals in payment of dues, \$10.00.  
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## OPEN-AIR MEETINGS IN GREATER NEW YORK.

Open-air meetings will be held in the following places during the coming week. Platform committees are instructed to have platforms, literature, banners, etc., on hand promptly at 8 p. m. at the appointed places. Speakers should also appear promptly on time.

**MANHATTAN.**  
FRIDAY, Oct. 25—8th A. D. S. E. P. 8th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

10th A. D. S. E. P. 10th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

12th A. D. S. E. P. 12th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

14th A. D. S. E. P. 14th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

16th A. D. S. E. P. 16th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

18th A. D. S. E. P. 18th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

20th A. D. S. E. P. 20th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

22nd A. D. S. E. P. 22nd and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

24th A. D. S. E. P. 24th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

26th A. D. S. E. P. 26th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

28th A. D. S. E. P. 28th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

30th A. D. S. E. P. 30th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

32nd A. D. S. E. P. 32nd and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

34th A. D. S. E. P. 34th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

36th A. D. S. E. P. 36th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

38th A. D. S. E. P. 38th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

40th A. D. S. E. P. 40th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

42nd A. D. S. E. P. 42nd and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

44th A. D. S. E. P. 44th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

46th A. D. S. E. P. 46th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

48th A. D. S. E. P. 48th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

50th A. D. S. E. P. 50th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

52nd A. D. S. E. P. 52nd and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

54th A. D. S. E. P. 54th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

56th A. D. S. E. P. 56th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

58th A. D. S. E. P. 58th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

60th A. D. S. E. P. 60th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

62nd A. D. S. E. P. 62nd and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

64th A. D. S. E. P. 64th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

66th A. D. S. E. P. 66th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

68th A. D. S. E. P. 68th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

70th A. D. S. E. P. 70th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

72nd A. D. S. E. P. 72nd and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

74th A. D. S. E. P. 74th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

76th A. D. S. E. P. 76th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

78th A. D. S. E. P. 78th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

80th A. D. S. E. P. 80th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

82nd A. D. S. E. P. 82nd and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

84th A. D. S. E. P. 84th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

86th A. D. S. E. P. 86th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

88th A. D. S. E. P. 88th and Grand streets. Speakers: Goldfarb, Reichenthal, Lowenthal, and John J. Flick. Meets at 8 p. m.

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There is nothing so bad for a cough as coughing. You must stop coughing at once, if you expect your throat and lungs to heal. Perhaps it is the cough of a bad cold that has settled on your chest, or the cough of asthma, bronchitis or early consumption. It matters not what kind of a cough. OLUSA COUGH CURE will stop it. The first dose gives relief. Olusa Cough Cure cures a cold in a single day. Old colds and hard coughs may take a little longer, but they are sure to YIELD. Olusa Cough Cure cures adults and infants, for COUGHS, COLDS, CROUP, CONSUMPTION, BRONCHITIS, WHOOPING COUGHS, LA GRIPPE, PNEUMONIA, HOARSENESS, LOSS OF VOICE, ASTHMA, and all diseases and affections of the throat and lungs. There is no medicine known to medical science equal to this standard remedy of 20 years. The wonderful power of Olusa Cough Cure to subdue all inflammation in throat and lungs, quiet pain and remove every evidence of disease is most remarkable.

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92nd A. D. 7th and 12th streets. Speakers: Doolley, Meade.

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116th A. D. 7th and 12th streets. Speakers: Doolley, Meade.

124th A. D. 7th and 12th streets. Speakers: Doolley, Meade.

132th A. D. 7th and 12th streets. Speakers: Doolley, Meade.

140th A. D. 7th and 12th streets. Speakers: Doolley, Meade.

## TRADE and Societies' Calendar

Standing advertisements of Trade Unions and other Societies with the address of their headquarters at the rate of \$1 per line per annum. Organizations should not lose such an opportunity for advertising their places of meetings.

**BRANCH 2, S. D. P. 34th and 35th A. D**



## THE ISSUE OF THE CAMPAIGN.

We are hearing a great deal about the issue of the campaign. But we Socialists recognize only one issue in this or in any political contest. Our party stands for the emancipation of the working class and the only issue we know, the only issue worthy of the attention of the workingmen to whom we appeal, is the issue of Labor against Capital, of Socialism against Capitalism.

All other issues which the capitalist parties may advance are either quarrels between different sections of the master class, in which the wage-workers have no interest, or else they are questions which arise out of the system of wage slavery and class rule which cannot be settled until wage slavery and class rule are done away with.

The question of corruption and extravagance in public administration is an example of the first class. It is a question upon which two sets of parasites are opposed; but the working class has nothing to gain by the victory of either side.

This is the principal one of the false issues in the present municipal campaign in New York City. On the one hand is the gigantic army of Tammany office-holders, with their hangers-on of all sorts. These men profit by extravagant and corrupt use of public funds. It is their interest to levy heavy taxes upon the property owners of the city—except those individuals or corporations who are willing to pay bribes in order to get out of paying taxes—and to spend the money so raised in such ways as will give the largest possible amount of "boodle"—high salaries, fees, fat contracts, and stealings—to the city officials and their friends.

On the other hand there are the property owners of the city, the majority of whom are not directly interested in politics, and upon whom falls the burden of taxation. It is their interest to have a "pure" and economical administration of public affairs, because that will mean lower taxes, and lower taxes means higher net profits for them in their private business.

Both of these sets of people, whose interests are opposed on this particular question, are parasites upon the working class—they are people who do no useful work and who, in one way or another, get a good living out of the product of labor. To speak more correctly, the capitalists are parasites upon the workers and the politicians are parasites upon the capitalists—"Big fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite 'em."

"And these again have lesser ones," and so ad infinitum. The capitalists, owning the shops and factories, railroads and other means of production with which the producers work and the tenements in which the producers live, levy upon the workers a tribute of profit, interest, and rent. The politicians having control of the powers of government, levy upon the capitalists a tribute of taxation and of blackmail. The whole question of "economy and pure government" is only a question of interest between the capitalist parasites who bleed the workers and the politician parasites who bleed the capitalists. But just as the workers have nothing to gain by the victory of the capitalists, so they have nothing to gain by the victory of the property owners who bleed the working class. The working people of New York City get no benefit from the twenty-one millions of dollars which Tammany has added to the yearly budget of the city; it is spent in increased salaries for political leaders and in jobs that give big profits to contractors who "stand in" with the heeler. But the working people would be reduced to the old rate; the landlords would not reduce rents, the employers would not increase wages nor shorten hours of labor; they would take just as much as ever from the workers in the form of profit, interest, and rent, and would be the richer by the amount saved in taxation.

The Tammany policy of corruption and extravagance is good for the politician and bad for the capitalists who are not in politics. The "reform" policy of "economy and pure government" would be bad for the Tammany heeler and good for the capitalists who are not in politics. Neither policy is good for the working people.

The policy which would be good for the working people is the policy of the Social Democratic Party—heavy taxes to be levied upon the capitalists and the city money to be spent for the service of the working class population—in schools, parks in the poorer quarters of the city, the destruction of disease-breeding tenements and the erection of modern fireproof dwellings in their stead, abolition of the contract system on all public works and shortening of hours and raising of wages for all mechanics and laborers employed by the city, strict enforcement of all laws for the protection of labor and of the public health, etc. That policy would be bad for the heeler and his friends; it would be bad for the capitalists; but it would be good for the working people—and that is all the Social Democratic Party cares for.

An example of the second class of false issues is the "vice question." This is a question of real importance to the working people, but it is a question that cannot be settled until wage slavery and class rule are overthrown. So-called "respectable" society has always made a pretense of trying to "suppress" vice by penal laws. It has never succeeded in the slightest degree. And it does not really want to succeed. Every one knows that "respectable" society is just as much given to the vicious practices it denounces as is the part of society which does not claim to be respectable. "Respectable" society drinks champagne instead of beer and employs servants to take it home when it gets drunk, instead of falling into the gutter. Respectable society keeps its harems in luxurious Harlem apartments, instead of visiting vulgar Allen street. That is the difference.

The "reformers" accuse Tammany of "protecting" vice—the cheap, vulgar vice of the streets—and getting rich on blackmail. The accusation is true. But what do the "reformers" propose to do?

They admit that they do not expect to abolish prostitution. But they say they do not want it to be flaunted so openly as it now is. They want to persecute the women of the street, to drive them into hiding, to conceal the vice that exists, not to prevent it nor to remove its cause.

And what is the cause of vice? What is it that has well-nigh destroyed the old healthy family life? What is it that perverts human feelings and creates a commercial demand for prostitutes? What is it that drives women into a life of misery and shame? The answer is, it is capitalism which does this—capitalism, with its accompaniments of idle luxury, callous contempt of rulers for workers, wretched poverty, and uncertainty of employment.

Capitalism destroys the home by cutting down wages so that great numbers of workmen cannot afford to marry, and so that those who have families have to send their wives and children but to work in order to make a bare living.

Capitalism perpetuates ignorance, both by refusing to build schools for the people, by making it necessary for children to work for a living even when there are schools, by compelling men and women to work so hard and so long that they have no leisure or energy for reading and thinking. Capitalism makes one class of people rich without work and educates them in the idea that they have a right to gratify every whim. It makes another class so poor that dissipation is the only refuge from their sufferings.

Capitalism makes it necessary for the daughters of the working class to leave the home and the school and exposed to all the hardships and temptations of the shop and factory. Then it makes their work so hard and their wages so small that they grow wild for anything to relieve the barren monotony of their lives. Then it throws them out of work and offers them the alternative of pauperism, suicide, or prostitution. Then, if they choose this last alternative, it takes a percentage on their shame and sets policemen and Comstock sneaks to hound them to the grave.

The owners of the world profit by all the conditions that drive women into prostitution and so long as we have a class of capitalists and a class of wage-slaves, so long we will have prostitution with all the horrible suffering and degradation it implies.

The question of vice is a question, which cannot be settled—such as Benjamin Hanford has said, cannot rightly be considered, even—until the labor question is settled and settled right.

Like these are all the "issues" upon which the capitalist parties want us to vote—either questions in which the working class has no interest, such as the question of "economy" or questions which cannot be settled by capitalist methods, such as the "vice question." Upon such issues the working class cannot rightly or intelligently take either one side or the other.

The Social Democratic Party calls upon the working-class voters to refuse to be fooled by these false issues set up by capitalist politicians, but to vote upon the one issue which rightly concerns them—the issue of Working Class Government against Capitalist Government.

Bitterly as Republicans and Democrats may fight over questions of taxation or over the distribution of public patronage, they are always united on the Labor Question whenever it comes into politics.

When a Democratic judge issues an injunction against strikers, as Tammany Judge Bookstaver, McAdam, and Freedman have done, or when a Democratic mayor sends police to bring in scabs and arrest pickets, as Tammany Mayor Van Wyck has done, the Republican newspapers applaud them for "defending the sacred right of property."

When a Republican governor or president sends troops to break strikes as Republican President McKinley and Republican Governors Roosevelt and Odell did, the Democratic politicians applaud them for "maintaining law and order."

"Respectable citizens" and corrupt heeler may fight over the division of what they steal, legally or illegally, from the working class. But they all agree that the system of stealing from the working class must go on. And whenever the working people object to being robbed, they unite in crushing labor's resistance.

The Social Democratic Party says that the powers of government ought to be used for the benefit of the working class alone. It nominates for public office men out of the ranks of the working class, tried in its battles and found true, and pledged to a platform drawn solely in the interest of the working class—men who, when elected, will consider it their official duty to assist the workers in all their struggles with their employers, to protect the workers from capitalist impositions, to check capitalist oppression and restrict the exploitation of labor wherever possible, to ameliorate the sufferings which capitalism inflicts upon the working class, and to prepare the way for the Co-operative Commonwealth, in which all shall be workers and none shall be exploited or oppressed.

Upon this great, fundamental, all-embracing issue, the Social Democratic Party calls upon the wage workers and all in sympathy to vote this fall under the emblem of the Arm and Torch.

FOR THE CAMPAIGN FUND. To All Comrades, Friends, and Sympathizers of the Socialist Movement in New York and Vicinity: Our municipal campaign is under way. We have a strong ticket. The names of Hanford, Brown, and Stahl command the respect of the workers. Our platform appeals to the working class. What we now have to do is to make a vigorous campaign for this platform and ticket, so as to get as many votes as possible on November 5 under the Arm and Torch.

Only a few days remain of the campaign. This must be the last jumping fund should be forthcoming immediately. The Social Democratic Party has a list of names of persons who have contributed to the campaign fund. These names are given for the purpose of showing the progress of the fund and for the purpose of securing the names of persons who have contributed to the fund. The list is given for the purpose of showing the progress of the fund and for the purpose of securing the names of persons who have contributed to the fund.

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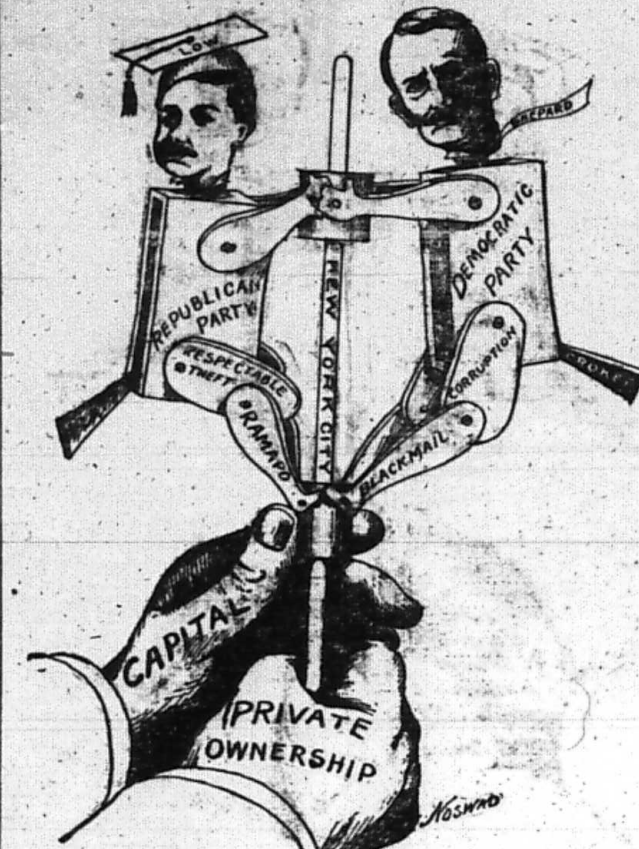
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CAN YOU CHOOSE BETWEEN THE JUMPING JACKS?

## ARE YOU GOING TO THROW YOUR VOTE AWAY?

Some men concede the soundness of the Socialist position, admit that the argument of the Socialist cannot be refuted, and know that no party but the Social Democratic Party will give this city an administration which would benefit the working class; yet refuse to vote for Socialism because they think that would mean "throwing their votes away." They say: "The Socialists cannot win this time, therefore it is useless to vote with them just now." So they continue to vote for whichever capitalist candidate they think is the lesser evil.

Workingmen, as soon as the capitalist politician has your vote he is done with you. After he has your vote he forgets you, as long as you continue to vote for him he looks upon you as a pack of fools good for nothing except to vote for him and create wealth for him, as long as you are foolish enough to vote for him he continues to disregard the demands of labor and declare labor laws unconstitutional. IT IS ONLY THE VOTE AGAINST HIS ACTIONS. When the Socialist vote of New York piles up to fifty thousand, when the capitalist politician sees that the working class is about to cut off his head, when he sees that they are digging his political grave, then is the time that he will be afraid to trample labor under foot. As long as you continue to vote for capitalists they will continue to issue injunctions, smash unions, break strikes, and laugh at the rights of the public. When you vote against the capitalist, whether you elect your own candidate or not, you will so alarm him that he will be afraid to recklessly oppress the working class. A VOTE FOR A CAPITALIST POLITICIAN IS A VOTE THROWN AWAY—A VOTE AGAINST HIM IS THE ONLY THING THAT WILL CHECK HIS RECKLESS COURSE.

Remember that you CAN elect Socialists to office just as soon as you make up your mind to vote for Socialists. You are in the overwhelming majority. You can have a working class administration just as soon as you vote for it—before. See that YOUR vote is cast right. Do not throw your vote away by voting for something you don't want.

Remember, also, that "IT IS BETTER TO VOTE FOR WHAT YOU WANT AND NOT GET IT THAN TO VOTE FOR WHAT YOU DON'T WANT AND GET IT." For years you have been voting for what you do not want, and you have always got it—and got it in the neck.

WORKINGMEN, YOU HAVE VOTED FOR JUDGES TO DECLARE LABOR LAWS UNCONSTITUTIONAL, YOU HAVE VOTED FOR INJUNCTIONS AGAINST YOUR STRIKES, YOU HAVE VOTED FOR MILITIA TO SHOOT YOU, YOU HAVE VOTED TO KEEP YOUR CHILDREN OUT OF SCHOOL, YOU HAVE VOTED TO SEND YOUR WIVES TO THE FACTORY, YOU HAVE VOTED FOR LONG HOURS, YOU HAVE VOTED FOR LOW WAGES, YOU HAVE VOTED FOR UNEMPLOYMENT, YOU HAVE VOTED FOR STARVATION, YOU HAVE VOTED FOR A SYSTEM THAT DRIVES MEN TO CRIME AND WOMEN TO PROSTITUTION.

You do not want these things, but you continue to vote for them. You have voted always for your masters, never for yourselves. Workingmen, vote the ticket of the working class, vote for the Social Democratic Party, vote for what you want, vote for courts to issue injunctions against capitalists, vote for officials who will help you in your strikes, vote to put the children of the working class in school, vote for the abolition of child labor, vote for public ownership, vote for high wages, vote for the unemployed, vote for the administration by and for the working class—and in 1902 vote for a working class governor, and in 1904 vote for a Socialist president and national government to bring about common ownership by the people of all mines, mills, machines, factories, railroads, and all the means of producing wealth and thus secure to every man the full product of his labor.

THESE ARE THE THINGS YOU WANT. VOTE FOR THEM: DO NOT THROW AWAY YOUR VOTE BY VOTING FOR WHAT YOU DON'T WANT.

## ROCHESTER. (Continued from page 1.)

and to provide an education for the children of those who are rich enough to pay for it. When that time comes, as it certainly will, when the Social Democrats will control the destinies of this municipality, should the time ever come when I, as a Social Democrat, would be elected mayor of Rochester, I would see to it that sums as large as these, or even larger, if necessary, should be appropriated for the purpose of providing ample school accommodation, free text books and efficient teachers, not for a class or for the wealthy, but for all the people, by enlarging in all the school districts all the schools.

"I would use the position to advance the interests of the trade union movement, in which I, as a Social Democrat, am interested and which the platform of the Social Democratic Party is pledged to support. All city work, and particularly all city printing, should be done by union men, for union wages, under union conditions.

"In conclusion let me impress upon you that, if elected to the office of mayor, I will do everything in my power to advance the interests of those who are now a majority of the people—the laboring class."

On Tuesday evening, Oct. 29, there will be a general meeting of the party at Germania Hall. The principal address of the evening will be made by George E. Bigelow of Lincoln, Neb., a general lecturer for the S. D. P.

## BLACKMAIL ON LAW-BREAKERS.

The "Reformers" Show Us Only One Side of the Picture.

Tribute Paid by Lawless Corporations a Greater Evil Than "Protection" of Petty Criminals — "Reformers". Do Not Discuss This, for a Very Good Reason.

The "reformers" are making a great argument out of the systematic blackmail levied by the Tammany administration upon saloonkeepers who violate the excise laws, upon gambling house keepers, and upon disorderly women. No one has any doubt of the truth of their charges, and no decent man hesitates to condemn the criminal practices they have exposed.

But there is a worse form of official blackmail and of protection to law-breakers, a form far more corrupting and far more dangerous to the public interest than this—and the "reformers" have not a word to say about it.

No man is compelled to frequent saloons, gambling houses, or disorderly resorts unless he wishes to. But the majority of the people are compelled to work in shops and factories, to live in rented houses, to buy the food offered for sale by the merchants, and to ride every day on the street cars. If we are subjected to discomforts and dangers to health and life in these matters—as we are, every day—and if the employers and landlords and franchise companies who thus impose upon us do so in violation of law—as they do all the time—and if the public officials fail to enforce the law against these men—as they do and long have done, both Republicans and Democrats—we have here a form of protection to law-breakers far more injurious and injurious to a far greater number of persons than the protection given to the petty criminals of the slums.

We have certain factory laws on the statute books—laws restricting and regulating the employment of women and children, laws specifying certain sanitary conditions in shops and factories and prescribing the use of certain devices to protect workmen from injury to life or limb.

It is the business of certain Republican state officials and certain Democratic city officials to enforce these laws. They are paid for enforcing them. But they do not do it.

It is more profitable for the employer to violate the law than to obey it. Children are cheaper than men. Safety appliances on dangerous machinery and proper lighting and ventilation in workshops cost money—and the lower the expenses the higher the profits. So the employer violates these laws and "squares himself" with the party in power by contributions to its campaign fund and by occasional bribes to individual officials.

We have certain laws in regard to the construction of tenement houses. They are very mild laws—not one-tenth as vigorous as they ought to be. But they are openly violated. The landlords and building contractors laugh at the laws except just before election time, when the officials make a little show of enforcing them. One result of the violation of these laws is that a good many working people are burned to death every year, because the houses are built of combustible materials, and have narrow, crooked halls and steep stairs and few or no fire-escapes. It is cheaper to build houses that way. Another result is that a shocking proportion of the children of the working class die in infancy, and that the consumption and other contagious and fatal diseases are spreading with alarming rapidity among the working people, because the rooms are too small and the windows and air-shafts too few and fresh air and sunlight cannot get in.

It is cheaper to build houses that way. The contractors' profits and the landlords' net rentals are increased by the violation of these laws. So the contractors and landlords also contribute to the old-party campaign funds and bribe some of the officials and the laws are forgotten.

We have certain laws forbidding the sale of adulterated foods or of foods that are partly spoiled. But they are sold, in spite of the law. Every little while we read how milk is "doctored" with injurious compounds so that it will appear sweet when it is really unfit to drink, how half-spoiled meat is chemically treated to conceal its putridity, how prepared foods of all sorts are adulterated, often with actually poisonous ingredients.

These unwholesome or poisonous foods are sold cheap. Common people have no means of testing the food they buy; to see whether it is pure or not. Their wages are so low and their needs so many that they have to buy the cheapest goods they can get. So the working class is systematically poisoned.

It pays to poison the people—making them pay for the poison. That is why merchants do it in defiance of the law: It is sometimes the small merchant that is to blame, but often a rich corporation. This corporation also contributes to campaign funds and bribes officials and the laws are forgotten.

We have some laws—very mild ones, indeed—ostensibly designed for the protection of employees and passengers on the street railways. The street railway companies find it cheaper to violate these laws—to wear their men beyond the legal limit, to the injury of their health and efficiency and to the serious danger of the public; to jam the passengers like sardines, instead of providing plenty of cars for them; to maintain dangerous grade crossings and disperse with fenders.

By doing these things they succeed in putting into their pockets, as net profits, two and a half cents out of every fare they collect, the other two and a half cents paying the expenses of the roads. They can afford to contribute to the campaign funds of both old parties in order to secure protection in breaking the law, and they do it—besides bribing individual officials.

Jay Gould once said: "In a Republican state I am a Republican; in a Democratic state I am a Democrat; but I am for Erie all the time." That is the policy of the Metropolitan Rail-

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BEARING THIS LABEL ARE O. K.

No Chinese exclusion act needed when up-to-date Union Laundries use this Label to stamp Price List Slips on your laundry packages. Ask for it.

way Company, of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit, of the Manhattan Elevated. One of the Haverleys, of the Sugar Trust, testified a few years ago, before a Congressional committee, that his company regularly made EQUAL contributions to the national campaign funds of BOTH old parties. It was a good scheme, and it applies to local as well as national politics.

The "reformers" are not talking about such "protection to lawbreakers" as this. Mr. Platt, who is supporting them with his machine, knows too much about such things. He might feel hurt if Justice Jerome should mention the matter. And even without Mr. Platt, there are so many of the "respectable reformers" who own stock in the various lawbreaking corporations or own tenements constructed in violation of law, or are otherwise interested in the matter. Those who live in glass houses are very careful about where they throw stones.

If we had proper protection for working people in the shop and factory, if they were properly housed, if they could get plenty of wholesome food, it would involve a greater danger to public health and morality than all the schools and gambling houses and brothels in the city. But we will not get these things until we vote out of power the representatives of the class that profits by the sufferings of the working class and vote into power the representatives of the working class itself.

The factory owners and landlords and contractors and makers and sellers of adulterated food and stockholders of franchise corporations do not want a workingman like Ben Hanford for mayor. That is because he would be a good mayor for the people who do the work and live in the tenements.

## Ratification-Meeting

and RALLY,

OF THE

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

OF THE

4, 8, and 12th Ass.-Dist.,

on MONDAY, OCT. 28th,

at NEW IRVING HALL

Broome near Norfolk Street.

Speakers—BEN HANFORD, candidate for Mayor; MORRIS BROWN, candidate for Controller; MORRIS HILLQUIT, candidate for Assembly, Fourth Assembly District; J. PANKEN, candidate for Assembly, Eighth Assembly District; A. JONAS, candidate for Assembly Twelfth Assembly District; J. GOLDSTEIN, candidate for Alderman, Eighth Assembly District; DR. J. CASPE, candidate for Alderman, Twelfth Assembly District; DR. J. HALPERN, candidate for Alderman, Fourth Assembly District, will preside.

## DON'T TALK SOCIALISM

without studying it first! If you do, you will be unable to answer questions and you may do more harm than good. The book to begin with in studying is "COLLECTIVISM AND INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION," by Emil Vandervelde. Price, in cloth, 50 cents; in paper, 25 cents.

To keep in touch with Socialist thought the world over, you need to read the "International Socialist Review." Edited by A. M. Simons, with contributed articles by the leading Socialist writers of the world. Eighty large pages, ten cents a copy, \$1.00 a year.

Send 60 cents, mentioning The Worker, and we will send a paper copy of "Collectivism" and the "Review" six months.

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## PARTY NOTES.

Regular weekly hall meetings are being held in Richmond with gratifying results and an attendance mainly of trade unionists.

One of the Virginia comrades has had a poster printed, to be used as a seal for letters, reading as follows:

Public Ownership of the Means of Production and Distribution is  
SOCIALISM.

It Means Work, Peace, Plenty and Pleasure for all.  
No Militarism. No Tramps.  
He that will not work, neither shall he eat.  
Incorporated with  
Must be Deported.

That's right! Advertise the movement! As soon as all the people know what we stand for they will be with us.

IN THE COMPOSING ROOM OF one of New York's leading dailies a "straw ballot" was taken the other day, with the result: Thirty-one of the printers said they were going to vote for Low, twenty-nine for Shepard, and fifteen for Hanford. In the composing room of another important morning paper in the city, out of about seventy printers, fifteen are now enrolled as party members, two having applied within the last week; several others are going to vote the ticket. If these figures indicate anything, they indicate a vote for Socialism so large that it will frighten the politicians of both capitalist parties.

ONE OF UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS came into the headquarters of the Brooklyn Socialist Club at Fulton and Ralph avenues last week—a good piece to come into by the way—and after making sure that he was in the right place, said: "Both the old parties have held me up for a campaign, distribution this year, and you people haven't tried to do it; so I decided to give you a day's pay, to help elect Hanford," which he accordingly did. That is the way the Socialist campaign funds are raised, by the willing contributions of wage workers, not by blackmail on criminals or bribes from corporations.

SOCIALISTS IN LAWRENCE, Mass., are very active. The city hall was packed on Oct. 17, when H. Gaylord Walsh spoke.

IN BORDENTOWN, N. J., ON OCT. 21, Chas. H. Vall spoke to a large audience, although there had been no organization there. A local of the party will very likely be organized in the near future, however, as Comrade Vall's clear-cut exposition of Socialism has prepared the way for it.

AT BURLINGTON, N. J., ON OCT. 22, a large Socialist meeting was held at the city hall. The mayor had fretted and fumed all week in an effort to induce the council to stop the meeting, but only with the result of adding to the audience and interest. Comrades Vall and Guebel gave them good Socialist logic, and, if applause is any test, votes were made.

ALL SOCIALISTS IN VIRGINIA should communicate with Comrade Quintana, care Ballard House, Richmond, as it is desired to get up a thorough state organization, at once, with as many Socialists as possible in close touch.

WEST SIDE COMRADES—THAT is, those of the 13th, 13th, 15th, 17th, and 19th Assembly Districts—are called to look up sympathizers who are willing to act as waiters at the falls next Tuesday. Don't delay, but send in names and addresses to Hugo Pick, 326 W. Thirty-eighth street as soon as possible, so that waiters' certificates may be supplied in time.

THE FOURTEENTH ASSEMBLY District is having very successful open-air meetings, and many of the comrades who had apparently gone to sleep are now hard at work. At the business meeting of Oct. 24 it was reported that the first supply of tickets for the Fair were all gone; the first supply of party leaflets and cards were all distributed; a large number of portraits of Hanford had been put up; a considerable quantity of campaign buttons and of due stamps were sold; one hundred copies of the "Pioneer Cabin Boy" were received; The Worker is being regularly distributed in the district; 7,000 more leaflets in English and 2,000 more in German, as well as 900 copies of The Worker were ordered; and by this time nearly distributed; more Fair tickets were also ordered. The comrades of the Fourteenth expect a good vote as a result of all this work. All sympathizers are invited to attend the district meetings, which are held on the second and fourth Thursdays of each month at 228 E. Tenth street, or to communicate with the secretary, Carl Halbmeyer, at the same address.

UNPARALLELED SUCCESS ATTENDED the ratification meeting of the 8th A. D. held at Old Fellows' Hall, 18 Fochy street, last Sunday evening. The ground floor hall had been engaged, but when the time came it was found necessary to take also the large hall on stairs. Both were filled to the utmost limit and great numbers were turned away at the doors. Benjamin Hanford, J. Paaken, Social Democratic candidate for Assembly in the Eighth; B. Zametkin, Joseph Barondoss, and others spoke, amid enthusiastic cheers and applause. The collection amounted to more than \$25—a practical demonstration of the interest felt by the workmen who were present. The Eighth promises better results this year than ever before.

COMRADE SCAMMELL OF Frankfurt, who was in the city this week, reports that Herkimer County will give a good increase in its vote this fall.

LOCAL LUZERNE COUNTY, Pa., took in six new members at its last meetings. All are subscribers of The Worker. It was decided to divide the local into two branches—Wilkes Barre

Branch, to meet at 487 S. Grant street, and West Side Branch, to meet at Nefsky's Hall, Luzerne. The County Committee meets at headquarters, third floor of Tuck Building, 7 S. Main street, Wilkes Barre, on the first Friday of the month, at 7:30 p. m. A thousand cards bearing the candidates' names were ordered, as well as 1,500 circulars explaining that the Socialist state ticket in Pennsylvania will appear on the ballot under the name of "Public Ownership Party," owing to legal complications. Comrades from all parts of the county are requested to visit the headquarters as often as possible, and all workmen are invited to call and get acquainted with the movement. Reading matter is always on hand and the comrades are glad to meet strangers. The outlook for Socialism was never better in Luzerne County. The party has more members than ever before and the working people are showing more interest in our principles. There is plenty for every comrade to do in the campaign. Call at headquarters and the Organizer will give you instructions.

THE WAIT-MAKERS' UNION has endorsed Jacob Panken, Social Democratic candidate for Assembly in the 4th A. D. The club "Sun," which is publishing interviews with Henry White, declaring that the parent workers are all out for Low and Jerome, has not seen fit to mention this fact. The wait-makers remember their strike of last summer, and they remember that when the Democratic mayor sent police to arrest their pickets, it was the Social Democrats and not the "reformers" that stood by them in their struggle.

THE YORKVILLE PARADE, held last Sunday, was a most impressive demonstration. It formed at Bohemia Hall, in Seventy-third street, and marched all through the workingmen's quarters from there up to Eighth street, where mass meetings were held, addressed by Benjamin Hanford, candidate for Mayor; J. Paaken, Richard Hook, and Algernon Lee, our candidates for Assembly in the Twenty-sixth, Twenty-eighth, and Thirtieth Districts; Wm. Butcher, and others. A pleasing feature of the parade was the greeting it received from the sidewalks and from the tenement windows. Red flags waved from many a house along the way, and the red fire and rockets, although not so abundant as at an old-party parade, bore testimony to the spontaneous enthusiasm of the working people, not to the "harsh" of a political ring.

LEONARD D. ABBOTT LECTURED to a large audience last Sunday evening at the 23d and 24th A. D. headquarters, 215 E. Fifty-ninth street. Two men joined the party organization. Sunday evening, Nov. 3, Alexander Fraser will speak on "Crime and Its Causes." All are invited. On Monday evening the campaign committee will have a wagon out with speakers and will hold meetings at as many corners as can be reached. Both districts have been canvassed from house to house with S. D. P. literature, and a doubling of the vote is confidently predicted.

"NOW AND THEN," FREDERICK KRAFT's Socialist play, was given by the Dramatic Club Belmont last Saturday night at the W. E. A. Clubhouse, 3500 Third Avenue. It was a big success than was expected. The audience, mostly composed of strangers, was most pleased and impressed. The cast was as follows: "Jack Williams," Frederick Kraft; "Miss H. A. Hart," Miss H. A. Hart; "Maggie Hart," Miss M. Ibsen; "John," J. Kammerer; "Salvation Lassie," Miss M. Ehrbar; "Prophecy," Miss M. Ibsen; "Hillman," J. Ibsen; "Jarvis," Ed. Loewenthal; "Ferris," J. Nutter; "Anna," Miss E. Ibsen. The effect was especially shown by the eagerness with which copies of the play in pamphlet form were bought after the curtain went down. Other organizations will do well to produce "Now and Then," both as a pleasant feature of an evening's entertainment and as a piece of propaganda work. The book can be had of the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street. Single copy, 10 cents; 10 copies for 75 cents.

In the 23d A. D. Comrades Neppel, Sinniger, Bauer, and others are working hard, and they expect to increase the vote as a consequence. A comrade has been engaged who is covering the entire district with literature in a house to house canvass, and this in addition to distribution being done by the other comrades. The open-air meetings are successful and encouraging.

THE 12TH A. D. RATIFICATION meeting in New Irving Hall last Monday evening was one of the most successful held during the campaign. The hall was packed and Ben Hanford, Morris Hillquit, and Alexander Jonas, candidate for Assembly, were warmly received.

CHARLES HEYDRICK OF ERIE, Pa., was in the city last week and spoke at several open-air meetings.

THE EAST SIDE ORGANIZATION of the S. D. P. will hold a parade on Monday evening, Nov. 4, starting from the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. 4th street at 8 o'clock and terminating at Rutgers Square, where meetings will be held. All comrades are requested to turn out.

WM. BUTCHER LECTURED FOR the 23d A. D. at Beckman Hall, 142d street and Eighth Avenue, last Sunday evening in place of Comrade Peter L. Burrows, who was indisposed. The lecture was well attended and the discussion that followed was unusually interesting. Leonard D. Abbott will lecture this Sunday evening on "New York for Socialism."

THE SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA Club lecturer at 104 Court street, Brooklyn, last Sunday, was John Spargo with "Our Position Economic, Ethical, and Political," as his subject. It was pronounced one of the best ever delivered in Brooklyn and created enthusiasm. This Sunday evening Courtenay Lemon lectures on "The Issue of the Municipal Campaign."

## SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN.

BY LEONARD D. ABBOTT.

The real difference between Tammany and Republicanism is this: Tammany stands for a kind of second-class citizenship that is not "respectable," and that has to be carried on underground. It is a second-class citizenship that includes rank political corruption and spoils politics, on the other hand, stands for a kind of second-class citizenship that is perfectly respectable, but no less execrable. It is the second-class citizenship of an industrial system based on pillage robbery and oppression, the second-class citizenship of a capitalist greed pursuing its ends amid suffering and poverty at home and amid blood and tears abroad.

The Socialist "attention that the two old parties are simply the two sides of the same shield—Tweedledum and Tweedledee—has seldom been more strikingly exemplified than in the present campaign. In their general philosophy of life, their avowed principles and ideals if they can be said to have any, the two candidates, Low and Shepard, are almost identical. With one wealthy college president and the other a corporation lawyer, what more do you want? The humorous part of the situation is that, although we are assured by both parties to the contrary that if the opposing candidate is elected the city will go to the dogs, yet the two men are so much alike that for a long time Shepard was considered the most likely standard-bearer of the "Reform." For, and Color, as was so widely advertised, coyly dangled with both nominations for weeks. Nor does it require very much imagination to put Low at the head of the Tammany ticket. Why not have one great Demo-Republican party and be done with it?

We are told that if Low is elected we shall have municipal "honesty," which is doubtless a very desirable thing. Judging from past experience, however, those who expect to see the fulfillment of this prophecy are destined to be grievously disappointed. How is it possible to establish an oasis of political honesty in the midst of a commercial system which is permeated through and through with dishonesty? Are not the statesmen who frankly confess that they are "working for

their own pockets all the time" simply applying business methods to politics? We are all "working for our own pockets all the time." These words might not inaptly be adopted as the motto of capitalism. Low and his henchmen will probably never wake up to the fact that his class—the capitalist class—is what is really responsible for political corruption. It is the clash of private interests with public well-being that degrades politics. Political corruption will disappear as last, together with the system that breeds it, when production for profit is supplanted by production for use. Meanwhile every private industry absorbed in public government and administered democratically removes one more corroding influence from the body politic.

Justice Jerome says that the only issue of the campaign is "Thou shalt not steal." Socialists will not quarrel with this statement, but take a decidedly different view of the matter. The "stealing" than does Jerome, Jerome is only after political thieves; the S. D. P. is after much bigger game than that. We want to put an end to stealing, first and foremost, on the industrial field. We want to stop the "dividing up" that gives to a handful of capitalists wealth untold, and to the most useful members of society, the workers, misery untold.

There can be only fundamental issue for the Socialist. It is this: Shall we of this community live together as masters and slaves, or as comrades and equals? Shall the power of capital rule this city or the power of labor? Shall human life be forever cramped, degraded, stifled, or shall it be allowed to rise to its full stature?

## MISSOURI CONVENTION.

Held at Sedalia, Despite Protests of "Citizens' Alliance"—A Successful Gathering.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the "Citizens' Alliance," which forbade the mayor to allow the Socialists the use of the city hall, and threatened with boycott any landlord who dared to rent a building to the party, the Missouri Socialist state convention, held at Sedalia, on Saturday, Oct. 19, was a great success. The convention was held in a large store room, furnished by a local lodge of the Knights of Pythias. The delegates were cordially received by the people, and were shown many courtesies, proving that the Citizens' Alliance represented nothing but the ignorance and bigotry of its members. Every newspaper in the city gave the first two columns of the first page to an impartial account of the convention. Not a word has been overheard to indicate that there is anyone in the city who believes Socialists to be anarchists.

On Friday evening a large and thoroughly successful public meeting was held. The audience was addressed by Comrades Lyscom, Hoehn, and Mills. The principles of Socialism were concisely explained and the Citizens' Alliance was sarcastically exposed; the delight of the audience. The convention was called to order on Saturday morning, Oct. 19, thirty-five delegates, representing fifteen towns and 433 votes, were present. Permanent organization was perfected in accordance with the provisions of the Indianapolis Unity Convention.

A constitution was adopted, providing for a state committee with one from each congressional district and a local quorum of five, headquarters being located at St. Louis, with E. Val Tardana as state secretary-treasurer, and Wm. J. Hager, Louis Kober, S. A. McIntire, A. J. Lawrence, and J. E. Hager as the local quorum from St. Louis.

Geo. H. Turner was elected national committeeman. "Missouri Socialists" was made the property of the state organization and will be the official organ of the organization and on the kidnapping of strikers led at Tampa, Fla. The citizens of Sedalia were thanked for their hospitality. The Citizens' Alliance was ignored by the convention, although the speakers at the mass meetings roasted it well.

It was 7 p. m. when the convention finished its work, and as the delegates left the hall the people were filling in to attend the mass meeting at which Eugene V. Debs was billed to speak. At 7:15 a brass band took its position in the street before the hall and let the people know there was a Socialist meeting in town.

The train bearing Comrade Debs was very late, and Comrade Walter Thomas Mills held the crowd of 1,000 people that packed the hall to the doors. At 9 o'clock Debs arrived and was greeted with a demonstration. The audience stood up and hurrahed and the band played the "Marseillaise." For an hour and a half the speaker kept the attention of the big audience, and when he closed men, women, and children pressed forward to shake him by the hand.

Thus triumphantly closed the Missouri State Convention of Socialists. The attempt at suppression, the appeal to ignorance by the Citizens' Alliance had its effect even earlier than expected, and the Socialist Party of Missouri had doubled its strength. The organization is now complete and the Socialists of every county can have up the work with zeal, knowing that success will crown their efforts.

BUT UNION LABEL GOODS.

## IN THE THIRTIETH.

Letter of Acceptance of Algernon Lee, Social Democratic Candidate for Assembly in the 30th A. D.

To the Social Democratic Party of the Thirtieth Assembly District, New York.

Fellow Workmen:—It is with pleasure that I have accepted your nomination for the office of Assemblyman from the 30th A. D. because I know no higher honor than to be chosen as a fit representative of the political movement of the working class in this, its time of struggle and growth.

It is proper that I should briefly state my position to the workmen voters of the district. In accepting your nomination I accept fully the principles and purposes of the Social Democratic Party as laid down in its national, state, and city platforms. As your representative in the Assembly, I shall consider myself as the servant of the working class of the district, chosen to serve their interests alone, and responsible to them alone.

No workman can afford to shut his eyes to the fact that he belongs to a different class from his employer and his landlord, and that his interests are opposed to theirs. The interests of the class which produces all wealth and lives in poverty and the interests of the class which owns all wealth while it produces nothing cannot be reconciled. So long as one class owns the means of production which the other class creates and operates, so long there must be arrogant tyranny and corrupting luxury on one side, degradation and poverty on the other.

This conflict of the classes, this Labor Question, is essentially a political question. The capitalists never hesitate to use the political power to carry out their purposes against the working class. The workmen must unite to take possession of the political power and use it to resist the attacks of the capitalists and put an end to capitalist rule.

This is what the Social Democratic Party is in the field for. Socialism offers the only hope of freedom and justice to the toiling majority of humanity, because Socialism means the ownership of the tools of production by those who make and use them—means work for all and to each the full fruit of his labor. It is only by the votes of the working class that Socialism can be put into effect.

Until Socialism is established, the working class will have to fight with all the means in its power, day by day and year by year, against capitalist aggression. Strikes and boycotts, lockouts and blacklisting will be fiercer in the future than in the past. In order to make our strikes and boycotts successful, in order to defeat the lockouts and blacklists of our enemies, we must have representatives of the working class, elected by workmen's votes, on a labor platform, in legislative halls and executive chambers and on the bench, in city hall and state-house and national capitol. It is for this that the Social Democratic Party exists.

The workmen of the Thirtieth Assembly District, who form the majority of its population, have need to bear this thought in mind on November 5. To have aldermen who will pass ordinances for the protection of the working class against the greed of factory owners, contractors, street railway corporations and the like, to have aldermen who will fight for labor laws that cannot be evaded; to have judges who will not issue injunctions against strikers and who will find labor laws constitutional every time; to have a mayor who will use the police, not to arrest pickets and "protect" scabs, but to execute the law in the interest of the producers—every vote cast for that purpose this fall will help us to win

our strikes and enforce our union regulations against the bosses."

With BENJAMIN HANFORD and MORRIS BROWN and HENRY STAHL at the head of the Social Democratic ticket, there can be no doubt that the Social Democratic Party means every word that it says. In ADOLPH GROEHINGER, the Social Democratic candidate for Alderman, the workmen of this district have reason to put equal confidence. For myself, I can only thank you for the honor of being made the colleague of such candidates and pledge my intention of deserving the honor. With the earnest hope that the vote of the Thirtieth Assembly District under the Arm and Torch may be such as to carry wariness to the capitalists and encouragement to the working class throughout the city, I am

Fraternally yours,  
ALGERNON LEE.

COME AND SEE THEM: Pat Malloy's pictures will be exhibited at the Socialist Club, Fulton street and Ralph Avenue, Brooklyn, Saturday evening at 8:15. Pat Malloy was a Socialist shoemaker, and whenever an inspirational story may be such as to carry wariness to the capitalists and encouragement to the working class throughout the city, I am

On account of the indisposition of Pat Malloy, the pictures will be explained by Peter E. Burrows.

HELP THE CUTTERS. In view of the workmen of collar cutters at Troy, workmen should take notice of this list of firms now using the union label, as furnished us by the National President of the Collar, Shirt, and Waist Cutters' Union:

Union Collar Co., collars and cuffs, Troy, N. Y.

Huth & Fischer, shirts and waists, Albany, N. Y.

Gautier and Carpenter, shirts, Philadelphia.

J. Bumbacker & Son, shirts, Philadelphia.

Victor Shirt Co., shirts and waists, Cincinnati, O.

Adams Mfg. Co., shirts, Wheeling, W. Va.

By purchasing only the goods bearing the label, you will help those who are fighting for decent conditions of labor.

## WHERE THE FUNDS COME FROM.

The treasurer of the Citizens' Union stated the other day, that the fund of \$100,000 to carry on its share of the "reform" campaign and that of the \$25,000 so far raised, \$22,000 had been contributed by four men and the other \$3,000 came in sums of from \$5 to \$500. It is very evident what class the Citizens' Union fund comes from—the same class that contributes to both the old machines. Most of the capitalist anti-Tammany contributions, of course, to the Republican organization which is in league with the Citizens' Union.

Compare this "reform" fund with that of the Social Democratic Party and you will have an explanation of the difference between the parties. Our total campaign fund will probably not reach \$2,000. But that sum will represent the free contributions—often at considerable personal sacrifice—of hundreds of poor and workingmen. No capitalist has offered us \$7,000 (the amount of the largest check in the Citizens' Union list) or even \$500, and we have not solicited money, as the Citizens' Union is doing "from business firms" because we are not in politics for the benefit of business firms.

There are still FIVE FULL days for distributing campaign literature. There is still literature to be distributed. Don't fail to do your full duty.

## WIVES, MOTHERS, SISTERS, SWEETHEARTS OF UNION MEN

—SHOULD—Join the American Federation of Women.

Many a battle has been won because of the support of the women and many battles have been lost because that support was lacking. Every merchant realizes that the women spend the money and every man knows that without their favor his business will suffer. It behooves every one of us to aid our husbands and brothers, for their fight is our fight, and their welfare our welfare. Every woman in the American Federation is equal to ten men in their organizations, and we can do more to spread the union label, to carry on boycotts and to advance the cause of unionism generally than you realize until you attend our meetings.

New York Branch meets every Thursday evening at Colonial Hall, One Hundred and First street and Columbus Avenue.

Brooklyn Branch meets in Johnson Building, Flatbush Avenue and Nevins street, every second and fourth Monday.

For information address:

MRS. J. SYNNOTT,  
1044 Park Avenue, New York.  
You are cordially invited and urged to attend our meetings.

MORRIS HILLQUIT,  
Attorney-at-Law,  
320 Broadway, Telephone 2576 Franklin

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## PENNSYLVANIA.

WILKES-BARRE—Local Luzerne Co., Pa., Socialist Party meets every Sunday at 3 p. m., at 487 South Grant street. All Socialists are invited.

## Arbeiter-Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse fuer die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.

## WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workingmen with the spirit of solidarity and Socialist thought. Its strength, at present composed of 180 local branches with more than 21,500 male members is rapidly increasing among workingmen. The principles of the modern labor movement are age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches upon payment of an initiation fee of \$2.00 for the first class and \$3.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the second class receive monthly contributions of \$2.00 and are entitled to a sick benefit of \$10.00 per week for 13 weeks, or for another 40 weeks, whether continuous or with interruptions. Members belonging to the first class receive monthly contributions of \$3.00 and are entitled to a sick benefit of \$15.00 per week for 13 weeks, or for another 40 weeks, whether continuous or with interruptions. Members belonging to the third class receive monthly contributions of \$4.00 and are entitled to a sick benefit of \$20.00 per week for 13 weeks, or for another 40 weeks, whether continuous or with interruptions. Members belonging to the fourth class receive monthly contributions of \$5.00 and are entitled to a sick benefit of \$25.00 per week for 13 weeks, or for another 40 weeks, whether continuous or with interruptions. Members belonging to the fifth class receive monthly contributions of \$6.00 and are entitled to a sick benefit of \$30.00 per week



## NO MERELY LOCAL CAMPAIGNS.

This is a year of what are commonly called local campaigns. No national officers are to be elected next Tuesday. Only seven states are to elect state officers, while a few others are to choose a part of their legislatures. In general the interest is centered on the choice of city and county officers, and there is a common idea that the issues in such local elections are different from those in national elections and that each city has issues of its own.

That is an entirely false idea. As Fred Long truly said in addressing the ratification meeting of the Social Democratic Party in this city last month, there is, so far as the working class is concerned, no such thing as local politics or local issues. The same industrial conditions everywhere produce the same political results.

The same corruption which exists in the Democratic government of New York is found in the Republican government of Philadelphia. Just as strikers have been clubbed under a Republican mayor in St. Louis, they have been clubbed under a Democratic mayor in San Francisco. Just as injunctions have been issued against trade unions by Republican judges in Ohio and Connecticut, they have been issued by Democratic judges in Kentucky and Missouri. Just as labor laws have been defeated, declared unconstitutional, or openly violated under Republican state governments in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, so have they been treated under Democratic state governments in Georgia, Colorado, and Washington. East and West, North and South, in state and city as well as in national affairs, we find the two old parties acting in the same way, so far as the working class is concerned—always against the working class in all its conflicts with its masters.

And the reason is that the interests of the workers are everywhere the same and everywhere opposed to the interests of the capitalists; both old parties stand for the continuance of the system of private ownership of the means of production, out of which this class struggle arises; and that wealth is so far concentrated, the control of industry so centralized, the capitalist class so closely organized, that both old parties take their cue, directly or indirectly, in all matters that affect the relations of Labor and Capital, from the same headquarters—from the cabinet of the autocrat of America's industry, J. Pierpont Morgan, at the corner of Wall Street and Broad.

Under such a condition there can be

no truly local issues in any campaign. For the working class there is only one great issue, the same everywhere and all the time—the issue of Labor against Capital. Capitalist politicians of both old parties may hold joint sessions and rack their brains for new fake issues to divert the workingmen's minds and divide their votes, but this one issue WILL NOT DOWN. It will never cease to trouble them until it is settled right, till the very foundation of their power is overthrown, till the working class triumphs and the Co-operative Commonwealth is set up.

Whether New York shall throw off the rule of Richard Croker, whether Philadelphia shall throw off the rule of Matt Quay, whether Chicago shall throw off the rule of Carter Harrison—these are questions of absolutely no moment to nine-tenths of the people.

Whether Labor shall throw off the rule of Capital in all its forms, under all names and disguises—that is the one question. Whatever we say or have said of New York City in this campaign applies to every city where the people are to vote next Tuesday. Philadelphia tenements may not be quite so unhealthy as those of New York; Boston's sweatshops may not be quite so bad; the police of Rochester may not have been used quite so systematically against the workers; Jersey City's schools may not be quite so inadequate to the needs of the working class population. But all these questions exist in all our cities, and in all they are crying out to the working class for solution. When we denounce the misgovernment of Tammany and the hypocrisy of the "reformers" in New York City and call upon the workingmen of New York City to vote for Socialism—then we say to the workers of every other city or state, "Do to fabula," of you also are all these things true, to you also is this call made. What Benjamin Hanford stands for in New York, that same thing stands for in Rochester, in Jersey City, and in Mahlon Barnes in Pennsylvania, and Harry C. Thompson in Ohio, and all the candidates of our party—and that which they stand for everywhere else. GOVERNMENT BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WORKING CLASS FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WORKING CLASS, WITH THE FINAL AIM OF PUTTING AN END TO CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION AND ESTABLISHING THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

now prosper through the poverty of the workers. And by these means and such as these it will ASSURE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR EDUCATION TO ALL THE CHILDREN.

## VOTE FOR SCHOOLS.

Vote for the Only Party That Has an Interest in Educating the Workers.

The godly people who live on profit, interest, and rent drawn from the labor of the working class, and who amuse themselves and make their consciences by what is called "charity work," are never tired of telling how "dirty and ignorant" the working people of the tenements are.

If a great many of the people in the tenements are ignorant—and they are not all so; many are more thoughtful and more truly intelligent than the dwellers on Fifth Avenue—but if a great many are ignorant, WHOSE FAULT IS IT? The children from the tenements' homes, the schools and thousands are turned away for lack of room. IF THE GODLY PEOPLE WHO LIVE ON FIFTH AVENUE DID NOT DODGE 88 PER CENT. OF THEIR PERSONAL TAXES, THERE WOULD BE PLENTY OF MONEY TO BUILD SCHOOLS.

Some of these godly people are supporting the Democratic party, which allows them to dodge their taxes. Others are supporting the Republican-reform aggregation, which promises to reduce the tax rate, so as to save them the trouble of dodging. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, IF PUT IN POWER, WILL NEITHER REDUCE TAXES NOR ALLOW THEM TO BE DODGED. IT WILL USE THE STRONG ARM OF THE GOVERNMENT TO MAKE THE CAPITALISTS PAY ALL THE TAXES NEEDED TO BUILD SCHOOLS FOR ALL THE CHILDREN OF THE PEOPLE.

Thousands and tens of thousands of the children cannot go to school for another reason. Either they have to go to work on the street or in the shop to eke out the miserable wages of the father, or the mothers have to go out to work and the older children have to stay at home to take care of the younger ones. The parents would like to educate their children, but they cannot afford it, because whatever the father can save from his scanty earnings has to be laid away against the time when he will be "out of a job."

The capitalists may be willing to have the children of the workers grow up in ignorance. That would furnish an excuse for disfranchising them. The Socialists insist on education for all.

The Social Democratic Party, if put in power, will not stop with building schools and employing teachers. It will ENFORCE THE LAWS AGAINST CHILD LABOR and restrict the employment of women so far as possible. It will PROVIDE FOOD AND CLOTHING FOR THE CHILDREN, whenever the parents cannot afford it—not as charity, but simply as a measure of partial justice and public necessity. It will establish NURSERIES AND KINDERGARTENS in sufficient number for the proper care of the homes whose mothers are still compelled to go out to work. It will inaugurate public works FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF MEN WHOM CAPITALISM THROWS OUT OF WORK. It will use the public powers to HELP WORKINGMEN WIN THEIR STRIKES.

It will do these things at the expense of high taxes on the capitalists who

## SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

## List of Candidates Whose Names Will Appear Under the Arm and Torch in Greater New York.

FOR MAYOR—BENJAMIN HANFORD.  
FOR CONTROLLER—MORRIS BROWN.  
FOR PRESIDENT BOARD OF ALDERMEN—HENRY STAHL.

COUNTY TICKETS.  
NEW YORK COUNTY.  
For Justices of the Supreme Court—L. B. Boudin, Philip Bauer, L. A. McKiel, Gustave Dressler.  
For Sheriff—H. Korn.  
For County Clerk—Edward Martin.  
For Register—Henry E. Oliver.  
For District Attorney—Henry L. Slobodin.

For Justice City Court—Theodore Kerfs.  
KINGS COUNTY.  
For Sheriff—Henry Studt.  
For County Clerk—Joseph W. Doolley.

For Register—William Koenig.  
For Surrogate—Alexander Fraser.  
For Judges of the County Court—Peter E. Burrows, Thomas Hopkins.  
RICHMOND COUNTY.  
For District Attorney—Max Theimer.  
For Assembly—Otto Kruse.

BOROUGH TICKETS.  
BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN.  
For President—Leonard D. Abbott.  
For Corners—J. J. Mintz, John A. Kilgus, Fred. Richter, Dr. M. Romm.

BOROUGH OF BROOKLYN.  
For President—Peter J. Flanagan.  
For Corners—Dr. William C. Hager, Fred. Lackenbacher.  
For Police Magistrates—Theodore F. Cuno, Thomas T. Dyer.

BOROUGH OF BRONX.  
For President—Samuel Wolf Elges.  
For Corners—Gustav Faulhaber, Adolf Siller.

BOROUGH OF RICHMOND.  
For President—Jacob Braun.  
For Corners—Christian L. Grand.  
BOROUGH OF QUEENS.  
For President—Christopher Barag.  
For Corners—William Conrad, Jacob Nil.

FOR MEMBERS OF ASSEMBLY.  
NEW YORK COUNTY.

First A. D.—No nomination.  
Second—John Nagel.  
Third—Adolph Loebstrand.  
Fourth—Morris Hilquit.  
Fifth—Edward Brown.  
Sixth—Wm. J. F. Hanneiman.  
Seventh—Jacob Huber.  
Eighth—Jacob Panken.  
Ninth—No nomination.  
Tenth—John Ellich.  
Eleventh—Edward F. Cassidy.  
Twelfth—Alexander Jones.  
Thirteenth—Charles Weyell.  
Fourteenth—Rudolf Modest.  
Fifteenth—Bodo Braune.  
Sixteenth—Solomon Feldman.  
Seventeenth—Charles Frickly.  
Eighteenth—Peter Klippel.  
Nineteenth—Charles Holms.  
Twentieth—Frederick Paulitsch.  
Twenty-first—John Abromelt.  
Twenty-second—August F. Wegener.  
Twenty-third—Emil Neppel.  
Twenty-fourth—Edward Loewenthal.  
Twenty-fifth—No nomination.  
Twenty-sixth—Isadore Phillips.  
Twenty-seventh—No nomination.  
Twenty-eighth—Richard Bock.  
Twenty-ninth—George Tauber.  
Thirtieth—No nomination.  
Thirty-first—Frederick Thomas.  
Thirty-second—William Edlin.  
Thirty-third—Christopher Dittman.  
Thirty-fourth—John H. Rowe.  
Thirty-fifth—Charles A. Gall.

KINGS COUNTY.

First—Raphael Buck.  
Second—No nomination.  
Third—Warren Atkinson.  
Fourth—No nomination.  
Fifth—Ernest Bergman.  
Sixth—Henry Jander.  
Seventh—Louis Blankenfeld.  
Eighth—No nomination.  
Ninth—Oscar Hill.  
Tenth—William Wallace Passage.  
Eleventh—No nomination.  
Twelfth—Michael Schmitzler.  
Thirteenth—William Stammer.  
Fourteenth—J. B. Clayton.  
Fifteenth—Benjamin Feigenbaum.  
Sixteenth—Charles Vanderboeck.  
Seventeenth—Henry A. Murden.  
Eighteenth—Joseph Schock.  
Nineteenth—Charles Gackenhelmer.  
Twentieth—Leo Schmidt.  
Twenty-first—C. L. Furman.

WESTCHESTER COUNTY.  
Second—L. E. Dickert.

QUEENS COUNTY.  
First—Peter Heller.  
Second—Christopher Bub.

FOR ALDERMEN.  
BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN.

First Alderman in District—No nomination.  
Second—David Michalowski.  
Third—Anton Maier.  
Fourth—Julius Halpern.  
Fifth—John F. Handlan.  
Sixth—Louis Simon.  
Seventh—Ernest Werner.  
Eighth—Joseph Aaron Goldstein.  
Ninth—No nomination.  
Tenth—Philip H. Schmitt.  
Eleventh—John Assel.  
Twelfth—Abraham Caspe.  
Thirteenth—Charles Schifano.  
Fourteenth—George Linder.  
Fifteenth—Fred Bauer.  
Sixteenth—Isaac H. Lefkowitz.  
Seventeenth—Henry Haur.  
Eighteenth—John Bauer.  
Nineteenth—Fred Schaefer.  
Twentieth—Carl Anders.  
Twenty-first—William Paschling.  
Twenty-second—Otto Seeger.  
Twenty-third—Jacob Shapiro.  
Twenty-fourth—C. A. Sprenger.  
Twenty-fifth—Ludwig Sohr.  
Twenty-sixth—Morris Sachs.  
Twenty-seventh—No nomination.  
Twenty-eighth—Henry Engel.  
Twenty-ninth—No nomination.  
Thirtieth—Wilhelm Ernst.  
Thirty-first—Eugene A. Kohn.  
Thirty-second—August Grochinger.  
Thirty-third—Jacob Bull.  
Thirty-fourth—Frank M. Hill.  
Thirty-fifth—John J. Cohn.  
Thirty-sixth—Joseph Cohn.  
Thirty-seventh—Herman Reich.  
Thirty-eighth—James Graber.

BOROUGH OF BRONX.

Thirty-ninth—Rudolph Wyssman.  
Fortieth—George Finger.  
Forty-first—Albert Halpern.  
Forty-second—N. I. Stone.  
Forty-third—No nomination.  
Forty-fourth—George Lamson.  
Forty-fifth—John Lecher.  
Forty-sixth—No nomination.  
Forty-seventh—Frederick Heimermann.  
Forty-eighth—No nomination.  
Forty-ninth—Morris Isaacson.  
Fiftieth—Frank Petrusik.  
Fifty-first—Carl Meier.  
Fifty-second—David Hoeck.  
Fifty-third—No nomination.  
Fifty-fourth—John P. Hofstead.  
Fifty-fifth—Julius Bychower.  
Fifty-sixth—No nomination.  
Fifty-seventh—Henry Schultheis.  
Fifty-eighth—Henry Feldner.  
Fifty-ninth—Edward Henckler.  
Sixtieth—Benjamin Katz.  
Sixty-first—James H. Patterson.  
Sixty-second—William F. McCarier.  
Sixty-third—August Dreote.  
Sixty-fourth—Joseph Kaleb.  
Sixty-fifth—David Sebastian Bock.  
Sixty-sixth—S. J. Cullman.

BOROUGH OF QUEENS.

Sixty-seventh—Frank Zim.  
Sixty-eighth—Stephen Wenzel.  
Sixty-ninth—No nomination.  
Seventieth—Jacob Zuck.

BOROUGH OF RICHMOND.

Seventy-first—Gustave Theimer.  
Seventy-second—Christopher Ward.  
Seventy-third—John Koellner.

POLICE MAGISTRATES—SECOND JUDICIAL DIVISION, BOROUGH OF BROOKLYN.

Second Congressional District—Henry Weiss.  
Third—Ferdinand Gruenwald.  
Fourth—Carl Fahl.  
Fifth—John H. Ward.  
Sixth—Gottlieb Nordhorst.  
Seventh—Peter Seitz.

OPEN-AIR MEETINGS IN GREATER NEW YORK.

Open-air meetings will be held in the following places during the coming week. Platform committees are instructed to have platforms, literature, banners, etc., on hand promptly at 8 p. m. at the appointed places. Speakers should also appear on time.

MANHATTAN.  
FRIDAY, Nov. 1—8th A. D. N. W. Broome and Ludlow. Speakers: Weinstein, Pine, Goldstein.  
14th A. D. N. W. 12th street and Avenue A. Speakers: Modest, Havdood.

15th A. D. N. E. 50th street and 9th avenue. Speakers: Nebel, Finger.  
16th A. D. N. E. 9th street and Avenue C. Speakers: Matly, Phillips.  
20th A. D. N. E. 32d street and 2d avenue. Speakers: Nicholson, Feldman.

24th A. D. N. E. 60th street and 2d avenue. Speakers: Lee, Miss Dahme.  
SATURDAY, Nov. 2—3d A. D. N. W. Hleecker and Christopher streets. Speakers: Mayes, Searing.  
8th A. D. Junction Bayard and Division streets. Speakers: Panken, Goldstein, Weinstein.  
12th A. D. Junction Division and Grand. Speakers: Edlin, Greenberg.  
6th A. D. N. W. Houston and 2d avenue. Speakers: Sieburg, Schmitt, Sherman.  
14th A. D. N. W. St. Marks Place and Avenue A. Speakers: Reichenthal, Modest.  
22d A. D. N. E. 44th street and 3d avenue. Speakers: Loewenthal, Miss Dahme.  
30th A. D. N. W. 72d street and 1st avenue. Speakers: Matly, Phillips.  
28th A. D. N. W. 77th street and 1st avenue. Speakers: Nicholson, Lemon.  
30th A. D. N. W. 84th street and 1st avenue. Speakers: Butcher, Lee.  
16th A. D. N. W. 7th street and Avenue C. Speakers: Feldman, Lefkowitz.

MONDAY, Nov. 4—24th A. D. N. W. 58th street and 2d avenue. Speakers: Loewenthal, Matly.  
30th A. D. N. W. 80th street and 2d avenue. Speakers: L. Lemon.  
32d A. D. N. W. 110th street and 3d avenue. Speakers: Edlin, Malkiel.

PARADE OF EAST SIDE DISTRICTS.  
Form at Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth street, 8 p. m. Proceeds to Second avenue to 14th street, to Avenue A, to 10th street, to Avenue C, to Houston, to Pitt, to Livingston, to Madison, to Morgan, to Norfolk, to Division, to Governor, to East Broadway, to Montgomery, to Henry, to Rutgers, to East Broadway, to Rutgers Square. Meetings will be held, N. W. Bleeker and Christopher streets; junction of Bayard and Division streets; and junction of Division and Grand streets. Speakers: Alexander Jonas, Modest, Heuser, Sieburg, Panken, Goldstein, Feldman, Nebel, Mayes, Nicholson, Searing, Weinstein, M. Hilquit, Dr. Halpern, Dr. Caspe.

BROOKLYN.  
FRIDAY, Nov. 1—6th A. D. Sumner avenue and Broadway. Speakers: Doolley, Buck.  
10th A. D. Rockaway avenue and Broadway. Speakers: Burrows, Lackenbacher.  
19th A. D. Jefferson street and Broadway. Speakers: Weil, Buck.  
SATURDAY, Nov. 2—12th A. D. 7th avenue and 14th street. Speakers: Doolley, Atkinson.  
20th A. D. Irving avenue and Stanhope street. Speakers: Weil, Buck.  
7th A. D. Fort Hamilton avenue and 4th street. Speakers: Burrows, Lackenbacher, Ward.  
MONDAY, Nov. 4—20th A. D. Jefferson avenue and Broadway. Speakers: Weil, Meyer, Buck.  
21st A. D. Pennsylvania and Atlantic avenues. Speakers: Dr. Furman, Fraser, Atkinson.  
15th A. D. Manhattan avenue and Broadway. Speakers: Buck, Doolley, Globin.  
Also Manhattan avenue and Moore street. Speakers: Feigenbaum, Lurie.  
BRONX.  
SATURDAY, Nov. 2—Parade and ratification meeting. Speakers: Finger, Spargo.  
MONDAY, Nov. 4—14th street and

Willis avenue. Speakers: Finger, Phillips.  
RICHMOND.  
SATURDAY, Nov. 2—Port Richmond, S. I. Speakers: Havdood, Ward, QUEENS.

MONDAY, Nov. 4—Strob's Hall, Woodward and Greene avenues, Wyckoff Heights. Speakers: Spargo, Siebert.

INDOOR MEETINGS.  
MANHATTAN.  
SUNDAY, Nov. 3—RATIFICATION MEETING, 3 p. m., 16th A. D. Lenox Assembly Rooms, 252-254-256 Second street. Speakers: Hanford, Miss Dahme, Baroness, Hilquit, Feldman, Lefkowitz.

BROOKLYN.  
FRIDAY, Nov. 1—RATIFICATION MEETING, 15th A. D. Speakers: Hanford, Feigenbaum.

SATURDAY, Nov. 2—RATIFICATION MEETING, 20th A. D. Koch's Hall, 257 Hamburg avenue. Speakers: Hanford, M. Brown.

SUNDAY, Nov. 3—RATIFICATION MEETING, 12th A. D. 3 p. m., South Brooklyn Turn Hall, 15th street, near 5th avenue. Speakers: Hanford, Furman.

CLEANLINESS AND GOODLINESS.

Vote for a Policy That Will Will Make a Decent Life Possible for the Producers.

"Cleanliness is next to godliness," is an old saying and a true one. If it be not the fact that cleanliness is more important than godliness, it must at least be admitted that it is a more fundamental virtue. To ask people to lead good and noble lives in surroundings of filth and squalor is as foolish as to expect roses to grow in a soil fit only for weeds and brambles.

When the self-styled "respectables" declare that the people of the tenements are dirty, they have some ground of truth for their statement. BUT WHOSE FAULT IS IT?

The people of the tenements make ten times greater efforts to keep clean than these people who condemn them do. My Lady Charity, who sails in lofty disgust when she goes on a "visiting tour" to the tenements, has plenty of time and means to care for her person and her home. But she does not have to do even that. She has servants who scrub and sweep her rooms and wash her clothes and prepare the bath for her. Her poor sister of the tenements has to work for a living all day—perhaps sewing the garments that she is to wear, perhaps rolling cigarettes that My Lady's husband is to smoke at the club. After ten or twelve hours of hard work, she has little strength left for housecleaning. Nay, she cannot afford to do any unnecessary housework, after hours, for she must sleep, else she will not be able to work well to-morrow, and the boss may discharge her.

My Lady Charity thinks every person ought to be clean daily, as she does. She is right. But observe these figures: The Tenement House Commission took a census of a part of the tenement districts and found that OUT OF 255,000 TENANTS ONLY 300, HAD ACCESS TO A BATH. It found that fifty-five lodgings houses, with sleeping accommodations for 6,372 persons, had not a single bathroom.

Maybe My Lady's husband is a building contractor or a tenement-house landlord. If so, he can tell her why cleanliness is so uncommon in the tenement districts. He will tell her that it is cheaper to build houses without baths and that the rent-roll of such a house is bigger in proportion to the cost than if bathrooms are supplied. He will tell her that HE IS BUILDING TENEMENTS FOR PROFIT, NOT FOR THE PEOPLE'S HEALTH, and if the people don't like it they may jump into the East River.

So long as we leave the question of the housing of the people to "private enterprises," we cannot expect anything different from this. But it is a question of public importance and must be solved by public action.

Suggest to a Republican or Democratic legislature the enactment of a law forbidding the erection of tenement houses without baths, and they will laugh at the idea. They represent the class that owns the tenements, and PROFIT FOR THE LANDLORDS SEEMS TO THEM INFINITELY MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE OPPORTUNITY OF CLEANLINESS AND HEALTH FOR THE TENANTS.

Only a Social Democratic legislature will pass such a law and only Social Democratic officials will enforce it. BECAUSE THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY REPRESENTS THE WORKING PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN THE TENEMENTS.

UNIONISTS SHOULD EMPLOY UNION LABOR.

Fellow Unionists: When a capitalist refuses to employ union labor, labor organizations are very indignant, and the capitalist is denounced, and his goods boycotted, and yet it is a remarkable fact that the members of labor unions, when spending union wages for the necessities of life, frequently do exactly what they condemn the capitalist for doing, namely, they refuse to employ union labor, as instead of demanding goods bearing the union label they purchase the product of non-union institutions and even of penitentiaries. They refuse to employ their fellow unionists and give maintenance and support to those institutions that are antagonistic to the union cause.

How can a union man consistently object to the capitalist for refusing to employ union labor while at the same time he refuses to employ union labor himself. The wage-earner spending his wages in the employment of labor in the largest sense of the word and should so spend his wages as to promote in other crafts, conditions which he desires in his own. This he can do by demanding goods bearing the union label. When buying shoes demand shoes bearing the union stamp. Urge your shoe dealer to carry a full stock of union stamp shoes.

Fraternally yours,  
BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION.

434 Albany Building, Boston, Mass.  
P. S.—Write to us for list of manufacturers using the union stamp.

## CONSUMPTION AND POLITICS.

Vote for a Party That Will Put an End to Slow Murder in the Tenements.

All over the civilized world, tuberculosis, or consumption is recognized today as a great and growing danger. At an international congress of physicians and others interested in the subject, held in London a few weeks ago, it was shown that the spread of tuberculosis is directly traceable to the poverty of the working class and the unhealthy conditions under which the poor, especially in the great cities, have to live.

About a year ago, the New York Tenement House Commission gave a public hearing, at which several physicians who have carefully studied this disease and are qualified to speak with authority gave the result of their investigations.

All agreed in saying that CONSUMPTION IN THIS CITY IS ALMOST WHOLLY CONFINED TO THE TENEMENT-HOUSE DISTRICTS, and that its prevalence is the result of OVERCROWDING AND BAD SANITARY CONDITIONS.

Dr. John H. Pryor said: "I should judge that there are always at least 20,000 consumptives among the tenement dwellers of the city. This does not show all the cases of tuberculosis, for a great many dying from other diseases have tuberculosis in some form. The two distinctive tenement-house diseases are tuberculosis and rickets. There is at least one case of consumption in almost every tenement house in the city, the reason being that the tenants are so CROWDED TOGETHER, WITHOUT SUFFICIENT AIR OR SUNLIGHT. While consumption is both preventable and curable in its early stages, THE DEATH RATE OF ITS VICTIMS DOES NOT DECREASE."

As means of checking the spread of the disease, he recommended, larger, more airy windows, larger air-rafts, by all means, more fresh and direct sunlight in the people's dwellings.

Dr. Herman M. Briggs, who has charge of the pathological and bacteriological laboratories of the Board of Health exhibited maps showing the tenement-house districts in which consumption is most prevalent. "In one block on Cherry street, he said, 144 out of 1,000 people died of this disease in the last four years. In the block on Pell street, between Mott and the Bowery, and on Mott between Pell and Chatham Square, there have been 318 deaths from consumption out of 2,000 inhabitants in the last four years."

He explained that the disease is transmitted only by germs contained in the expectorations of the sufferers. If the air is fresh and pure and there is plenty of sunlight, these germs quickly die; but in the close, dark rooms of the ordinary tenement they multiply rapidly and spread the infection.

Dr. Frankel, manager of the United Hebrew Charities, said that the vast majority of the consumptive foreigners who applied to him for help had contracted the disease in this country. "These people rarely have tuberculosis when they arrive," he said. "Out of seventy-two Jews suffering from tuberculosis, I found that only one had been in America less than fifteen years."

Dr. Anna Daniel said that sweatshop work in the tenements was in great measure responsible for the spread of the disease.

Dr. S. A. Knopf urged the importance of measures that would give fresh air and sunlight to the people.

The Social Democratic Party alone proposes to use the power of the city to destroy the consumption-breeding tenements and replace them with healthful dwellings to be let to the people at cost. Vote under the Arm and Torch TO PROTECT THE LIVES OF YOUR WIFE AND CHILDREN—no matter what your landlord thinks of it.

THE SOCIALIST POSITION.

We have two schools of thought in the labor movement—the one contending for thorough organization on labor class lines industrially and politically, and the other for craft organization merely, political effort to be exercised or not, and in whichever manner the individual may choose.

The Socialist Party has always lined up on the side that advocates political as well as economic action, and which is the minority. It does not follow, however, that the sphere of influence of this party is confined to merely those who organize industrially and politically. On the contrary, it is acknowledged a power by every shade of political and economic belief and it is our purpose to present admitted facts and to make our theories so plain that those who tell will gradually regard the mission of labor the world's highest, purest ideal.

Union labor's mission is to overthrow the wage system of capitalism and introduce a co-operative system of production and re-establish Justice.

In the past quarter of a century industry has been completely revolutionized. The labor-saving, automatic machine of production has come, and with it appears centralized capital. Today the trusts dominate every avenue of life. Production has become socialized, and the wealth produced by labor is divided among an idle, parasitic capitalist class, which is constantly becoming more powerful and is protected by every branch of government.

Not only is Labor plundered, but it is fast losing its liberty.

LABOR IS NOW CONPELLED TO STRIKE FOR THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE.

Note the struggles of the iron and steel workers, miners, machinists, molders, tobacco workers, textile trades, etc.

LABOR IS LOSING ITS RIGHT TO VOTE.

Note the disfranchising laws enacted in the Southern states. Is it not high time that Labor aroused itself, united on election day, and went on STRIKE AT THE BALLOT BOX?

Address of Local Cleveland, Socialist Party.

REMEMBER: Even though you may not dare to say you are a Socialist, for fear of losing your job, THE BALLOT IS SECRET. You run no risk in VOTING for Socialism.

## CAMPAIGN BUTTONS.

We now manufacture our own buttons, and we are, therefore, in a position to sell them at GREATLY REDUCED PRICES. When we say reduced prices we mean what we say, viz:

SMALL SIZE:		LARGE SIZE:	
1 Button	5c.	1 Button	5c.
12 " "	25c.	12 " "	30c.
25 " "	50c.	100 " "	\$2.50
100 " "	\$2.00	(Former price 10c.)	

In ordering, kindly mention size wanted and whether Socialist Party or Social Democratic Party is desired.

Cash must accompany all orders.

Address to us DIRECTLY.

SOCIALIST LITERATURE COMPANY.

184 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

## NO TRUSTS! NO PRISONS! NO SWEAT SHOPS!

Shirts, Waists, Collars or Cuffs

BEARING THIS LABEL ARE O. K.

No Chinese exclusion act needed when up-to-date Union Laundries use this Label to stamp Price List Slips on your laundry packages. Ask for it.

## FOR THE CAMPAIGN FUND.

All comrades and friends who have subscription lists should turn them in at once. It is desired that the financial accounts of the campaign be closed as soon as possible after Election Day, and this cannot be done until all lists are accounted for.

When lists are returned be sure that they are accompanied by a contribution. The expenses of the campaign have been heavier than ever before. Nearly one and a half million pieces of literature have been printed and distributed, and a vast amount of correspondence, and many other important details have also been attended to. The Campaign Committee has not halted at any reasonable expense thought necessary to make the campaign a success. Much more money is needed before the polls close on Election Day.

Comrades, do not hamper the campaign by withholding any contribution you may be able to make. The small sum will be of service. Send in what you can to Julius Gerber, 64 E. Fourth street, and it will be put to good use.

All contributions will be acknowledged in The Worker.

Previously acknowledged: \$1,234.18  
List 5,442, Progressive Lodge Machinists, collected by Grunhoff in American Tobacco Co. shop. 6.75

List 5,446, Progressive Lodge Machinists, collected by Geller. 85  
List 1,296, E. Schmidt, on account. 3.80  
A friend, 250 cigars, sold for. 6.25  
List 539, A. Belrach. 50  
List 90, E. Kremer, \$1; F. Ebers, 25c; total. 1.25

List 440, Frey, collected in Carl Salm Club. 3.00  
List 429, A. Smertel, collected in Carl Salm Club. 2.50  
List 1,396, C. Shoohe. 1.00  
List 284, F. E. Meissner. 1.20  
Hilquit Socialists Club, surplus of entertainment for benefit of campaign fund. 10.50

List 1,235, H. Wolf. 2.25  
List 78, Nic Danjemas. 8.50  
List 214, J. Kohminger. 40  
List 897, J. Kohminger. 4.







# The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY  
(Known in New York State as the Social  
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50 per week, one year ..... \$7.00

As far as possible, rejected contribu-  
tions will be returned if so desired and  
stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second-class matter at the  
New York, N. Y., Post office on April 6,  
1901.

## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) ..... 2,068  
In 1890 ..... 13,331  
In 1892 (Presidential) ..... 21,157  
In 1894 ..... 33,133  
In 1896 (Presidential) ..... 36,504  
In 1898 ..... 82,204  
S. L. P. ..... 9,545  
In 1900 (Presidential):  
S. L. P. ..... 96,918  
S. L. P. ..... 33,450



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

## WHAT DOES THIS "REFORM" VICTORY MEAN?

There is great rejoicing on the part of the "respectable reformers"—and of the henchmen of Platt, too—over the fusion victory in New York City. The victory is far more sweeping than even Low's supporters ever dared expect. It is worth while to ask: What does this "reform" victory mean?

Socialists, knowing well the inefficiency of all "reform" and knowing, too, that the working class, as such, has nothing to expect from even the best elements in the Low combination, may be inclined to underestimate, or to misinterpret the significance of, the event.

While we expect no good to come to the working class from Tammany's defeat; while we expect, and with good reason in past history and present conditions, that the new administration will be as subservient to the capitalists as the old one was; while we expect again with good reason based on past experience, that the new administration will prove itself so incompetent that it will go down in defeat at the end of its first term, as every other "reform" administration has yet we find the "reform" victory, when taken in conjunction with our own small gain, distinctly encouraging in two respects.

First, it is to be noted that this is very largely a Republican victory, for that party seems to have made general gains in state and city elections all over the country. This is unusual in a year following a presidential election, when there is generally a reaction against the party in power at Washington. The result therefore indicates the continued disintegration of the Democratic party—a tendency which is very welcome as drawing the lines clearer, removing a confusing element in politics, and hastening the day when, as Senator Hanna predicted, the fight will be an open one between Republicanism and Socialism.

But secondly, insofar as the result in this city is a "reform" victory and not a Republican success, it is a good indication, though not, in itself, a gain to the working class. The strength of Tammany unquestionably lies in a wonderfully elaborate system of bribery, more or less disguised—ranging from the "charitable" work of Democratic associations in the tenement house districts, through the use of "influences" to get employment, not only for political appointments, but jobs on the public works, on the street railways and in private concerns, through the giving of free beer and entertainment of all sorts, through the blackmailing of petty law-breakers, up to systematic corruption in the awarding of contracts and such base-fair venality as that of the Ice Trust affair.

This is Tammany. Against this, and to the minds of most of the people, as the only possible means of rebuking this regime of loot and boodle, stood the outwardly respectable combination headed by Mr. Low. The decisive portion of the vote against Tammany was given by people who con-

sidered that they were choosing between insolent rascality and at least relative decency. If Tammany could have won, after crowning its record of infamy with the astounding nomination of Van Wyck—if it could have won, that would have argued an appalling degree of dishonesty and of cynical apathy among the people of the city.

The victory of "reform" is no victory at all for the working class. It is no victory at all for an honesty higher than the average conventional morality of "business methods." But it does at least indicate the persistence of that sort of elementary decency which is necessary as the foundation for anything higher.

We, as Socialists, consider that capitalism is as dishonest as pocket-picking, that sweating employers who drive girls to prostitution are as guilty as "cadets" who directly lead them to the brothel. But most of the people have not come to this point of view; and if most of these people who consider the pocket-pick and the "cadet" worse than the sweeter, had been willing to vote for the recognized accomplices of pocket-pickers and "cadets," then we should have had little ground for hope of converting them to our view.

## THE SOCIALIST VOTE IN GREAT NEW YORK.

While we have not yet authoritative figures for the Socialist vote in all the districts of this city, we have enough to show that, as compared with last year, the Social Democratic Party has gained slightly, while the Socialist Labor Party has lost heavily. We have no cause for discouragement, yet it would be childish to pretend that we are satisfied. It is our duty to look the facts square in the face, and try to learn from experience how to secure better results next year.

The obvious answer to the question, Why did we not make a greater gain? is that, the disgust of the people with the utter rottenness of Tammany and the desire to compass its immediate defeat carried away many who were otherwise favorably inclined to Socialism. These people thought somewhat thus: Socialism is good, but we cannot get it this year anyhow; Tammany is insupportable and we can defeat it this year; therefore we will vote for "reform" this time and defer the consideration of Socialism for another year.

That is, of course, a foolish argument. But it is the argument that prevailed, nevertheless; and it is our business to show these people their mistake. How are we to do that?

With the campaign carried on by the Social Democratic Party in this city during the last two months there is little fault to be found. Here and there, no doubt, there were mistakes made or opportunities neglected; here and there organizations were lax or individual comrades remiss. But on the whole, it was a magnificent campaign, well planned and conducted with intelligent enthusiasm and extraordinary devotion—not only on the part of the party officers, candidates, speakers and writers, but also, and more especially, on the part of the rank and file, whose deeds are never recorded, whose names are never published, but whose quiet work commands the admiration of everyone who has had a chance to observe it. It is safe to say that this campaign was the best ever carried on by the Socialists of New York.

What, then, was lacking, that this unprecedented effort resulted in such relatively small gains? We must not attribute it wholly to the greater obstacle presented by a united "reform" movement. The fault was partly in ourselves. And that fault, as it seems to us, was not at all in the work of the campaign, but wholly in the work of the ten months intervening between the last election and the opening of this year's contest.

During the greater part of the year our movement was in very unsatisfactory condition. The organization was neglected. The party press was neglected. The general propaganda was neglected. Some of our comrades showed little or no interest in the movement, while many more interested themselves exclusively in internal party questions, local or national, not only to the neglect, but to the positive detriment of the more important constructive and aggressive work of organization and propaganda.

A party like ours, which depends for its growth on calm argument, not upon appeals to personal interest, to sudden emotion, or to the mere hope of immediate victory—such a party can do its most effective work at a time when the people are not excited over questions of "practical politics." Not only can it do this, but it must do this, if its campaign (in the narrower sense of that word) is to bring satisfactory results. If we begin our activity only two months before Election Day, we do not find the people in the right frame of mind to appreciate our arguments. Such a campaign as we have just completed, if it had been preceded by two months of such steady work as the thousand party members of Local New York ought to have done, would assuredly have given us a far larger increase of votes, even in the face of the din and confusion of the late Low-Shepard contest.

In a word, the business of a Socialist organization is not only to make votes for a Socialist ticket, but to make Socialists who will vote such a ticket. We have ten months of political calm before us. During that time we have to make Socialists. In that task let us use all the enthusiasm, all the intelligence, all the industry, all the harmonious comradeship, all the dogged perseverance that has been displayed during the contest just closed. The effort need not be so strenuous, but let it be patiently sustained. Let leaflets be distributed as systematically as they have been during the campaign. Let the circulation of The Worker be built up. Let the courses of lectures be carefully arranged and thoroughly advertised. Let no opportunity for agitation—such as a strike, a lockout, an injunction, a Tarrant explosion, or an Ice Trust deal—be neglected. And let every sympathizer be awakened to activity and brought within the party organization.

If we do our duty, as we did not do it fully from November, 1900, up to August, 1901, next year's campaign, which is not likely to present such difficulties as this one has, will unquestionably result in a gain of which we may be proud.

The Social Democratic Party does not "stand like a rock." It grows like an oak—slowly but surely. And the roots of a young oak will split the largest rock to fragments.

If it is pleasant to be able to report that Comrades Carey and MacCartney are re-elected to the Massachusetts legislature. It would be still better could we report that even one colleague had been added to them. Let us hope that the Massachusetts comrades will accomplish this desirable result at the next election. Hard work throughout the year will do it.

## ASSAULT ON LABOR PRESS.

The "United Mine Workers' Journal" is reported as the latest periodical to suffer under the extraordinary rulings of Third Assistant Postmaster General Madden, who has been making so much trouble of late for Socialist papers. The organ of the United Mine Workers has been refused transmission through the mails at newspaper rates, we are informed, under a ruling which excludes all papers which are published as organs of societies, etc., and which carry any advertising matter not pertaining to the business of the organization itself.

This ruling, of course, is absolutely irreconcilable with any reasonable interpretation of the law or with any reasonable definition of the word "newspaper." But Third Assistant Postmaster General Madden and the other finks of capitalism above him in office are not bound by law or by logic. The ruling is the openest and most insolent attack upon the labor press and is intended as such. There is no other possible explanation of it.

On a narrow and short-sighted view, the action of the government is a wise one—that is, it is well adapted to serve the government's purpose of disorganizing and crushing the labor movement. The labor press is, of course, a most useful adjunct of the trade unions, both as a means of exchanging information necessary to the proper working of the organizations and as a means of educating the membership. The capitalist naturally thinks that if he can kill off a large part of the labor papers and hamper or cripple the others, he will seriously have impaired the efficiency of the labor organization; and he considers this a safer way of attacking the labor movement than by the too free use of injunctions, clubs, and rifles.

But in the long run the capitalist will defeat his purpose, as a ruling class always does. The freedom of the press may not be very highly prized so long as it is enjoyed in peace; but interference with it will at once call attention to its value. The net result, as of every capitalist aggression, will be to draw the working people together, to strengthen their determination, and to impress upon them the fact of the irrepressible conflict between Labor and Capital.

Go on, Messrs. Capitalists, with your class-conscious assaults upon our interests. The more you attack us, the more do you strengthen our hands and hasten your own downfall.

Yours fraternally,  
LEON GREENBAUM,  
National Secretary.

## BOSTON SOCIALIST CLUB.

The next meeting of the Boston Socialist Club will be held at 724 Washington street, at 8 o'clock, on Sunday evening, Nov. 10, for the purpose of completing the organization. All Socialists in Boston are invited to be present and join the club.

On Monday, Nov. 18, at 7:45 p. m., the doors of the People's Temple, corner of Columbus avenue and Berkeley street, Boston, will open for a lecture by Rev. Thomas McGrady, the Kentucky priest who has joined the Socialist movement and whose challenge to Archbishop Corrigan to debate on Socialism has attracted so much attention. Come all.

## BIGELOW'S TOUR.

Geo. E. Bigelow, of Nebraska, made a short tour of the state just before election under the auspices of the state committee. He was greeted by good audiences in Rochester, Oneida, Watertown, Syracuse, Johnstown, and Catskill. This week he speaks in Troy and Schenectady.

Geo. E. Bigelow, of Nebraska, who has traveled over the United States and Canada speaking to large audiences in the interest of Socialism, will speak at the Socialist Propaganda Club, 102 Court street, near City Hall, Brooklyn, Sunday evening, Nov. 10, at 8:30 p. m., on "The Moral of the Election." Admission is free and all are welcome. The attendance at the meetings of the Socialist Propaganda Club is increasing and good work for the cause is being done.

## BEER DRIVERS' UNION NO. 22.

All members belonging to Beer Drivers' Union No. 22 are requested to appear at the union's office, Knapp's Hall, 310 East Sixty-third street, with their badge of membership on Sunday afternoon, November 10th, at two o'clock.

just what the Socialists are doing, while Mr. Justice Brewer's party is trucking to the trusts and trying at the same time to catch the votes of those whom the trusts oppress, by the cheapest appeals to ignorance and prejudice.

If Mr. Brewer really knew what he was saying at Yale the other day, and if he was really sincere in it, then his place is in the ranks of the Socialist Party.

But he won't join it—not yet—and we shall grow without him.

## CORNELL'S SCIENTIFIC HUMBUG.

That Cornell professor who wants to have the government systematically kill off the weak in their infancy, as a means of "improving the race," represents the combined cruelty and stupidity of the capitalist class which endows universities for the purpose of miseducating the people and perpetuating class rule.

Thomas H. Huxley, the great exponent of "Darwinism," and one of the truest scientists and noblest of men, spoke quite differently from this sublimely sensationalist of Cornell. He said, in effect (we have not the work at hand to quote verbatim): "The fittest will survive; but it is the business of society to fit the largest possible number for survival."

Put an end to class rule; put an end to the idleness and luxury and irresponsible power which corrupt the bodies and pervert the minds of the capitalist class to-day; put an end to the overwork, the hunger, the anxiety, which now makes it so hard for working people to live up to their ideals; put an end to child labor and female labor in shop and factory; put an end to the conditions which deprive most children of the opportunity for real education; put an end to the conditions which destroy the family and foster vice; put an end to the conditions which propagate disease; put an end to a system in which honesty and generosity are at a discount and low cunning is rewarded, in which every man's hand is set at his neighbor's throat; put an end to this system of capitalism and you will be following Huxley's advice of fitting the people to survive, strengthening the weak instead of killing them, humanizing the strong instead of brutalizing them, and making society into a healthy and vigorous organism, all its members working in harmony together.

That is what the Socialist movement is doing and it will triumph and effect its end and such scientific humbugs as Professor Powers will be forgotten, along with the alchemists and the witch-hunters of the Middle Ages.

## IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To the State and Local Organizations of the Socialist Party.  
Comrades:—In accordance with the provisions of the National Constitution, you are hereby informed that the first annual meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Party will be held in the city of St. Louis, Mo., at 10 a. m., Friday, January 24, 1902, for the transaction of the affairs of the national organization.

Arrangements will be made by us for the reception, entertainment and meeting place of the National Committee, particulars of which will be published in due time in the Socialist press.

In view of the requirement that the expenses of the national committee in attending this meeting shall be paid from the national treasury, the respective state and territorial organizations are expected to enable us to meet this provision by faithfully sending us their regular monthly proportion of national dues.

As most of the national committees are likely to be effective speakers, some of them of national reputation, it is probable that they would accept invitations to speak at certain points on their route to and from St. Louis, under an arrangement whereby the organizations tendering said invitations would defray at least part of their traveling expenses. The adoption of this plan would tend to reduce the expense to the national organization (of the meeting of the National Committee), while utilizing said gathering to inaugurate a period of agitation meetings throughout the country.

We take occasion to impress the comrades with the importance of this meeting, as the views of the national committee and the measures which they adopt must serve for the guidance and instruction of the local quorums and the undersigned.

Yours fraternally,  
LEON GREENBAUM,  
National Secretary.

## LOUISVILLE BREWERIES COMBINE.

The six breweries of Louisville, Ky., have transferred their properties to a new corporation, known as the Central Consumers' Company, which is capitalized at \$2,500,000. The new corporation controls the Frank Feir Brewing Company, the Senn & Ackermann Brewing Company, the Phoenix Brewing Company, the Schaefer Brewing Company, the Nahrer Brewing Company, and the Stein Brewing Company.

No fratricidal goes on and the only answer to its members is the growth of Socialism.

## BIGELOW IN BROOKLYN.

Geo. E. Bigelow, of Nebraska, who has traveled over the United States and Canada speaking to large audiences in the interest of Socialism, will speak at the Socialist Propaganda Club, 102 Court street, near City Hall, Brooklyn, Sunday evening, Nov. 10, at 8:30 p. m., on "The Moral of the Election." Admission is free and all are welcome. The attendance at the meetings of the Socialist Propaganda Club is increasing and good work for the cause is being done.

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## AFTER ELECTION REFLECTIONS.

BY A MAN WITH A SORE THROAT.

The fact that the voters of New York City were unwilling to tolerate Devery, Lee-man Van Wyck, and the bold-faced and open corruption of Croker's gang may show that they acted conscientiously within the limited sphere of that misunderstanding which is carefully drilled into them by capitalist education, a capitalist press and a capitalist church; but that they were unable to see that Low and his class are also "working for their own pockets all the time" and merely add an unctuous hypocrisy to a legally veneered robbery of the working class, is no compliment to their acumen.

The difference between Tammany and "reform" is the difference between a thug and a confidence-man. The people have bought a gold brick with their votes—but then we are used to that.

We have inside information to the effect that manufacturers of cough drops, bronchial leucages and other concoctions for filling off the rough edges in a raw throat contemplated the formation of a trust for the purpose of raising prices owing to an entirely unaccountable demand for these voice alleviators during the past few weeks. The project has been abandoned, however, owing to a sudden cessation in sales, said by political economists to be the result of overproduction.

The S. L. P., as usual, "stood like a rock," but when the blast went off there wasn't much left of the rock. The iniquitous mind naturally wonders what became of the vote of the "fighting" (among themselves) S. L. P. Did they vote for Low as a rebuke to the Tammany police department for not felling Hickey? Did they show their uncompromising endorsement of Marxian theories, by selling their votes to Tammany on the ground that the economic factor is always predominant? Or have a large number of deaths occurred among their voters since the last election; due to inhaling sewer-gas from the pages of the professor's paper. Perhaps they chose to show their "uncompromising" tactics by refusing to vote under the capitalist system. The cause of their loss may be the fact that their paper is published daily—people cannot be expected to stand this thing seven times a week. Every issue means a vote lost. Why not make it a monthly, and disintegrate with a more dignified slowness? De Leon tried to constitute himself Pope of Socialism and wrote the Index Expurgatorius of the Labor Movement. He failed miserably. Sic semper tyranni!

Mark Hanna once said: "The fight of the future will be between Republicanism and Socialism." The Republican state committee announced that they were going to "stamp out" Socialism in Massachusetts and sent money and speakers into the field for the purpose of defeating James F. Carey. Carey's triumphant re-election seems to indicate that first blood has been scored by the proletarian.

LOST.—On some street corner in the 4th, 8th or 20th A. D., a good strong voice. Dame Nature will please return to 184 William street in time for use during the next campaign.

FOUND.—A DeLeonite in the 10th A. D. Several specimens of this peculiar digitigrade are said to be still in existence, but the species is rapidly becoming extinct.

In a speech made at Lakeville, Conn., Justice Jerome said that his election proves "that the immortal truths laid down by the immortal God have not been changed." What a curious person it is! He seems to be trying to construct a theory of the Divine Right of Attorneys. We will not say anything about the "immortal truths laid down by God," but we have often seen truths carefully laid down by candidates upon their election and never picked up again.

When Devery said that he had nothing to say for publication did he mean that he had nothing to say that was fit for publication?

The New York "Journal," which supported Bryan and joined the jingo imperialists the day after his defeat, and which continually denounced McKinley until the assassination, and then loudly praised his malodorous administration, has again shown its "steadfast devotion to principle" by characterizing the defeat of its own candidate, Shepard, as a "well merited rebuke."

No doubt Delerious Daniel will cry "good riddance" at the voters he lost. He was about to expel them anyway, of course. There is nothing like "purging" the party occasionally by a large loss in membership, anyhow.

All in all we have a good reason to be encouraged, although Socialists never need encouragement for they know that the decrees of social evolution are inevitable and the workers must win. And Socialists have no more right to get tired than they have to be satisfied with the capitalist system. So, comrades, exercise with a few weeks' haste for subscriptions to The Worker, and then roll up your sleeves and pitch into the state campaign of next year.

## BIGELOW IN BROOKLYN.

Geo. E. Bigelow, of Nebraska, who has traveled over the United States and Canada speaking to large audiences in the interest of Socialism, will speak at the Socialist Propaganda Club, 102 Court street, near City Hall, Brooklyn, Sunday evening, Nov. 10, at 8:30 p. m., on "The Moral of the Election." Admission is free and all are welcome. The attendance at the meetings of the Socialist Propaganda Club is increasing and good work for the cause is being done.

## BEER DRIVERS' UNION NO. 22.

All members belonging to Beer Drivers' Union No. 22 are requested to appear at the union's office, Knapp's Hall, 310 East Sixty-third street, with their badge of membership on Sunday afternoon, November 10th, at two o'clock.

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All members belonging to Beer Drivers' Union No. 22 are requested to appear at the union's office, Knapp's Hall, 310 East Sixty-third street, with their badge of membership on Sunday afternoon, November 10th, at two o'clock.

## FOR THE CAMPAIGN FUND.

Now that the campaign is closed all comrades holding lists should return them at once so that the accounts can be closed. The Campaign Committee is desirous of making a report as quickly as possible, and in order to facilitate the work contributions intended for the campaign fund should be turned in immediately to Julius Gerber, 64 E. Fourth street. Acknowledgements will be made in The Worker.

Previously acknowledged: \$1,433.89

List 351, by D. Berlin: Lesser, 25; Abramson, 25; M. Gumbel, 25; J. Berlin, 25; N. Miller, 25; Mr. Leikin, 20; G. Weider, man, 25; total ..... 1.70

List 1,124, M. Princer et al.: J. Moody ..... 2.00

List 789, Two Friends: E. Krohn ..... .25

List 1,111, B. Pockras: Carl Mahler ..... 1.00

Collection New Irving Hall: List 1,290, P. Shores ..... 1.00

List 1,083, Jos. Nory ..... 1.55

List 5,901, Bakers' Union No. 104, Bronx, per Jos. Dussan ..... 1.05

List 310, T. Nicholson ..... 2.00

List 1,477, N. Becker ..... 25.00

Br. 4, Arbeiter Kranken Kasse: List 5,001, G. Steinhart, per H. L. Shobdin ..... 3.00

List 29, Wm. Bernauer ..... .50

List 873, N. Jacobs ..... .35

List 702, G. Gluck ..... 2.00

List 691, C. Bergman, 25; E. Van Hoven, 25; P. Deboen, 25; E. Pel, 25; total ..... 1.00

List 127, Chas. Gockenheimer, 50; Kots, 51; Mrs. F. Seubert, 50; total ..... 2.00

List 19, Ph. Bauer, on account: List 226, J. Epstein, 51; S. Speher, 50; M. Goldman, 50; Jos. Goldman, 50; S. Cohen, 50; Ida Goldman, 25; E. J. Sonn, 50; Rosie Epstein, 25; total ..... 4.00

J. Feller ..... 2.00

List 5,488, Pie Bakers' Union, per F. Boch ..... 6.35

List 31, Hubert Bertsch ..... .50

Job Harriman ..... 2.00

List 5,348, Gross New Yorker Arbeiter Kranken Sterbe Kasse ..... 5.00

Lists 5,349-5,350, Gross New Yorker Arbeiter Kranken Sterbe Kasse ..... 4.55

List 1,025, G. Michelson ..... 1.00

List 435, F. Thomas ..... 1.50

List 1,207, Min. Vossler ..... 2.50

H. Schlueter ..... 5.00

List 707, J. Gathoff ..... 4.00

List 826, L. H. ..... .30

T. F. Meade ..... 2.00

List 161, A. Kolar ..... .25

List 454, K. A. Vorel ..... 2.00

List 48, I. Boehm ..... 3.45

List 5,226, Brewers' Union No. 1, collected by J. Huber at Colonial Brewery ..... 5.25

List 5,232, Brewers' Union No. 1, by C. Weyel ..... .50

List 5,291, Carpenters and Joiners No. 32 ..... 2.35

List 5,508, Custom Upholsterers' Union No. 44, per L. Meyer ..... 3.75

List 567, M. Sochs ..... 3.35

V. Petrino ..... 2.00

List 426, Ital. Union ..... 1.25

List 147, M. Isaacson ..... 1.00

List 5,126, Br. 80, Arbeiter Kranken Kasse ..... 1.00

List 312, Fred Milke ..... 1.00

List 1,452, R. Adams, Lincolntonville ..... .50

List 5,468, Typographical Union No. 7, N. Y. "Volkszeitung" chapel ..... 6.00

List 5,470, Typographical Union No. 7, per M. Gunther ..... .25

A. Halpern ..... 1.00

List 291, E. Buss ..... 2.00

List 5,516, Upholsterers' Union No. 44, per Christopher ..... 2.10

List 700, N. Dubinsky ..... .75







## A SYSTEM OF FRAUD AND MURDER.

The annual statement of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company came out last week, and it was so beautifully "doctored" that it took even the shrewd men of "the street" a day or two to understand it. The result is that many "honest investors"—the sort of men that commonly figure as "reformers" in city politics—got badly bitten and are crying "Fraud" at the top of their voices.

On the face of it the report seemed to show a surplus for the year nearly twice as great as was actually the fact. On the strength of this misleading report, B. R. T. stock rose and many bought, only to get caught when the deception was exposed.

A brilliant light is thrown on such transactions as this—and very common affairs they are—by a remark of President Vreeland of the Metropolitan Traction Company at the convention of street railway accountants. This respectable capitalist gentleman said:

"There are certain items in your accounts which, when carried on your books look very well from the standpoint of a street railway accountant. But they might better be left out, as they would be hard for the president of the road to get around if called upon before certain public bodies to explain what they meant."

Vreeland says that when he uttered this plain incitement to fraud he "was talking to accountants, not to the press." Of course. It was really incitement of the press to quote such a characteristic capitalist maxim.

There was honor among the old feudal nobles. The slaveholders of the old South were men whose word could be trusted. There is even said to be honor among thieves. The capitalist class is the only class that has ever set up systematic lying as a virtue. Not only do the capitalists lie to the work-

ers; they cannot trust one another.

Capitalism is a system of fraud. Another feature of the B. R. T. report is instructive. President Greengard is having a fit of remorse. He expresses himself as being sorry that his cars have killed and injured so many people. He feels very bad about it, for it cost the company about \$1,433,000 in damages and legal expenses during the year. Mr. Greengard's conscience is troubled about this.

But he has a remedy to propose. To equip the system in a more modern manner and reduce the working hours of the men, so that they might be in condition to do their work well? Do you think that is his scheme? Oh, no. That would hurt Mr. Greengard's conscience still more, for it would cost still more money.

The remedy is this: Let the courts adopt a rule which would allow the company to take these damage suits out of the county for trial—where juries would be less ready to assess damages, and, incidentally, where it would be more difficult for plaintiffs and their witnesses to appear.

That is a scheme worthy of the president of the B. R. T. A beautiful pair are Vreeland and Greengard—two flowers of capitalism.

Other ruling classes have practiced murder recklessly and ruthlessly, but none with such sordid, vulgar, cynical brutality as does the capitalist class.

Capitalism—private ownership of the means of production for private profit—is a system of fraud and murder. In the name of decency and honor, in the name of human life and happiness, let us overthrow this system and put Socialism in its place—public ownership for the public good.

## WOMAN'S NATIONAL SOCIALISTIC LEAGUE.

We have been requested to publish the following:

## CALL TO WOMEN:

A new organization is being formed, the purpose of which is to teach the principles of Socialism, and to advance in every possible way the ethical and economic issues of the Socialist Party.

The influence of woman in politics is fast becoming a powerful factor. Already three states have extended suffrage to women and in a short while her right in citizenship will be acknowledged and conceded.

With this accession of power there must be accession of knowledge. New issues growing out of new political and industrial conditions confront the nation. The political battles that from this time out are to be fought involve great moral principles that will determine for all time the future of the Republic and the fate of civilization.

Briefly stated, the vital question underlying political conflict is: Shall the United States lapse into an oligarchy with its ruling and ruled classes, or expand into a great co-operative commonwealth that will insure to every citizen those things that are essential to the development of a true manhood and womanhood? Shall aristocracy or democracy prevail? Shall civilization advance or shall it perish?

Already the signs of the times are ominous of evil. In the United States the rule of wealth dominates politics and our one free institutions.

Plutocracy is thoroughly organized. It not only has absorbed the wealth but seized the political power of the nation. It commands all the intricate machinery of political machinery. It controls the press, the pulpit and institutions of learning. Worse than all this, it holds within its deadly clutch those mental and moral qualities on which the life of a nation rests. That foundation is now being shaken by the moral rotteness infesting more or less every part of public and private life.

In this moral degradation lies the beginning of national decay and ruin. We are now in the first stages of this retrogressive movement—a movement that must be checked if the nation is to survive. A few years more, another decade of these soul destroying conditions and it may be too late to check the descent.

That which is true of the United States is also true of every great nation in Europe. They all have reached their pinnacle of power on the selfish, competitive, monopolistic plane, and stand heading between two opposing tendencies, one leading downward along the path that other nations have traversed and perished—the path of imperialism, of centralization of wealth and power, of luxury for the few and poverty for the many—the path of mental and moral degeneracy; the other, towards the heights of a nobler civilization than the world has ever known, a civilization in which competitive strife and monopolistic rule will be superseded by a universal spirit of co-operation and mutual helpfulness, with increasing mental and moral development.

Which tendency will gain the ascendancy is for the men and women of this period to determine.

It is to women in this supreme crisis in human development that this appeal is made for effective aid and systematic work. Organization is demanded organization to teach the principles of a higher industrial system that now obtains; a system that will be based upon the golden rule of the identity of all human interests. All women whose souls thrill responsive to freedom and duty, all who seek to be loyal to humanity are requested to take part in this struggle for the elevation of mankind, and to enroll themselves members of the Woman's National Socialist League. As soon as place and date of meeting are decided upon a national convention will be called, of which due notice will be given.

IMOGENE C. FAIRMAN, Pro. Chairman, 126 Mason street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

The following are the names of those who have enrolled themselves members of the League:

Wenonah S. Abbott, Oak, Cal.; Mar-

ion H. Duhman, Pro. Secretary, Burlington, Iowa; Helen Campbell and Miss E. Lubin, New York, N. Y.; Martha Moore Avery, Boston, Mass.; Rev. H. S. Geneva Lake, Olympia, Wash.; Mrs. Corinne Brown, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Mabel Kennon, Rochester, N. Y.; Mrs. Cecilia C. Baranoff, Battle Creek, Mich.; Mrs. L. M. Collette, B. R. T. Winfield, Kan.; Mrs. Julia Harris, Wellington, Kan.; Mrs. Julia C. Lind, Yates Centre, Kan.; Miss E. L. Hall, Kansas City, Mo.; Miss Sarah J. Wilde, Los Angeles, Cal.; Mrs. E. Garbutt, Los Angeles, Cal.; Mrs. Luella J. Curtis, Mishawaka, Ind.; Mrs. M. B. Clark and Mrs. Ida Reed, Los Angeles, Cal.; Mrs. Anne B. Lathrop, Beloit, Wis.; Mrs. Hattie T. Hadley, Mrs. Lydia C. Campbell, Mrs. L. M. Collette, Mrs. B. H. Russell, and Mrs. Bessie B. Keweenaw, Naperville, Wash.; Mrs. E. Bell, Bentley Harbor, Mich.; Mrs. W. S. O'Brien, Thomaston, Me.; Mrs. C. C. Lodge, Stillwater, Oklahoma; Mrs. C. C. Bentley, Logan, Ore.; Mrs. Mary Williams, San Diego, Cal.; Mrs. B. H. Kearns, Arlington, N. J.; Mrs. Louise French, Brockton, Mass.; Cora A. Thorman, Excelsior, Minn.; Mrs. M. J. Brown, Manchester, N. H.; Mrs. Marion Craig, Westworth, Winnipeg, Ill.; Mrs. M. J. O. Whitney, Belmond, Iowa; Miss Belle H. Mix, Denville, Iowa.

## THE NEED OF THE DAY.

We have already a plutocratic Socialism in the trusts. They are founded on sound principles—co-operation, removal of the barriers of competition, concentration of effort—but the resources and powers of the nation cannot be used to establish a government of, by, and for the rich. Socialism would complete the scientific organization of industry on the grandest national scale, and preserve all the advantage of co-operation for the benefit of all the people.

A democratic Socialism is the next plane of evolution. It is inevitable. The application of intelligence will hasten the dawning of a better day. The securing of the necessities of life will be reduced to the minimum expenditure of life force. The wastes and endless legal complications of the competitive system will be eliminated. The intelligence of the race can be devoted to wiser problems than hitherto. The great labor problem will be solved when the erratic institutions of private profit are displaced by those of scientific Socialism.

The people who see these truths are summoned by the force of truth to join a new party to establish these principles in the government. The Socialist Party of the United States is the product of evolution, the action of the people endeavoring to reach a higher plane of existence. It is founded on the experience and principles of all previous righteous uprisings of all peoples. Study the causes of strikes. There was never a time in the world's history when patriots and teachers were more needed by the people who strive for their rights. Help to eliminate strikes by removing their cause. Read the latest literature of Socialism. Join this grandest effort of the great common people. Note for the party which everywhere and always holds that human rights are more sacred than property rights. The earth and all that therein is belong to THE PEOPLE. "Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable." Justice and right will be the foundations of the Co-operative Commonwealth.—Harry C. Thompson

Capital does not support labor, and wages is not drawn from capital. A shoe manufacturer opens his establishment on Monday morning. He has capital in building, leather and money. On Saturday night he pays his operatives, but this does not diminish his capital. He has the same building, the same machinery, less leather and less money, but he has more shoes. He has simply transformed capital of one kind into capital of another. The operatives have increased the wealth of the proprietor before they receive their compensation, and the money they get in payment for their services is a draught on the world's wealth.—Rev. T. McGrady.

BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

## ADVANCE PROGRAM

## GRAND

## LABOR, FAIR, EXPOSITION AND BAZAAR

## FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE LABOR PRESS.

ONE WEEK, NOV. 10 to 16, 1901.

## Grand Central Palace,

LEXINGTON AVENUE, 43d to 44th STREETS, NEW YORK.

## Daily Program.

Beside Dancing and Band Concerts for each day of the Fair, the following program has been arranged, which will be subject to considerable addition and slight change:

SUNDAY, NOV. 10, 1901.

- March—"Chimes of Freedom".....A. H. Mangold  
1—"Liberty" Group.  
2—Music.....United Workmen's Singing Societies  
3—Piano Solo.....Professor Bani  
4—Zither & Mandolin Selections.....Musical Section of the N. E. Assn.  
5—Duet.....Noted Singers: Emma Campbell and John  
6—Demonstration by School Children.

MUSIC BY THE SOCIALIST MUSICAL BAND.

MONDAY, NOV. 11.

- 1—Music.....Workmen's Singing Society  
2—Recitation.....Regina Singing Club  
3—Violin Solo.....Lee Seale, Jr.  
4—Punching Bag Exhibition.....Noted Wm. Brothers  
5—Fancy Dancing.....  
6—German Play—Party of Klappers—Greatest Success of Irving Palace Theatre.  
7—Calisthenics.....School Children  
8—Piano Solo.....Mr. Antkowiak  
9—Athletic Exhibition (Sculpture Cabinet, Gossip and Pyramids)  
10—Wrestling Match.....Under the direction of Charles Lohmann  
11—Song.....Miss M. Gainsburg, Noted Opera Singer

MUSIC BY CARL SAHM CLUB.

TUESDAY, NOV. 12.

- 1—Variety Productions.....Actors' National Protective Union  
2—Exhibition Bag Punching.....Witt Brothers  
3—Eleven-Year-Old Child Dancer (Fancy Toe Dance, Holland Dance, Skirt Dance).....Miss Francis Schumann  
4—Tenor Solo.....Mr. Bassor, Noted Soloist

MUSIC BY THE LETTER CARRIERS' BAND (60 Pieces).

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 13.

- 1—Piano Selection.....Miss Lulu Grahl  
2—Recitation.....Harry Michalowski  
3—Sketch by Lightning Artist to Musical Accompaniment, "Awakening of Spring".....Leo Sielke, Sr.  
4—Song.....Miss Rosa Wald, Accompanied by Miss Sielke  
5—Selections.....Comedian A. J. Tanzmann  
6—"Now and Then," a Socialist play, by Frederick Kraft

Egmont Dramatic Section, Bronx

MUSIC BY THE BROOKLYN HARMONY BAND.

THURSDAY, NOV. 14.

- 1—March "Nibelungen".....Wagner  
2—Fancy Dancing, by 10 and 12-year-old girls. Lulu Krombs and Lilly Dresler.  
3—Tyroli Mountain Songs (yodling) Six Native Mountaineers under Francis Brandt.  
4—Overture, "Morning, Noon and Evening".....Francis Van Supper  
5—Chorus, "On the Altar of Truth"—United Singing Societies of Brooklyn.  
6—Horizontal Bar Performance.....Turn Verein Vorwaerts, Brooklyn  
7—Concert Characters by Lightning Artist, Richard Hammer (Accompanied by music)  
8—Music, Farewell to the Versagier!.....Bellview Musical Circle  
9—Cornet Solo, "Far from Home".....August Schneider  
10—Chorus, "Workmen, Arise!".....United Singing Societies, Brooklyn  
11—Overture, "Anacosta".....August Schneider, Director

MUSIC BY THE LIBERTY CHORUS, BROOKLYN.

FRIDAY, NOV. 15.

- 1—Variety Numbers.....Actors' Protective Union  
2—Exhibition with Punching Bag.....Witt Brothers  
3—Mandolin Solo.....Mr. Hoffman, accompanied by Mr. Pond  
4—Piano Solo.....Mr. Pond  
5—"Baker's Stories" or "On the Wedding Day," Comic Opera in 1 act  
6—Exhibition by Pupils of Henry Sadler's School (15 Violins).  
(a) Overture.....Henry Wornbacher  
(b) Edelweiss Gavotte.....J. Rixner  
(c) Overture, "The Calif of Bagdad".....Mr. Baildon

Fleetwood Quartet Club, Bronx

MUSIC BY THE CARPENTER'S BAND, BRONX.

SATURDAY, NOV. 16.

- 1—Grand Chorus.....All Workmen's Singing Societies  
2—11-Year-Old Grotesque Dancer, Dances, Songs and Plays Banjo  
3—Zither and Mandolin Selection.....  
4—Zither Solo.....Albert Morganstern  
5—"Impromptu" (F. Schubert).....Miss Sarah Sokolski  
6—Athletic Exhibition.....  
7—Fancy Dancing.....11-Year-Old Francis Schumann  
8—Illustrated Song.....

MUSIC BY THE CARL SAHM CLUB.

Besides the regular Program, there will be Plays, Exhibitions, etc., in the Vienna Cafe and Bavarian Bier Stube. Grand distribution of Prizes, donated to the Fair, will be held on Saturday, Nov. 16, 1901. Over THREE THOUSAND PRIZES will be distributed, among which are Four Pianos, several Sewing Machines, Parlor Furniture, Silverware, etc., etc. Come and have a good time and bring all your friends along. Barrels of fun for old and young. Don't forget the dates and place.

BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

## CAPITALISM AND ASSASSINATION.

## Two Central Labor Bodies Point Out Connection Between Social Injustice and Mad Outbreaks of Violence.

The Central Labor Union of Springfield, Mass., of which our comrade, George H. Wrenn, Socialist candidate for Governor of the State, is president, adopted the following resolutions on the assassination of President McKinley:

"Whereas, The President of the United States, the choice of the voters for the supreme executive office, has been struck down by the bullet of an assassin;

"Resolved, That we, the executive board of the Central Labor Union of Springfield, in behalf of the organized wage-earners of Springfield, deplore and condemn the dastardly act, especially as an attack upon the right of government by the people which has reached its highest, if incomplete, development in our republic. That we further deplore the deed for the reason that we view with sorrow the taking by violence of any human life, however humble. That we further deplore the anarchistic conditions in a social system of which the act of the assassin is a manifestation. That we call upon all citizens to study the labor movement, and assist in the work of building up a system of society that will emancipate the working class from wage slavery, and thus do away with all injustice and tyranny, which will abolish anarchy and all other industrial wrongs and evils."

Of similar tenor is the resolution of the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, which is in these words: "Whereas, William McKinley, the President of the United States, has been shot by an anarchist in Buffalo in a most cowardly manner while he was shaking hands with the assassin;

"Whereas, There is even less excuse for horrors of that kind in this country than in any other, because for the first time in the history of the world the oppressed class has the same fundamental rights as the ruling class, namely, the right of the ballot; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we hereby give expression to our deeply felt pain at, and disgust and contempt for, the despicable deed in Buffalo; and, furthermore, be it

"Resolved, That we call upon all righteous and liberty-loving citizens to unite with us at the ballot box in order that we may abolish the present system of exploitation and establish a new and higher order of civilization, where poverty, misery and prostitution, and all the crime and insanity emanating therefrom, will be unknown."

Declarations of the same sort have been made by several other labor organizations, and many labor papers have editorially expressed the same view. While the capitalist papers have been howling for the suppression of free speech and press, the torturing of anarchists and other reactionary and futile measures, the working class alone seems to take a sane view of the matter, tracing violent attacks upon public officials to their true cause, social injustice, the example of lawlessness set by the ruling class, and the widespread misery and ignorance growing out of class rule. Socialism is, indeed, the only bulwark against assassination and mob violence.

## CASUALTIES IN THE CLASS WAR.

Last year 1,325 persons were killed and 19,572 injured, and the total number of deaths and injuries due to the movements of vehicles used exclusively upon railways showed an increase of ten killed and 248 injured on the returns for 1899. From actual collisions of trains and rolling stock and accidents to the permanent way, sixteen passengers were killed and 823 injured, while twenty-four railway servants were killed and 190 injured in such accidents. Although the number of railway servants killed in collisions and other accidents is not very much greater than the number of the general public who fall victims to the same causes, taking the total number of killed and injured on the railways from all causes the number of railway servants is enormously greater. In 1900 there were 631 railway servants killed and 15,098 injured, as compared with 584 killed and 15,582 injured in 1899. This is a terrible list of casualties for one single industry, and out of all proportion to the accidents among passengers. It may be that many of these casualties were unavoidable. In that case all the more reason for generous treatment of their employees by the railway companies.

But there is no doubt that very many so-called accidents could be prevented by reasonable precautions. Much has been done for the safety and comfort of railway passengers; but then an injury to passengers means a loss to the company. A mere shunter, driver, stoker or platelayer is only so much untrained material to be used in the manufacture of dividends for the owners of the roads. Therefore, every proposal for the protection of the limbs and lives of railway men is strenuously opposed by the representatives of the railway interest, who form a very large proportion of the "people's" House of Parliament, and whose influence there is overwhelming. Automatic couplings and automatic signalling of the approach of trains would do much to prevent accidents among shunters and platelayers, but the railway magnates will have none of them if they can help it. A big butcher's bill is nothing to them so long as it does not deplete their profits; and it is only an incident in the class war.—London Justice.

Since our powers of productivity have been multiplied twenty-fold within the last half century, then we should have twenty times the amount of comforts for the same application of labor as in the days of our fathers. But such is not the case. Poverty has everywhere kept pace with the march of progress.—Rev. T. McGrady.

## REMOVAL OF HEADQUARTERS.

The general headquarters of the National Union of the United Brewery Workers has been removed to Odd Fellows' Temple, corner Seventh and Elm streets, Rooms 169 and 110, Cincinnati, Ohio. All communications concerning the organization should be addressed to the national secretary-treasurer, Julius Zorn, and communications for the "Brauer-Zeitung" to the editor, Wm. K. Trautmann.

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## A LABOR PAPER ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

"I will dwell in solitude amidst the ruins of cities; I will inquire of the monuments of antiquity, what was the wisdom of former ages; I will ask the ashes of past legislators what causes have erected and overthrown empires; what are the principles of national prosperity and misfortune; what the maxims upon which the peace of society and the happiness of man ought to be founded."—Volney.

The above, taken from Volney's "Ruins of Empires," struck me rather forcibly some fifteen years ago during the great McCormick reaper strike in Chicago; and, though I dwell not in the ruins of cities, but midst the ruins of trade unions, and I asked not the monuments of antiquity, but the history of dead and obliterated trade unions of the past, the answer invariably came back after deep thought and study that, although the true basis of trade unionism is the class struggle, we have ignored the fact and sent our economic masters or their representatives to legislate for us, we have given them the political power to create laws for their own class interest, to weld the claims of wage slavery tighter upon us, to make Roosevelt spiked clubs to beat our brains out, and to shoot and bayonet us when we asked for more wages or better conditions. Such were the forcible answers to study and research along those lines, but times and men change. We find to-day many men who have struck the key to the situation, men who have read and thought and at last awakened.

The International Association of Machinists now has many men in its ranks who realize that the cause, and also the keynote to true trade unionism is the class struggle. That continued class war for economic mastery which will continue as long as capitalist society is allowed to exist—which will be but a short time once labor is awakened to the facts which were the cause of labor organization in the world, or where capitalism is in power.

Karl Marx, in his book called "Capital," shows the true basis of capitalism to be the appropriation from the producer, the worker, by the non-producer, the so-called capitalist, of a large share of the products of his toil, leaving a bare existence to the producer as his share, or, in plain words, robbery according to law is the occupation of the modern feudal lord of capitalist society, hence the class struggle.

The struggle of the masses on one hand is to reduce to a minimum the value produced, and on the other hand the capitalist class are strenuously endeavoring to get more and more out of the worker, the result of which is the organization of the worker into a trade union. And we find, no matter how we look at it, the class struggle looming up before us, notwithstanding the arguments of the paid tools of capitalists, Republican and Democratic alike, during the last campaign, it still stands as the basis of true trade unionism.

Another view of matters is given in the materialistic conception of history which proceeds upon the principle that production and next to production, the exchange of its products, is the groundwork of every social order, and that in every social system that has arisen "historically," the distribution of the products, together with the social divisions into classes and orders, depends upon that which is produced and the manner in which it is produced, and also upon the manner in which the articles produced are exchanged.

Here we find the same old thing over again: The manner of production and exchange. The economics of the times is fairly rung in our teeth every time we read true history.

This again points out, if you study closely, that our present system, the capitalist system of production, is at fault and must give place to the new, the law of surplus value, the groundwork of capitalism, or, in other words, the legal robbery of the producer once a more confronts you. The class struggle again looms up when viewed from the materialistic conception of modern society. Again you are confronted by the fact that you have to organize into trade unions to protect yourself industrially; again you are confronted with the undeniable fact that you must organize also on the political field; you must arrest the power of government out of the hands of the capitalist class, and run it for your own material interest. You must wipe out this present system of wage slavery, with all its crime, misery, and suffering. The tools of production, land and what it contains, the means of distribution on land and water should be public property. They were produced socially, therefore they should be owned socially, to be used by and for the benefit of all co-operatively, and not used as now, in competition for the benefit of the few, so that they can buy withered dukes and wealthy counts for their daughters to hobnob with in those dens of iniquity, called the royal courts of Europe.

This scattering of political power by trade unionists among the capitalist parties and the power of government to trade unionism is, and has been, the stumbling block that unionism has fallen over and broke its neck. Give the political power to your enemy, the capitalist, or his representative, and he will fender the combined efforts of all your organizations ineffectual, as has been done often before, or kill them together. This explains why trade unions have not been as successful as they should be and for the reason that if the brothers would stop chasing rainbows in the shape of, "this good man, that good man, this friend of labor, that friend of labor," and remember the one great fact, which is an undeniable one, that labor needs no friends. It being the majority in this country, can control, if it will, all offices from the lowest to the highest, and still the boss to "get out of the perch, I'll boss myself, and see how it feels; you go to work and see how it feels for once in your life!"—Machinist's Journal.

Since our powers of productivity have been multiplied twenty-fold within the last half century, then we should have twenty times the amount of comforts for the same application of labor as in the days of our fathers. But such is not the case. Poverty has everywhere kept pace with the march of progress.—Rev. T. McGrady.

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## REMOVAL OF HEADQUARTERS.

The general headquarters of the National Union of the United Brewery Workers has been removed to Odd Fellows' Temple, corner Seventh and Elm streets, Rooms 169 and 110, Cincinnati, Ohio. All communications concerning the organization should be addressed to the national secretary-treasurer, Julius Zorn, and communications for the "Brauer-Zeitung" to the editor, Wm. K. Trautmann.

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## National Platform of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party of America in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the null of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fought between nations, industries are shut down, the means of the destruction of whole races are sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties, which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act

as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

We declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all



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# The Worker

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## VICTORY IN BERLIN.

Social Democratic Party Makes Great Gains in German Capital.

Sweeping Victory in Municipal Election—American Daily Press, After Predicting a Defeat for Us, Fails to Report Our Success.

The municipal election in Berlin was held on Wednesday, November 6, and resulted in a sweeping victory for the Social Democratic Party.

The American daily press has been giving a great deal of space to accounts of the alleged dimensions in the Social Democratic Party of Germany and has confidently predicted its downfall. On Thursday of last week, the day when the result of the election was reported over the cable, the New York "Evening Post," while suppressing the news of the actual result, printed a long letter from its Berlin correspondent, written two weeks earlier, in which it was confidently shown as the writer thought that the Social Democrats of that city were to meet their Waterloo on November 6. Almost all the other papers took the same course of suppressing the report of the Socialist victory.

The system by which the municipal council of Berlin (as in most other German cities) is elected is a curious one. The people are divided according to their wealth into three classes—a few of the very rich forming one class, a larger number of the moderately well-to-do forming the second, while the third comprises the great mass of the working people. Each of these classes elects forty-nine members of the council, and one-third of each class are elected each year.

The Socialists have, of course, no hope of ever electing any members from the first or even the second class. There were, therefore, but sixteen seats which they could possibly win, even though they got the whole working-class vote.

Of the sixteen whose terms expire this year and whose successors have to be elected, seven were Social Democrats, eight Liberals, and one a Conservative. Wednesday's election put in their places thirteen Social Democrats and three Liberals.

The Kaiser has contributed very materially to this result by his impudent interference in the municipal affairs of Berlin. But it is significant that the respectable gentility who form the Liberal party have not had the courage to present and resist this revival of autocracy and that only the working class and the Social Democratic Party maintain the old German free spirit.

The American printers of Bernstein can find little comfort in this victory, which was gained in spite of the compromising tendency which he has been trying to cultivate and which has disappointed the expectations of the American capitalists who have so warmly approved him.

## A FABLE REVISED.

We find the following fable under the innocently appropriate title: "A Simpleton's Remedy."

"Old Lady Finance was breathing hard."

"Dr. Pop said she must go to the Government Sanatorium."

"Dr. Banks said that she was poisoned by hygienic silver."

"Dr. Proh said that the drain through the saloon had depleted her system."

"Dr. Over-Production said that the trouble was that she was too well."

"Dr. Bags said that Homogeneity, Industry, and Perseverance would make her all right."

"They got a trained nurse with a college diploma. The nurse offered her bounties and subsidies to rouse her to activity. Still she was clearly in a gregarious state."

"Said Merchant, her youngest son: 'You've taxed her resources in trying to reduce over-circulation.'"

"Said Farmer, her eldest son: 'You've checked her circulation.'"

"Said Wage, her second son: 'Your gold cure has created an unnatural craving for stimulants.'"

"Said Dr. Liberty: 'Remove those restrictions that are choking her and let Nature make her well. But no one was so ignorant as to permit such a thing as that.' Bolton Hall, in Life."

"Unhappily Bolton Hall's fertile brain does not seem to have room for both wit and logic at one and the same time. When the wit is in, the logic is out. We have never seen logic in, by the way, in his particular case, except when our wit is engaged in puncturing popular fallacies. Unfortunately he always wants to suggest some solution of the problems he so cleverly states and—well, he doesn't exactly know how. Logic and the Single Tax mind are incompatible. Yet, in the present instance, we certainly cannot say that he takes 'liberty' with logic, although we would like to see him take a little logic with his 'liberty.' In place of the vague and valueless advice given by 'Dr. Liberty,' Rev. (Revolutionary) Dr. Socialist, the only economic radical whose philosophy is constructive, would say: 'Nationalize industry and produce for use, not for profit, and interest, banks and finance will cease to be for Old Lady Finance, who is the housekeeper of Capitalism, will die with her master.'"

It is lamentable that Bolton Hall ever attempts to draw the moral of his fables. They are such good reading until we reach his own opinion as to what should be done.

## PUTS ITSELF ON RECORD.

Tammany District Leaders Say Things Worthy of Remembrance.

Engel Says the People of His District Have Been Half-Starved Under His Rule—Plunkitt Says the Big Corporations Stand Back of Him.

Two district leaders of Tammany Hall have made statements that deserve to be remembered and thought over and discussed all through the next two years. Judging by the incompetency of every "reform" administration of which New York City has had experience in the past, the Democrats will be able in the city campaign of 1903, to make an effective attack upon Mr. Low's record. We shall have to fight both old parties in 1903—and especially we shall have to fight Tammany, who has having then the larger chance of success. Let us remember, then these two utterances.

### MARTIN ENGEL ON TAMMANY PROSPERITY.

Martin Engel, Tammany leader in the Eighth, was interviewed last Thursday. He bitterly resented the imputation that the Eighth was a "red light district" and this was his argument:

"There is less crime down in the Eighth District than any other in the city. The worst that can be said about my people is that sometimes they drink a little too much. The people talk about orgies in the Eighth District. WHY THE PEOPLE DOWN THERE ARE NOT LOST TO THE STATE, AND HAVEN'T GOT ANY MONEY FOR ORGIES."

For many years Martin Engel has boasted with good reason of having absolute power in the Eighth. If he wanted the law enforced in his district, they were enforced; if he wanted them left untouched, so it was. And this is the result of his rule: The people whose welfare he had in his charge "ate half-starved, and haven't got any money for orgies."

All through these two years Martin Engel and his lieutenants and the bigger men who stand back of him will be working in the Eighth to recapture the district. The people—the real working people of the Eighth—who are half-starved now under the rule of Engel and the overlordship of Croker, will not be any better fed under Mr. Low's administration. But when Tammany points out to them the failure of the "reformers" and asks them to return the Crokers and Engels to power, let them remember what this Tammany leader has said of the conditions that he tolerated, that he helped to create.

### SENATOR PLUNKITT ON TAMMANY BLACKMAIL

The other statement is from the lips of Senator George W. Plunkitt, New York's leading member of the Fifteenth. He was asked what he thought of the defeat of his party, and he replied that they were going to win everything back in 1903. In the course of the interview he said:

"How are we going to get through the next two years? Speaking for myself, I can say that no Tammany man in my district will suffer for food or coal. I'VE GOT LOTS OF PATRONAGE OUTSIDE OF POLITICS. I'VE GOT THREE HUNDRED MEN ON THE STREET RAILROADS. AND I'VE GOT A PULL WITH BIG CORPORATIONS THAT EMPLOY THOUSANDS OF MEN, AND THEY WILL TAKE CARE OF PLUNKITT'S FOLLOWERS. Let us get back into the office. I've been caught in the rain before, but I've got something for the rainy day."

What does that mean? Why do the street railway companies employ men at Plunkitt's recommendation? Why will the big corporations take care of Plunkitt's followers? The answer is easy: Because Tammany has allowed these corporations to violate the laws and to dodge their taxes.

The "reformers" have denounced Tammany for selling protection to petty law-breakers—keepers of saloons, gambling houses, and brothels. They have had nothing to say against the protection Tammany has given to the greater law-breakers—the great corporations to which Plunkitt refers. Why? Again the answer is easy: Because the "reform" ticket was backed by these same law-breakers. Because the great corporations hate both old parties. Because the "reformers" propose to protect them in their violations of law, just as Tammany has done.

The Social Democratic Party will continue all through the coming term to watch both the old parties. Two years from now it will again call upon the workingmen to cast their votes for the old parties as against both the old parties. As Engel and Plunkitt have put into our hands arguments against Tammany, so will the administration give us arguments against "reform."

## THE WORKER CONFERENCE.

Every Assembly District or other Socialist organization in Greater New York is requested to see that its delegate attends the next meeting of The Worker Conference, which will be held at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, Monday evening, Nov. 25.

The work of organization and education must be taken up at once. The splendid enthusiasm which our comrades have shown in this campaign should not be allowed to flag. The work of the coming months is different in kind from that of the campaign, but it is no less important.

## A BROKEN PLEDGE

In Spite of Pres. Roosevelt's Promise, Iglesias Is Arrested in Puerto Rico.

Government Follows Its Old Course of Persecuting Those Who Would Organize Puerto Rican Workingmen—Iglesias Has Had Experience.

In spite of the direct and unequivocal promise of protection given by President Roosevelt in person to Santiago Iglesias in the presence of Samuel Gompers, the former, who has been sent to Puerto Rico by the American Federation of Labor, was arrested as soon as he stepped ashore at San Juan.

Comrade Iglesias has already had a good deal of experience of Puerto Rican prisons, having repeatedly been thrown into jail, along with other Socialists, while carrying on the work of organizing the workingmen of the island and for the defense of their rights by both political and trade-union methods.

It is reported that on the complaint of President Gompers of the A. F. of L., Roosevelt has telegraphed Governor Hunt for an explanation of the arrest.

It is impossible to guess whether some pretext will be trumped up by which the government can excuse its breach of faith or whether the administration will be wise enough to order Iglesias' release. In either case, the Socialist movement will gain. If Iglesias goes free, he will do good work in organizing the workingmen of Puerto Rico to resistance to capitalist oppression. If he is held in prison, the news of the fact will arouse the Puerto Ricans to activity and help to unite them against the capitalists and their political tools.

Later—it appears that Iglesias has been arrested on a charge brought against him more than a year ago. The ground upon which the Public Prosecutor asks that he be sentenced to a term of imprisonment is simply that, at the time when wages in Puerto Rico were reduced in the change of the coinage system, he "persuaded the labor organizations to go on strike," and that "he is a dangerous labor agitator and is continually causing unrest."

## CAPITALIST CRUELTY.

A Shocking Example of the Fruits of Class Rule from the Current History of New York.

Here is a story—and not an uncommon one—of capitalist brutality, as told in the columns of one of New York's most reputable newspapers last Monday:

"Sarah Weinstein, a domestic, after being refused admission to two hospitals, is now lying in a critical condition in St. Mary's Hospital, Brooklyn, suffering with typhoid pneumonia. The woman was found early yesterday morning by a policeman at the corner of Broadway and Flushing avenue very ill."

"The policeman called an ambulance from Williamsburg Hospital. Dr. Tel-fair responded and diagnosed the woman's trouble as gastritis. When asked where she lived, he said that she had been employed by Maurice Fein of 104 Flushing avenue, but that he had told her when she complained of being sick to go out on the street and to complain to the first policeman and he would send her to the hospital."

"When the physician heard this he became very angry, and according to his story put the woman in the ambulance and took her to Fein's home, which is on the second floor of a tenement house. Fein at first refused to take the woman in, but was finally forced to do so."

"About 5 o'clock a call was sent to St. Catherine's Hospital for an ambulance, which was answered by Dr. McIntee, who refused to move the girl as he could find nothing the matter with her. He said as far as he could see she was shamming."

"Late in the evening a policeman of the Vernon Street Police Station found the girl on the curb in front of the house very ill and too weak to walk. She was taken to the station in a patrol wagon and was transferred from there to the Gates Avenue Station, where there is a matron."

"She collapsed, and a call for an ambulance was sent to St. Mary's Hospital, which was responded to by Dr. Williams, who said the woman was suffering from typhoid pneumonia, and moved her at once to the hospital, where at a late hour it was said that her condition was serious."

"That a sick woman could be thus cruelly driven from pillar to post in the city that boasts itself the richest in the world, a city that calls itself civilized and Christian, will be a surprise only to those who do not know the world of capitalism by experience. But it is a fact that should bring shame to the people of the city—to the capitalists because they have made it such a city, to the workers because they have allowed the continuance of a system that makes such things possible."

Chattel slaves in the Old South were not treated thus when they fell sick. The chattel slave was cared for in sickness at least as carefully as a horse or a cow. But a "free" working woman, when she loses her health, is no longer of any value to her master and is turned into the street to die.

Consider, workingmen of New York and of America, it is your sisters and daughters who are exposed to such treatment as this—not the sisters and daughters of your employer or your landlord. Remember, as you vote for capitalism or for Socialism, you vote for or against such outrages as this.

## THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

Returns Coming in Slowly Indicate a Steady Growth.

Some Splendid Reports from Pennsylvania and Ohio—S. L. P. in General Left Far Behind—Confusion of Names Causes Some Loss.

Returns of the Socialist vote come in, as usual, very slowly. Some of them are highly satisfactory, while some of them are of a character to discourage us. With many obstacles in its way, Socialism moves steadily forward.

Until the official count is completed we cannot give any full or accurate account of the vote in New York City. This will be available in about a week.

The Party in Pennsylvania evidently lost greatly by the confusion resulting from our being compelled to go upon the state ballot under the name "Public Ownership." In other states the change from "Social Democratic" to "Socialist" may have made some temporary confusion. But these difficulties will soon be overcome.

## IN THE STATE.

Schenectady.—This place gives the S. L. P. 7 votes. Last year there were four.

Utica Falls.—Where only one Socialist vote was cast here last fall there were now 8.

Dolgeville.—The Social Democratic Party has 27 votes here and the S. L. P. 25.

Port Chester.—We have 16 and the S. L. P. 6.

Peebles.—The average vote for Social Democratic candidates on county and town tickets in the town of Peebles, which includes the village of Peebleskill, is 95. The S. L. P. averages 70. Our vote ranges from 84 to 96 except in the cases of John Buttery, candidate for Justice of the Peace, who polled 105, and Seth Taber, for Supervisor, who has 143. The S. L. P. vote ranges from 64 to 80. Last fall the town gave 65 for the S. D. P. and 37 for the S. L. P.

Yonkers.—The S. L. P. fared badly here, while we made a small gain. The straight Socialist Democratic vote is 51, as against 43 last fall. The straight S. L. P. vote falls from 273 to 100.

The Republican candidate for Mayor in this Republican town was a millionaire manufacturer of unsavory reputation named Andrus. His opponent was a ward politician, one of the Democratic aldermen, named "Mike" Walsh. The Democrats stole the honors of the election, and the result was claimed that the issue at stake was the war between Labor and Capital. "Mike," who does not care a continental for the former and does not possess a farthing of the latter, eagerly posed as the leader of the poor and oppressed. He won and gave Mr. Andrus the worst drubbing any candidate ever received in Yonkers. The campaign was a hot one and votes were at a premium.

The actions of "Mike" Walsh, however, could not deceive class-conscious Socialists, and the S. L. P. had a chance to make a good campaign. Did they do it? Not a bit of it. They confined their efforts almost exclusively to abusing the Social Democratic Party, disturbing its meetings, and maligning its members. We made a good campaign, distributing 1,700 papers (The Worker, the "Social Democratic Herald," the "Challenge," and the "International Socialist Review") and over 4,000 leaflets.

Unfortunately we failed to get our city ticket filed, but an examination of our county ticket will show how solid our vote was. Our candidates ran: Holmes, 51; Wood, 52; Seck, 54; Weasling, 52; Gastelger, 52; Bauerberg, 51; Thomas, 54; to be compared with 43 for Hanford last year.

The S. L. P. county ticket ran as follows: Baird, 118; Francesky, 115; Erickson, 121; Crotty, 110; Jacobson, 120; Funes, 120; Sweeney, 120—and the candidate for Mayor, Troy, got 106. Last year, Corriegan had 278. Fifteen of the "buzz-saw" people scratched their tickets in favor of either of the Democratic ward politicians or of the Republican millionaire. That shows where the other 132 went, and it shows how good a Socialist leader DeLeon is.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

Haverhill.—The vote for Governor in this city is as follows:

Crane, Republican, 2,972

Wren, S. D. P., 1,147

Quincy, Democrat, 860

Berry, S. L. P., 120

Lewis, Prohibitionist, 93

For State Senator (Fourth Essex Senatorial District), the vote is:

How, Republican, 2,456

Chase, S. D. P., 1,187

Conney, Democrat, 429

Hawkes, Prohibitionist, 457

Representatives in the General Court:

Third Essex District—Hall, Rep., 1,025; Leach, S. D. P., 576; Millay, Dem., 213.

Fourth—Batchelder, Rep., 578; Atwood, Ind., 285; Talbot, S. D. P., 256; Frost, Dem., 244; Galley, S. L. P., 19.

Fifth—Curey, S. D. P., 780; Bourneau, Rep., 606; Buckley, S. L. P., 30.

Ninth—Palmer, Rep., 726; White, Dem., 492; Pickering, S. D. P., 105; Welch, Ind., 90.

Brookline.—The total vote is very light. We cast 887 for Governor; the S. L. P. has 145. For Senator (Second Plymouth), we have 1,113 for Spear, For Representative in the Ninth we have 439 for Tribou, beating the Democrats; in the Tenth (two members), we have 249 for Drake and 262 for Henry. In the Eleventh we have 270 for Brodus.

Lawrence.—Our vote for Governor is 274, instead of 258, as reported last week. Our highest votes are for Leach, for Sheriff, 1,045, and Gillen, for Clerk of Courts, 1,200. Others range from 221 to 576.

Reading.—We have 14 and the S. L. P. 9. Last year we had 9.

Holliston.—Our vote is 29 and the S. L. P. 28. Last fall, 24 and 10, respectively.

Fall River.—The vote in this city is as follows: For the Socialist (or Social Democratic) Party: Governor, 154; Lieutenant-Governor, 118; Secretary, 297; Treasurer, 246; Auditor, 218; Attorney-General, 179. For the S. L. P.: Governor, 312; Lieutenant-Governor, 180; Secretary, 232; Treasurer, 258; Auditor, 310. Our average is 202; S. L. P. average, 264.

Wakefield.—Our vote on the state ticket averages 34. Wren, for Governor, gets 28 and Noyes, for Conciller, runs highest, with 52. The S. L. P. vote ranges from 35 to 52; Berry, for Mayor, receiving 45; their average is 44.

On the county ticket (Middlesex County) the S. L. P. was not represented and the Democrats and Republicans united. For County Commissioner we had, in Wakefield, 148, against 1,033 for the capitalist combine; for Associate Commissioners, 234 and 188, against 886 and 781; for District Attorney, 264, against 851; for Clerk of Courts, 180, against 1,029; for Sheriff, 198, against 1,036.

## NEW JERSEY.

The official reports of the vote have been given out in six counties in New Jersey. The result is as follows:

Camden . . . . . 97  
Essex . . . . . 709  
Hudson . . . . . 1,319  
Huntdon . . . . . 22  
Monmouth . . . . . 30  
Union . . . . . 205

Fifteen counties are still to be heard from. Our total vote in the six counties reported is 2,382. Last year we had 4,000 in the whole state. The S. L. P. total in the six counties above is 1,248. Last year in the whole state they had 2,074.

Paterson.—Charles H. Vall, candidate of the Socialist Party for Governor, gets here 374 votes. Frank Wilson, the S. L. P. candidate, has 306.

On the county ticket, Gar, our candidate for County Clerk, has 346 and Berdan, S. L. P., has 157. Nagerlin, Socialist Party, for Coroner, has 371. For Assembly we have: Morgenstern, 388; Schmidt, 387; Hucck, 374; Lincoln, 378; Gilbert, 370. The S. L. P. candidates have from 359 to 367.

On the city ticket, Wip. Glanz, our candidate for Mayor, gets 210 votes and the S. L. P. man, James Wilson, 271. In the First Ward we have 22 for Alderman and the S. L. P. 38; Second, Socialist Party, 72 and S. L. P. 70. Last year Passaic County gave our national ticket 337 and the S. L. P. 340.

A considerable number of the last time the name of our candidate for Mayor did not appear. This, no doubt, cost us many votes for this office. Aside from this, we have gained more from the S. L. P. and take the lead of them.

Haledon.—Manchester Borough gives 49 for the Socialist ticket and 22 for the S. L. P. North Haledon Borough gives 21 and the S. L. P. 4. The town of Manchester is 284 and in North Haledon 76. So we have a good proportion.

Later.—Bergen County gives us 199 for Governor, a gain of 23.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

New Castle.—Lawrence County gives us 318 votes for the state ticket, and 453 for the county ticket. As our county ticket appeared on the ballot under the name "Socialist Party" and the state ticket was in another column under the name "Public Ownership" (owing to the protest of the malcontents S. L. P.), a number of those who intended to vote straight with us made a mistake of the state ticket. Some of them voted the S. L. P. state ticket and others spoiled their ballots.

We carried the largest ward in this city, the Union ward, by a vote of 201 to 150 for all other candidates. We also carried the first precinct of Union Township and the third of Shenango by 37 to 36 and by 29 to 10 respectively.

We have started our campaign for the city election, which will be held in February.

Reading.—This city gives our state ticket 233 votes; the whole of the county ticket, 279. Last year the whole county gave us 242. The S. L. P. gained something, but is far behind us. Our gain was in the city and theirs in the outlying districts, where we did not have time to advertise the enforced change in the name of our ticket, and where, consequently, they got many votes belonging to us. We know of 11 votes intended for us which went to the S. L. P.

East, our candidate for Sheriff, whose name came under the heading "Socialist Party," got 236 votes, which represents our legitimate strength.

York.—York County gives the Socialist Party ("Public Ownership") state ticket 176 votes and 20 for the S. L. P. Last year we had 225 and the S. L. P. 12.

Our county ticket, printed on the ballot under the right name, Socialist Party, is considerable higher. Kohler, for Sheriff, has 185; Kerr, for Director, 191; Kahler, for Clerk, 191; Hoffman, for Register, 201; Pfeiffer, for Surveyor, 191. Evidently at least half of the

S. L. P. vote was intended for us. We get official standing.

Wilkes Barre.—Lawrence County gives Barnes, our candidate for State Treasurer, 80 votes and Heydrick, for Supreme Court, 93. The corresponding S. L. P. candidates get 84 and 80 respectively. Last year our national ticket had 362 and the S. L. P. 114.

Our county ticket does better. Seward, for Sheriff, gets 133; Roth, for Controller, 131; McEaney, for Recorder, 128; Schneider, for Coroner, 144. The difference indicates that half the votes cast for the S. L. P. state ticket would have been cast for us but for the confusion of name.

Austin.—Potter County gives 31 votes for the state ticket of the Socialist Party, which appeared on the ballot under the name of "Public Ownership Party." The S. L. P. gets 33. Last year we had 46 and the S. L. P. 7. As they have done no work it is certain that most of their votes were intended for us and were cast wrong on account of the trouble about the name. At any rate, the combined Socialist vote rises from 53 to 64. Total vote was light.

McSherrystown.—This place gives us 10 votes for Barnes and 18 for Heydrick. Conewago Township gives Barnes 5 and Heydrick 4. Five votes were cast for the S. L. P. by mistake. Last year the whole of Adams County gave us 18 votes and the S. L. P. 3.

## OHIO.

Cincinnati seems to have made the best showing among the large cities of Ohio. Three reports reach us, giving the Socialist vote as 2,376, 2,876, and 3,170, respectively. Given the lowest figure is satisfactory, as the whole of Hamilton County gave us last year only 1,070.

Cleveland reports 727 votes for the Socialist Party. Last fall Cuyahoga County gave us 992 and in the spring election the city gave 594; Johnsonism in Cleveland and Jonesism in Toledo seem to have misled many voters, and the injurious effect of the S. L. P. tactics of falsehood and abuse is still felt.

On the whole, Ohio would seem to have registered a good Socialist vote, as the following reports show:

Fostoria.—2 votes which our party cast here last year have grown to 32. A year ago we had 72 in the whole of Seneca County.

Warren.—This city gives the Socialist Party 148 votes, a gain of 103. Niles, also in Trumbull County, gives 75, a gain of 50. Last year the county gave us 80 votes; this year it will probably amount to 300.

Canton.—Stark County, of which Canton is the county seat, gives 115 for us and 106 for the S. L. P. Last year we had 97.

Ashtabula.—Thompson, head of Socialist Party ticket, gets 86 votes here. The S. L. P. has 6. Last year we had 28 in the city and 55 in the whole of Ashtabula County.

Brookings.—This city gives Thompson 62 votes, against 10 last year. We had then only 40 in all Crawford County. The S. L. P. has 8 in the city; against 2 last year.

Portsmouth.—We have 180 votes for the Socialist Party here and the S. L. P. has 28. Our vote in Scioto County may reach 350. Last year the whole county gave us 87 and the S. L. P. 6.

Painesville.—Eight votes for us and 4 for the S. L. P. in this town. Last year Lake County gave 4 for us and 3 for the S. L. P.

Toledo.—Lucas County gives 405 votes for Thompson, Socialist candidate for Governor. The average for the seven candidates on our state ticket is 505 and the average for our county ticket 485. Last year we had 1,036 for Debs and Harriman. The S. L. P. gets 147, as against 48 last year. They have done no work, but have profited by our agitation, through mistakes of voters. We were doubtless beaten out of many votes.

The falling off of our vote is about proportionate with that of the two old parties, for the whole vote was light. There is too much Jonesism and a lack of the militant spirit among Socialists.

Later.—Official returns from Cincinnati show 319 in Hamilton County, a gain of 3078. S. L. P. has 831, a gain of 611.

## CALIFORNIA.

San Francisco.—In spite of the strength of the "Union Labor Party," which carried the city, and which naturally presented a great temptation to those who were otherwise inclined to vote our ticket, by offering the hope of immediate success—in spite of this, we held for the Socialist Party 912 straight votes whom nothing could lure away.

This is a loss of 1,100 from our poll for Debs and Harriman last fall. It is a gain of 57 over the combined strength of both Socialist parties in 1890. That is to say, practically all of the new voters whom we gained last year went for the Union Labor Party this time. But they are lost to us. They will get their experience and come back and bring others with them.

Our campaign was an active one and had a great educational influence. Some of our candidates ran considerably ahead of the candidates for mayor. His vote is 612. The others range from 908 to 1,447.

## IOWA.

Dubuque.—The city of Dubuque gives 311 votes for the ticket of the Socialist Party. Last fall only 97 votes were cast in the city for our national ticket. This is a gain of about 220 per cent.

## MARYLAND.

Baltimore.—Fuller reports give Marks, Socialist candidate for Sheriff in Baltimore, 67 votes, as against 909 for Debs and Harriman last November.

## VIRGINIA.

Newport News.—Very hard to get any accurate news of our vote here. Some votes which are known to have been cast were not counted. Last year we had 30 votes. This fall one paper credits us with 78 and the S. L. P. with 33; another gives us 130 and the S. L. P. 80.

BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

## IT IS SUCH A COMPLETE SUCCESS

that we do not consider it necessary to give any account of it in this paper—other matter pressing us both for time and space. If you want to know about it, go and see it.



## The Worker.

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### SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) ..... 2,069  
In 1890 ..... 15,331  
In 1892 (Presidential) ..... 21,137  
In 1894 ..... 38,132  
In 1896 (Presidential) ..... 36,964  
In 1898 ..... 82,204  
S. L. P. ..... 9,545  
In 1900 (Presidential):  
S. D. P. ..... 96,918  
S. L. P. ..... 33,450



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

Hello! A telephone trust in Illinois is the latest. Another instance of centralization. Socialism will "ring out" these private combinations by nationalizing them all.

James B. Dur says that the trusts show a tendency to become callous to public opinion. What an acute observer he is! If this intellectual phenomenon keeps on he may discover that the trusts show a tendency towards Socialism.

The New York "Evening Post" prints special correspondence from London showing that the trust question is assuming proportions quite as serious in England as in this country. This fact should be a sufficient answer to the claim of the Democrats that repeal of the tariff laws will solve the problem. For England has had free trade for over half a century.

P. J. McGuire, who accuses the Socialists of having caused his removal from office in the Brotherhood of Carpenters, has been arrested on a charge of embezzling union funds. The Socialists are quite willing to accept the responsibility for his downfall, and can easily see why McGuire has been so anxious in the past to "keep politics (Socialists) out of the union."

In his recent address on "How the Other Half Ought to Live," Rev. Geo. L. McVitt did not seem to think it necessary to suggest that a social system in which there is an "other half" and an "upper tier" ought to be done away with. These people who are so concerned about the welfare of the "other half" indignantly resent the statement that there are any classes in this country.

The "Undercurrent" of Redlands, Cal., says it has not been "suppressed," as we erroneously announced. It has only been persecuted by some "law-abiding" ruffians in good clothes who are afraid to have the people learn about Socialism. We take the word of Comrade York that he isn't suppressed yet, and wish him the best of success in fighting the aforesaid ruffians and converting the rest of the people.

Father Hogan, of Trenton, N. J., who deplores the decline of marriage among young Catholics, found upon personal investigation that marriage was discouraged by parents who needed the earnings of their children. Under capitalism great numbers of wage-slaves do not make enough to support a family. Socialism would mean plenty for all—but that would never do, for Archbishop Corrigan, another good Catholic, will tell you that Socialism would destroy the home.

It is "up to" Sheriff-elect William J. O'Brien to show us what a working-

man elected to office on a capitalist ticket can do in the way of enforcing the law for the benefit of the working class and preventing or punishing the crimes of the capitalist class. Our prediction, based on just experience, is that Mr. O'Brien will be able to accomplish absolutely nothing and our sympathy goes out to him in the troubles he will have should he honestly try to use his official power in the interest of his class.

We are in receipt of an invitation to co-operate with the McKinley National Memorial Association. As this appeal bears the names of Marcus A. Hanna, J. Pierpont Morgan, and other leading exponents of practical Anarchy we fall to see how the association can carry out its purpose of "emphasizing our abhorrence of that spirit of lawlessness which inspired the assault upon his (McKinley's) life." When the erection of a monument to the miners of the Cour d'Alenes bull-pen is proposed, we will be glad to contribute.

We are not surprised that the New York "Journal"—the "workingmen's paper"—gives so much space to Archbishop Corrigan's insane attacks upon Socialism. The "Journal" is exactly the paper in which such things will do the greatest possible good—to the capitalists. But the day is past when bold assertions would serve instead of arguments against Socialism. The Archbishop will have to wake up and read something of the literature and history of the past thirty years if he wants to make a half-way respectable showing in this new crusade of his.

### GOOD MR. MORGAN.

While Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan was entertaining his force of ministers during the convention of Mr. Morgan's church his grocer's bills are said to have amounted to \$200 a day, not to say anything of wine at \$23 a bottle. Mr. Morgan's fortune is "the wages of abstinence." If you don't believe it, ask Mr. Morgan's professor of political economy. Any young man by industry, frugality and perseverance can equal Mr. Morgan's "success." If you don't believe it, ask Mr. Morgan's preachers.

One of the good brethren who was not invited to dinner has charged Mr. Morgan with extravagance. Let us hope that Mr. Morgan's government will arrest this bad man for treason, as law and order must be respected and anarchy must be stamped out.

It will be remembered that Mr. Morgan carried Mr. Morgan's preachers across Mr. Morgan's country on Mr. Morgan's special train, and that they lived on the best that Mr. Morgan's world can provide. This was a good thing because it gave many people work. If it was not for Mr. Morgan who would pay our wages? Let us be thankful that Mr. Morgan is an American citizen. We should be proud of such a fine man.

Mr. Morgan's preachers are also very wise and good men. They say: "Be content with the station in life in which Providence has placed you. Be good and work hard and you will get your reward in the next world. Thank Mr. Morgan and God for the blessings of prosperity. Your interests and Mr. Morgan's are identical. Amen."

And Mr. Morgan winks the other eye.

The "Times" editorially makes an elaborate defense of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit in its complaints about the amount of damages it has to pay for killing and injuring employees, passengers, and pedestrians. The "Times" wants new rulings from the courts or else new statutes from the legislature, making it cheaper for street railway companies to kill people for profit. This is quite proper from the "Times," the property of J. Pierpont Morgan, a Democratic party which supports Republican candidates. Very likely Mr. Morgan, who owns a great deal of street railway stock, will get the rulings he thus asks for. Republican and Democratic judges are generally quite reasonable fellows. Socialist judges would apply the law in such a way that the street railway company would either use every known means of protecting life or else give up their franchises and let the city try it hand.

### THE ALLIED PARTY.

We are in receipt of the first number of "The Allied Party Herald," the organ of the Allied Party launched at Kansas City last month. We find therein the program of the Allied Party. This fearful and wonderful document calls for "a union of all those who are opposed to the rule of capitalism over the people," and it places in this category "Populists, Socialists, Single Taxers, Union Reformers, Organized Labor, and Independent Democrats and Republicans." The Allied Party is in favor of anything that will get votes. It is in favor, firstly, of anything, secondly, of everything, and lastly, of nothing. This political system for the free-minded, if its permanent organization is ever effected, will probably draw together the greatest menagerie of middle-class, political fakirs, and nondescript monstrosities ever on exhibition.

The declaration of "political pri-

ties" of the Allied Party is "a thing of shreds and patches," calling for "scientific money," "just and natural taxation," and other nebulous generalities. For confusion and political quackery this program excels the worst efforts of "Golden Rule" Jones, the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, or the author of "The Passing of Capitalism." The climax of effrontery is reached by heading this economic grab-bag with the immortal call of Karl Marx: "Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

That the leaders of this organization have not even the poor excuse of ignorance is proven by the fact that whatever is in the slightest degree worthy of consideration in their speeches and addresses, given in "The Allied Party Herald," is stolen from the literature of Socialism, although so mutilated and modified as to be valueless. The statement that Socialists are included in this "union of reform forces" is a downright misrepresentation, as no member of the Socialist Party took any part in their conference. The Socialist Party is the only "union of all those who are opposed to the rule of capitalism over the people," and if the organizers of the Allied Party have ordinary intelligence they know it.

The Allied Party was still-born and we do not believe any attempt to resurrect the buried corpse of Populism will meet with even temporary success. Nevertheless, those who are just beginning to think can easily be misled, and this fact must always be reckoned with.

Should this new party become in the smallest degree a political force it would doubtless further the disintegration of the dying Democracy, of which, indeed, it is a symptom. On the other hand, such parties which pretend to stand for the interests of labor and, while refusing to recognize the class struggle, "favor" a few Socialistic measures in a mutilated and emasculated form—thus serving the interests of the capitalist class by creating confusion and division in the ranks of workingmen who have not yet become conscious of their class interests—the enemies of progress and the most contemptible foes of the working class, and whether organized through luxurious stupidity and ignorance, to serve individual ambition, or for purposes of political jobbery, must be met with the severest possible condemnation and exposure.

Edward Hoos, the present Democratic Mayor of Jersey City, did not see any reason why he should not appoint the president of the Traction Trust, Alvin L. McDermott, as Corporation Counsel. But now that McDermott, since election, has been talking favorably of the successful Republican candidate, Hoos suddenly discovers that an officer of such a company ought not to be charged with the duty of enforcing the laws which his company violates, and wants him to resign. Evidently both Hoos and McDermott know their business. Hoos has lost his game, and McDermott is now going to see to it that the Republican administration continues to favor the Traction Trust as the Democrats have in the past.

### "THAT OTHER FELLOW" AND MOTHER JONES.

The Paterson "Evening News" has on its staff a person—we do not call him a man, because he isn't one—who writes under the title of "That Other Fellow." He writes in rather a bright style, with good command of language—in fact, the only thing he seems to lack is sincerity or respect for truth and that he lacks completely. That is why we don't designate him as a man.

We are called upon to notice "That Other Fellow" by an attack which he has recently made upon Mother Jones, who is well known in Paterson and in many other towns, East and West, North and South, for her faithful work on behalf of toilers struggling for an improvement in their condition. "That Other Fellow" hurls Mother Jones speak to the striking silk workers. He did not learn anything from her. Naturally not. "That Other Fellow" is one of those silly fellows who "know it all" and therefore cannot possibly learn anything. "That Other Fellow," then went up to the office and wrote a column of "stuff"—that's what they call it in newspaper offices and it's the right name—about Mother Jones and the silk-mill strikers. Then he drew his pay—so much per inch—and went out and had a drink and thought what a smart fellow he was, to be able to get paid for writing "stuff" about people and things that he didn't know the first thing about.

The burden of "That Other Fellow's" accusation against Mother Jones is in this passage: "Did she ever live away back, as a girl among other people—'Mother Jones,' as they call her—did she ever know what toiling and working and skimping and saving for the month's rent and the food for the children meant? She hardly did." And so he goes on, ad nauseam.

Now, in order to save "That Other Fellow"—who is really not a bad sort of a fellow at heart, but only foolish and conceited and, apparently, very, very young—from making such an exhibition of himself in this line again, we will inform him that long before he had cut his milk-teeth—if we judge his age correctly—Mother Jones had earned more with her needle than "That Other Fellow's" writings have ever been worth or ever will be. Mother Jones, as seamstress, knew very well "what toiling and working and skimping and saving meant." And Mother Jones, as union organizer, keeps right on toiling and working and skimping and saving for the labor movement does not provide a very luxurious nor a very easy life for its faithful servants.

"That Other Fellow"—superior young gentleman that he is—refers to Mother Jones as a "weak-eyed old lady." If Mother Jones' physical vision is impaired, the people who made profits on her labor all through the long years might tell how it came about. But of one thing we are sure: Her mental vision is keen enough to see right through "That Other Fellow's" skull and perceive the emptiness of his head and his heart and to feel sorry for him, rather than to resent his attacks.

Oh, you foolish young "Other Fellow," go and ask your mother, who has perhaps toiled for you as Mother Jones has toiled for others, to pardon the insult you have offered to one of her noblest sisters. Go and learn from her what it means to be a man and a gentleman—not just an "Other Fellow"—learn to tell the truth you know and keep silent when you know nothing.

If Archbishop Corrigan's sermons against Socialism are to be taken as a fair test of his mental ability it is just as well for all concerned that he dodged Comrade McGrady's challenge to debate. Corrigan would certainly look very small—much like thirty cents in a jacket, as they say on the street—after such a debate; and on the other hand, McGrady would not add much to his laurels by such an easy victory. The Archbishop's attack cannot well be answered for the simple reason that there is nothing in it to take hold of—no attempt at logical argument, no attempt at a marshalling of fact, nothing but a dogmatic rehearsal of vague and abstract generalities, which may mean anything or may mean nothing. Thirty years ago, when few people knew anything about Socialism, this sort of thing might go. In the present day, when every intelligent man in the land has at least a general idea of what Socialism is, the Archbishop only makes himself a laughing-stock by repeating these time-worn phrases. If this is the worst that His Reverence can do, we shall not need to attend to him. He is a formidable-looking lion that "roars as gently as any sucking dove." He isn't even amusing. Look for bigger game, Father McGrady.

An anonymous philanthropist has given \$112,000 to endow a chair of Chinese in Columbia University, for the purpose of educating diplomats who will be able to bounce the Chinese into buying the surplus which American workingmen create and are too poor to buy back. In making the donation, this public spirited capitalist stated that the money represented a life-time's saving on liquor and cigars. Assuming fifty years as a fair standard life-time, it appears that the ordinary gentleman of the capitalist class must spend and in this particular gentleman, being public spirited and abstemious, was able to "save" something like \$2,240 a year or \$9 a day on liquor and cigars. Socialism would deprive these lords of the earth of the opportunity to display their powers of consumption or of abstinence on such a gigantic scale, and it would also put an end to the enforced abstinence in the matter of food, clothing, and education, by which the working class is now made to pay the liquor and cigar bills of the capitalists.

It will be remembered that after the assassination of President McKinley, Comrade Debs gave an interview in which he said: "I have sympathy for any man who is the victim of such an attack, because I am constitutionally opposed to the shedding of human blood under any circumstances." This blood under any circumstances, the time, even in the New York "Sun," The Republican party, in its attempt to defeat the Socialists of Haverhill, issued a "campaign circular in which the first part of the sentence was quoted and one little word inserted so as to reverse the meaning. The Republican circular charged Debs with saying: "I have no sympathy for any man who is the victim of such an assault." As the "Clarion" truly says: "When a political party becomes as destitute of argument that it has to wait till the eve of election to spring upon the public such an abusive and atrocious document as this, it is in the last stages of putrefaction, and the more it is stirred, the fouler the stench."

A CAPITALIST FARM.  
William Ogden of McLean County, Illinois, has bought 189,000 acres of land in western Kansas, which will be converted into the largest wheat ranch in the world. The land was formerly owned by about fifteen different men.

Thus great capitalism is invading even the field of agriculture. While farming on a large scale has not generally been successful, every failure has helped to supply experience and make success easier. Sooner or later, there is reason to believe, agriculture will be brought under the control of the great capitalist class and the farmers will be driven to Socialism as their only refuge.

THE FACTORY WHISTLE.  
Across the flats, at dawn, the monster screams:  
Its bell blows the low sun. Ah, God give truth!

To wake from night's swift mockery of dreams  
And hear that hoarse throat clamorous for my youth.

—John McIntyre, in McClure's Magazine.

and artistic garments out of second-hand gunny-sacking. We calculate that a supply could be had for about \$2.70 a year—thus adding a clear hundred to the reserve in the bank.

It is reported from the Illinois state insane asylums that a surprisingly large proportion of the persons sent to those institutions are school teachers. This is undoubtedly due to the overcrowding of the teachers, which, in turn, is due to the refusal of the capitalist parties to vote taxes sufficient to give proper pay to an adequate number of instructors in the public schools. Socialist city councils and legislatures would consider the education of the children one of their very first and most important duties and would provide amply for it, no matter how high the tax-rate might go. But the teachers are wage workers and most of the pupils in the public schools are wage workers' children. Until the working-men with political power through Socialist politics, their children will continue to be badly taught, while the teachers will continue to be overworked and underpaid.

Good Mr. Rockefeller told his Sunday-school class, the other day, that when Christ said, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth," he didn't really mean that at all. Just what he did mean, this latest interpreter of the gospel did not make clear. In laying up their unparalleled earthly treasure—John D.'s share in the Standard Oil Company alone amounts to about \$300,000,000—the Rockefellers have probably told more lies, large and small, committed more frauds, broken more laws, and ruled more homes than any of the Machiavelian statesmen or Napoleon-like tyrants of Europe—read Lloyd's "Wealth Against Common-sense" for a part of the story. But surely no lies in all the Standard Oil history ever matched the brazen hypocrisy of this man who manages now to get a blessing for himself and his crooked and cruel life out of the words of Carpenter who drove the Rockefeller and Morgans of his day out of the Temple they defiled.

The "International Socialist Review" for November contains "The Problem of the Negro," by Clarence S. Darrow; "Count Humford and the Unemployed," by Ella Wheeler Wilcox; the third installment of "The Co-operative Movement in Belgium," by Louis Bertrand; an exceedingly interesting essay on "Opportunism in Socialism," by a German Socialist who writes under the nom de plume of "Favus"; "The Trade Unionist Regnant," a poem by Frederick Irons Hamford; and the conclusion of Caroline M. Pemberton's serial, "The Charity Girl." Other features of interest are an able and comprehensive editorial on "Press Censorship in America," and a judicious review of Alder Ludoff's loudly heralded "Passing of Capitalism."

Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill., publishers of the "International Socialist Review," announce the early publication of a comprehensive work on "The American Farmer," by A. M. Simons; a book by Prof. Isaac Broome, entitled "Last Days of the Ruskin Co-operative Association," a translation by Professor Utermann of Frederick Engels' monumental work, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and a Refined Edition of 'American Communities,'" by William Alfred Hinde.

The "World's Work" for November teems with facts of value to the student of social and economic forces. Although editorially reflecting the ideals of commercialism and plutocracy—a fact which in itself renders this publication of value to the Socialist—it presents a valuable array of condensed information and an expression of modern economic tendencies which are almost indispensable to those who would study capitalism in its last stages as monopoly and centralization reach completion and only render Socialism, in the present number, to him who reads between the lines, "A Plain Description of Tammany," by Arthur Goldrich, and "The Beautification of China," by Chas. H. Coffin, show the corrupting and deadening influence of capitalism upon municipal life. "The Pivotal Farm of the Illustration of the fact that even agriculture cannot escape the universal tendency towards centralization."

From "The Fight Against Tuberculosis," by Dr. Lawrence F. Flick, we quote the following:  
"The method of treatment by which these results can be accomplished may be briefly summed up as follows: First, proper use of an abundance of easily digested food; second, a proper regimen of the open air; third, such medication as will aid the forces of nature in their battle against the disease. In their own saying that this method of treatment is within the reach of but few, and that it is to be accorded to the rank and file, the aid of both the government and of private charity must be invoked to the fullest degree. For the poor and even for the middle class, sanatoria are necessary."

This supports what we have respectively set in "The Worker," that the ravages of tuberculosis are caused by the conditions of life among the poor which result from an industrial system based on private profit. Nothing but an entire change in our industrial system can change the conditions which it produces. When Socialism prevails the

## PARACELSUS' PILL BOX.

BY PETER E. BURROWES.

SAT UPON.—I once knew a scientific reformer who had flattened the earth. He was a fine man and weighed three hundred pounds without his thoughts, which were themselves always very weighty. He once gave a lecture, at which I was present, and challenged the whole world to prove that it was round. Only a small section of the world came, but it was no match for our heavy friend. He sat on every question and every questioner. And when at last he sat down heavily on a groaning chair a man beside me whispered, "Now I know why he is so cocksure the world is flat. He has been sitting on it so long."

Is that the reason why the capitalist is so sure that the workers are depraved, ignorant and incapable fate?

POVERTY.—No man knows what a blessing poverty is until he is rich enough to begin to make use of the poverty of others. Once you attain to that happy position you will find the streets of our cities teeming with opportunities and blessings for you. Do you want to be fed or clothed or to have your snow shovelled from your door or your coal put in? Half a dozen of the blessings of poverty with shovels under their arms are hurrying up the street!

REFORMERS.—I like reformers when they are asleep, their heads are so beautiful, but when they wake up they are too purgative. I remove my dictionary when the reformer comes in lest it should be purged to mere skin and bones. Nay, the primer I take away also, lest he should attack the alphabet and leave only a few letters for family use.

The reformer, when fully developed, is like your wife. I won't say nurse, for reasons that married men will understand. The said reformer wants to scrub something. Life is a blank to the reformer until he has scrubbed somebody or something. Therefore he takes his pail, scrubbing brush, soap, and water. First he scrubs the floor, then he washes the pail, then he cleans the scrubbing brush, then he scours the soap; and if mother nature did not interfere he would spend the rest of his life washing the water.

I would never object to reformers if they contented themselves with simply repeating laws; but unhappily they always want to put other ones in their places, and seldom better ones. If they

wanted to reform the law of gravity, for instance, they would never think of putting the law of gravity in its place, not they. They would never step up from Tammany to Socialism, but down from Tammany to Plait.

SURPLUS BABIES.—The question what shall we do with our surplus babies has been kindly answered by the capitalist, "Keep them," he says, "and raise them up to be humble and strong, and then give them over to me for my little reserve army of the unemployed. They will help to stimulate you, who are surplus parents, into renewed activity; your hungry surplus children clamoring for your jobs will keep you bustling to hold on to them."

FRESH AIR.—There is not room for fresh air and fresh landlords in the same city, be the city east or west, American or otherwise. Air and rent are natural enemies.

SUICIDE MADE EASY.—If the S. P. C. A. would try the experiment of throwing out to the public those gas chambers through which they now give dogs and cats a merciful and painless exit from an unfriendly world—where those chambers thrown open free of charge to a despairing public, you would see struggling crowds of suicides almost eating each other the trouble of suiciding in their frenzied efforts to get in. The opening of free and easy suicide chambers would prove an eye-opener to the optimists, yet I believe the crowd that wouldn't go near them would be just the crowd we could spare.

JUDGE LYNCH.—I met Judge Lynch on a country road one day. He is the natural and ultimate conclusion of the reformer. I found him to be a very crooked old man, but passionately enthusiastic to keep straight spine in other men's morality. I found him willing to reform anything but his own habit of peering into other men's lives rather than his own. It is this species of self-forgetfulness which makes him a man that you should not sell ropes to until everybody has left his head and neck at home, and then, if you notice any suicidal tendencies, give him all he wants. There is but one remedy for Judge Lynch, and that is to remove from him the opportunity of becoming food. Give the other fellows Socialism.

Impudent and ineffective "charity" of those who profit by these conditions will be replaced by healthful and pleasant surroundings for all.

"Problem of the British Empire," by Sydney Brooks, and many other features are also worthy of attention which our space will not permit. C. L.

The second number of the "Comrade" fulfils the promise of the first, and the greeting which the first has received from the reading public bids fair for the success of the enterprise. Among the leading features of the present issue are a poem, "The Miner," translated by Ernest Coughlin from the German of Franz Langbein and illustrated with a strong drawing by Konrad Starke; a sketch of Benjamin Hanford, with portrait; "The Blues versus the Reds," a satirical suggestion for laws against Anarchists," by M. Winchinsky; a fine double-page cartoon after a motive by Walter Crane; "The poetry of Edward Carpenter," by Leonard D. Abbott, with illustrations and selections from Carpenter's poems, "The Struggle between Socialism and Anarchism," by John Spargo; "Gorky and His Philosophy," by Eugene Luedorfer, with portrait. There are also a number of minor sketches, verses, and cartoons, besides the beginning of Morris' "News from Nowhere," which is to be printed serially with complete new illustrations by H. G. Jentsch.

### HORACE TRAUBEL ON CAPITALIST PHILANTHROPY.

When hunger, ills, all dollars shrink back accused. These dollars with which we do so much in false names and to grandiose ends are not traced from hearts as mine are stained with blood. If you tell me these dollars belong to all men for the uses of all I understand what you mean. But if you tell me that these dollars, or any one of them, can belong to one man or class, or many men and classes, short of all men and the total family, I do not understand—their will not act. If you tell me that Carnegie has given away a library I do not understand. Carnegie, possessing neither riches nor the rare subjects on which his books are constructed. But if you tell me that Carnegie's washerwomen fill his hands have created a library, then I do understand. But I ask why Carnegie should put his greedy name over the portals of the universal property? I do not see why Carnegie should be praised for letting go of property that is not his.—Horace Traubel, in The Conservator.

### TWO RAILROAD REPORTS.

Two important reports given out recently show the extraordinary prosperity of the railway owners—a prosperity which does not appear to be shared by the railway workers.

The Great Northern reports gross receipts of \$99,594,399; operating expenses and taxes \$18,298,881, leaving a net income for the year of \$122,277,468—every dollar of it created by wage-workers and turned over to holders of stocks who did not a stroke of work to earn it. Besides this, a large part, probably a third, of the "expenses" goes to pay interest, rentals, and exorbitant salaries—all to non-producers.

The Reading report shows that while expenses increased only \$400,175, gross receipts increased \$1,472,477, leaving a gain in net receipts of \$1,072,302. That means that while the employees did fourteen hundred thousand dollars' more work than last year, they got only four hundred thousand dollars more for it. The profits of the capitalists were a million bigger than before, and the employees made no gains except where they struck for it.

Under Socialism, all this gain would go to the producers, none to parasites.

## Our Esteemed Contemporaries

Socialist, Economist, Bonhau, Tex.

The predicament of the Democratic party is amusing to the Socialists. All the old issues between the Democratic and Republican parties are dead. Tariff and free silver are in their graves. Expansion and imperialism are established as the policy of this government, and the commercial interests will not allow of any changes.

Government by injunction has the practical endorsement of both old parties. Every political cynic that the Republicans have committed has been duplicated by the Democrats.

No wonder the Democrats are puzzled to determine the "issues" for the next sham battle of private capitalism. And no wonder the question of finding a "leader," who can "unite the party," is a hard question; for the Democratic party is on both sides of all questions, and its history is as crooked as a snake.

Just let it wriggle and juggle. The Socialist feels no interest in it, any more than in the Republican party. We cannot win when we select as "leaders" men who have no "platform" will promise; for we know the nature of private capitalism. We know that labor will be robbed, no matter which one may hold the reins of the government; for private interests will dominate as long as the system of private capitalism lasts.

Socialists will continue to educate the people on economic justice, and pave the way for a higher civilization through the co-operative commonwealth. Hence we are not worried about what the "issues" will be. Our principles are as fixed and definite as the poles. They are scientific and therefore not subject to changes. We recognize the class struggle as the one and only "issue." Our forces are united upon this, and we do not worry over finding a suitable man to act as our standard bearer. The right man at the right time will be brought forth, and he will go forth to proclaim the gospel of economic freedom and justice to mankind.

The Undercurrent.  
It is true that Roosevelt has "given token" of sympathy with labor, but that does not justify labor in fawning upon him.

Remember, this is the same Roosevelt, who lashed a policeman's bully, with spikes in it for use on just such men as you. The authorities did not dare adopt it, fearing, presumably, adverse criticism from Russia! But the suggestion was made in good faith. Remember also, that when the workman on Croton Dam struck to have the state law partly enforced, Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of New York, sent militia to enforce the law? No, a thousand times no—they were sent to help the pilfering contractors break the law.

In spite of the fact that a second term is in sight, he has promised to carry out the policy of the man who sent soldiers to Idaho, and sanctioned the action of the authorities in driving innocent men like swine into sheds which soon became reeking with human excretions and keeping them there three weeks without blankets or fire, and without room for more than half of them to lie down at once.

John Mitchell, in the October Cosmopolitan.

The history of a coal miner may be summed up as follows: First, the boy of eight or ten is sent to the breaker to pick the slate and other impurities from the coal that has been brought up from the mine; from there he is promoted to become a door boy, working in the mine; he grows older and stronger he is advanced to the position and given the pay of a laborer; there he gains the experience which secures him a place as miner's helper; and as he acquires skill and strength he becomes, when in the height of his manhood and vigor, a full-fledged miner. If he is fortunate enough to escape the falls of rock and coal, he only gains his position as a miner for a brief period of years; but as more creeps on and he is attacked by some of the many diseases incident to work in the mines, he makes way for those younger and more vigorous following him up the ladder whose summit he has reached. He then starts on the descent, going back to become a miner's helper, then a mine laborer, now a door boy; and when old and decrepit he finally returns to the breaker where he started as a child, carrying the same wages as he received by the little creches who work at his side. Thus, in these few words, is told the simple story of an anthracite miner's life, in its entire course from the cradle to the grave.

There is no incentive for ambition in the average miner's life. He cannot rise to places of eminence and wealth; only one in five hundred can be given place as a foreman or superintendent, and these are positions which few miners care to hold.

Missouri Socialist.  
An eclipse of the sun does not startle civilized people because the event is explained to them by science. The Chinese are ignorant of the causes of an eclipse and imagine that it is the effort of a dragon to destroy the sun; so on November 11th, the date of the next eclipse, they are to have an enormous rough horse and lions and drums will fill the air with noise to frighten away the dragon. Sounds foolish, doesn't it?

There is a parallel to the above. The Socialist is not frightened by the growth of trusts because it is explained by science; the trusts are the natural outcome of capitalism and will as surely give way to Socialism as the force of the sun will appear again after the eclipse. The Socialist knows that the trusts are but a passing shadow, indicative of certain scientific facts. But there are certain trust-sinners who imagine the trusts to be some awful dragon trying to swallow the whole human race, and about election time they get out with drums and torches and make a terrible noise in the hope of frightening the trust dragon away. Sounds foolish, doesn't it?



## PARTY NOTES.

The New Jersey comrades issued a short time before election a leaflet with the simple heading "Remember." In a very forcible way it links together the Tampa kidnapping and the whole series of capitalist crimes connected with it, the use of militia and Federal troops to crush strikes in Idaho and elsewhere, the proposed disfranchisement in the North, the numerous injunctions and other legal proceedings against trade unions, and then points to the only escape from such conditions—Independent political action of the working class on the lines of Socialism. Although ismer for campaign purposes, the same leaflet with other matter substituted for the New Jersey ticket on the last page, should prove a useful one for general propaganda.

A YOUNG MEN'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY is being formed in Brooklyn. Young men interested in our movement should communicate with the temporary chairman, Rudolph C. Henter, 214 Lynch street.

LOCAL LUZERNE COUNTY, PA., has now fifty members in good standing, divided in two branches—Wilkes Barre and West Side. The comrades have already gone to work for the next campaign. J. W. Clayton of New Castle has been engaged to speak in Wilkes Barre early in December.

GEORGE E. BIGELOW WILL spend the rest of this month speaking for Socialism in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Maine. In the early part of December he will probably visit New Hampshire and Vermont.

JOHN H. KELLY, A MEMBER OF Typographical Union No. 6, will speak at Colonial Hall, One Hundred and First Street and Columbus Avenue, Sunday, Nov. 17, at 8 p. m., on the subject of "Industrial Self-Defense, a Defense of Trade Unionism." All members of No. 6 are invited to be present and to bring their friends. The lecture is intended to spread as much as possible the fight against the New York "Sun."

## MANY NEW MEMBERS

Taken in at Last Meeting of General Committee of Local New York.

Last Saturday was held the first meeting of the General Committee of Local New York under the new arrangement, by which Brooklyn becomes a separate local; so that only Manhattan and the Bronx are now represented in the body meeting at the Labor Lyceum. Algonquin Lee acted as chairman and L. D. Mayes as vice-chairman.

Eighty-seven applications for membership in the party were received and favorably acted upon.

The action of the C. E. C. in electing a committee of two—Sholodun and Mayes—to adjust the financial relations of Local New York and Brooklyn was expeditiously carried out. A committee consisting of H. G. H. Sholodun, and Lemon, was elected to draw up by-laws for Local New York.

The Organizer made an informal report on the campaign, stating that it was the last ever carried on in this city; that some work connected with the campaign was still to be done, as watching the official count and filing candidates' statements of expenses; that nearly 2,000,000 pieces of campaign literature had been distributed; that the deficit of the campaign was somewhat over \$100, but would be covered by the money still to be received on lists; and that the Campaign Committee would make a formal report, with recommendations, at a later meeting.

The reorganization of the Speakers' Club was referred to the C. E. C. The Organizer was instructed to send notices to the meetings of the C. E. C. to every delegate and to publish notice also in the "Volkszeitung" and The Worker. Districts should see that their delegates attend, so that there may be no neglect of the party's work.

## LOCAL KINGS COUNTY.

The first meeting of the County Committee of Local Kings County under its separate charter was held on Sunday afternoon, Nov. 10, at the rooms of the Socialist Club, Fulton street and Ralph avenue. About thirty delegates attended, and after a general inspection of the club house the meeting was called to order by Comrade Burrows.

Comrade Schaeffer was elected to the chair, and after transacting some routine business and receiving and acting upon a number of applications for membership, the committee proceeded to the most important business of the day, the report of the by-laws committee and the election of officers. With very few changes, the portion of the by-laws the committee was ready to report on was adopted and the committee instructed to report further at the next meeting. The proposed division of Kings County into five organization districts, with an organizer for each, and organization committees to exercise supervision over the whole, brought out a discussion, but was finally adopted unanimously.

The officers elected are as follows: Recording Secretary, J. B. Clayton; Financial Secretary, J. C. Holzer; Corresponding Secretary, E. J. Aberie; Treasurer, F. E. Coddington.

Comrade Burrows, elected as temporary organizer at the preliminary meeting held at the Labor Lyceum some weeks before, was compelled to decline on account of ill-health. Fred Schaeffer was elected in his place, but he also will only serve temporarily. The next meeting of the County Committee will be held at the same place on Sunday, Nov. 23, at 2 p. m.

The clubhouse of the Socialist Club will for the present be the headquarters of the party in Brooklyn. All communications to the secretary should be addressed care of the Socialist Club, Fulton street and Ralph avenue. The clubhouse also serves as an illustration to the delegates from the different branches of what may be done with very little money and a whole lot of determination. It is two-story build-

ing, with a meeting room capable of seating one hundred on the ground floor, and a billiard room, a library and an office on the second floor. The entire work of fitting up the place of building new partitions, replastering, repainting, and respecting the entire building, even the settling and other plumbing work was done voluntarily by members of the party. The handsome leather covered reading table and the bookcase in the library are specimens of the skill of one of the comrades and cost the club only a few dollars for material. A large eight-day clock, donated to the club because it had for a long time persistently refused to perform its duties, was taken in hand by another comrade and after a severe overhauling is now contentedly ticking off the hours and minutes which separate us from our common goal, the Socialist Commonwealth.

Lectures are held every Saturday evening at 8 o'clock, to which the general public is invited. The club will hold a visit and should be duplicated in every assembly district in Greater New York. It has doubled the membership of the branches connected with it in two months and promises to have in two months more of two hundred by the next election. The house is open every night and Sunday and the House Committee will gladly show callers over the place and explain the methods and aims of the Club.

## IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To the State and Local Organizations of the Socialist Party.

Comrades:—In accordance with the provisions of the National Constitution, you are hereby informed that the first annual meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Party will be held in the city of St. Louis, Mo., at 10 a. m. Friday, January 24, 1902, for the transaction of the affairs of the national organization.

Arrangements will be made by us for the reception, entertainment and meeting place of the National Committee, particulars of which will be published in due time in the Socialist press. In view of the requirement that the expenses of the national committee in attending this meeting shall be paid from the national treasury, the respective state and territorial organizations are expected to enable us to meet this provision by faithfully sending us their regular monthly proportion of national dues.

As most of the national committee-men are likely to be effective speakers, some of them of national reputation, it is probable that they would accept invitations to speak at certain points on their route to and from St. Louis, under an arrangement whereby the organizations tendering said invitations would defray at least part of their traveling expenses. The adoption of this plan would tend to reduce the expense to the national organization of the meeting of the National Committee, while utilizing said gathering to inaugurate a period of agitation meetings throughout the country.

We take occasion to impress the comrades with the importance of this meeting, as the views of the national committee-men and the measures which they adopt must serve for the guidance and instruction of the local quorum and the undersigned.

Yours fraternally,  
LEON GREENBAUM,  
National Secretary.

## MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS.

The National Committee of the Socialist Party, as instructed by the Convention, has chosen a temporary committee on municipal affairs, to serve until the meeting of the full N. C. at St. Louis in January. The temporary committee consists of A. M. Simon (secretary), John C. Chase, Victor L. Berger, Emil Weiss, and Job Hartman.

## CONNECTICUT.

The result of the referendum vote on the state constitution of the party is as follows:

Twelve branches voted—New Haven (American and German), Hartford (American and German), Rockville (American and German), Branford, New London, Stonington, Waterbury, Meriden, and Bridgeport. The total vote cast was 100.

The vote was unanimously in favor of every section of the proposed constitution except the following: "Organization," Section 1—Yes, 100; no, 0.

"Local Branches," Section 4—Yes, 67; no, 40.

"State Committee," Sections 1 and 2—Yes, 105; no, 1.

"General Rules," Section 1—Yes, 90; no, 9; Section 4—Yes, 104; no, 1.

"State Officers"—Yes, 104; no, 1.

"Authority to Call a Convention"—Yes, 88; no, 17.

"Party Paper"—Yes, 85; no, 20.

"Seat of State Committee"—Hartford, 25; New Haven, 72.

Broad Brook voted unanimously in favor of every section except that on dues and assessments, but did not report the number of votes.

The following amendments are proposed:

Several branches object to "Local Branches, Section 4," and it is proposed to amend so as to read: "Members three months in arrears who have been notified shall be suspended."

It is proposed to amend "Conventions, Section 5," so as to read: "All acts of this convention shall be submitted to referendum vote."

It is proposed to amend "State Committee, Section 1," so as to read: "Convention shall nominate officers of the State Committee, who shall be elected by referendum vote."

It is proposed to amend "General Rules, Section 1," so as to read: "Six months," instead of "three."

Financial report will be published next week.

W. E. WHITE, State Secretary.  
220 Exchange street, New Haven.

UNION LABEL GOOD.

## THE AMERICAN NEGRO'S PROBLEM.

Another View of the Race Question, Considered in the Light of Economic Conditions.

BY CAROLINE H. PEMBERTON.

(This is the first of a series of three or more papers which Miss Pemberton will contribute to The Worker. As a member of a family that distinguished itself on the Confederate side in the Civil War, and as having closely observed conditions in the South in recent years, the author is especially qualified to discuss the negro question without being open to the charge of Northern prejudice.—Ed.)

There are two things to be remembered in considering the so-called negro problem. The first is that the South has been an agricultural region from the days when it was first settled. Its chief product, however, being cotton rather than food supplies, it is not surprising that the general conditions of life have always differed greatly from those in the farming districts of the North and West. The fact that the majority of planters still prefer to buy their grain rather than raise it, is a point not to be lost sight of in the economic situation.

The second thing to be remembered is that the negro has always been and is still the unit of labor in the South. He is unquestionably the basis of nearly every form of industrial enterprise south of Mason and Dixon's line. Notwithstanding this well known fact, popular misrepresentation pictures the Southern negro as an idle, lazy brute, who knows not how to earn a living either with his hands or his brain. From much that is written and said concerning him, one might suppose that the race in the South is corrupted off somewhat after the fashion of the American Indian; that the average negro lives by hunting and fishing on reservations or public lands; that he is a heavy burden on the white population, and likely to remain so until Northern philanthropists start enough industrial schools to teach him "how to work."

It seems necessary therefore to state emphatically in this paper that the negro of the South is not corrupted off anywhere; there are no "reservations" set apart for his benefit; he has never, since he was brought to this country, eaten bread that he has not paid for with his own hands.

As if to show the subject still further, it has become agreeable from one end of the country to the other to speak of American slavery as though it had been merely a benevolent agency for "taking care of" helpless negroes. When the benevolent agency ceased to exist the poor creatures were thrown suddenly upon a cold, cruel world, and they were forced to go to work—without knowing how—for the first time in their lives, "to earn a living."

The absurdity of this sentimental view is apparent when we remember that the sole purpose of American slavery had been to provide cheap and efficient labor for Southern cotton fields, and other branches of industry.

Those cotton fields, which had been supplying cotton to the markets of the world for three-quarters of a century, as close of the war were still there, and the superior race still owned them. The negroes were still there—as many as were needed—and they were naked and hungry enough to satisfy the Northern capitalist's ideal of the relations that ought to exist between capital and labor. They had not forgotten how to plough, hoe, rake, and "pick" those fields as they had done during slavery.

They were set to work to plough, hoe, rake, and pick—men, women, and children—and their former masters contracted to provide them with food enough to support life by mortgaging the crops in advance. Thus, wage slavery of a very primitive kind (verging occasionally toward serfdom) was easily substituted for chattel slavery.

Let us consider further the prevalent and mischievous misrepresentations of chattel slavery which are doing their worst to confuse and distort a rational view of the so-called negro problem. It is worth repeating with emphasis that the negro slaves of America were not kept for "pets." As the cost of their keep as well as the value of their labor had to be reckoned with, the less they cost the better on and the poorer the master. No one need conclude, therefore, that the American slaves spent their days in riotous living—or in luxurious idleness. As one planter would generally own two hundred or more slaves, the cost of feeding and clothing them became an important factor in balancing his accounts. Cornmeal chitter and bacon were the staple articles of diet, and two meals per day were considered enough for field slaves. As the planter had to buy their food as well as his own in the majority of cases, it is not likely that he encouraged habits of over-eating—any more than he did of over-drinking of the North.

The house servants were of course better housed and fed; and their superior station as compared with that of the field blacks forms the basis of the touching picture which former slave owners here to paint of those happy days "before de war." Unfortunately, however, the house slaves seldom formed more than 5 per cent. of the slave population.

Another feature of American chattel slavery that needs to be mentioned is the business that the border states became engaged in—that of breeding and raising negroes for the markets further South. This was found to be as lucrative as raising cotton—particularly as cotton refused to grow above a certain latitude. In fact, it became such a matter-of-fact business that some slave owners were not above selling their own children when they happened to be of colored blood. This happened, also, only too frequently.

ly, owing to the increased market value which the mixture of white blood gave to the merchandise; and it is worthy of note that the presence of the haughty white blood did not in the least excite the legal and social status of the slave.

This infamous business supplied a steady stream of slave labor for the fields of the far South, where Virginia and Carolina "darkies" were bought and sold like cattle, and the lash of overwork was the only interest in them, was the amount of work they could be made to perform at the smallest possible cost to their owners.

We turn with a shudder of horror from these dark details, but they need to be revealed sometimes, if only to remind us of the monstrous extremes to which capitalism can go when unrestrained by any other considerations than those of self-interest.

White workmen of to-day may wonder why the colored blacks did not rebel and win their own freedom. Socialists of to-day are asking the same question of the wage slaves of our mines and factories.

The answer is, that all human beings are tolerant of conditions into which they are born, and which they are taught to regard as the established and natural order of things. Moreover, every precaution was taken by the masters to prevent an organized attempt at insurrection. It was a crime for a slave to read; slaves were not permitted to assemble without the presence of an overseer; armed men patrolled the plantations and saw that everything was securely quiet in the slaves' quarters.

The military spirit among the whites of the South was cultivated as a measure of self-protection. But no slave was allowed to own or use firearms, and none had the means wherewith to buy them.

That a constant rebellion existed in the hearts of these people cannot be doubted when one recalls the great events that preceded the Civil War. Every fugitive slave was a whole insurrection in himself, and was justly so regarded by the entire body of slave-owners. Organized resistance among the slaves was indeed an impossibility, but individual resistance became so common—that a national law was deemed a necessity for the preservation of the precise lawlessness in these individual breaks for liberty were held as law-breakers and denounced as criminals.

The Fugitive Slave Law is the record that the slave himself has written into our history to commemorate his love of liberty and his hatred of oppression.

There is another record written in letters of blood—and hidden in the annals of the war department. One hundred and eighty thousand slaves fought for freedom in the war against the union army against their former masters. No one denies that they fought bravely. In many cases whole regiments of blacks perished under fire rather than fall alive into the hands of their late masters.

In Boston, the beautiful memorial that represents Colonel Robert G. Shaw leading his black soldiers into battle was intended to perpetuate the memory of that gallant young hero's many virtues—but the reply of the Confederate commander when requested to forward young Shaw's dead body to his parents is monument enough to the fighting qualities of the blacks:

"Tell them we have buried him with his niggers." Was the scornful retort; they were cut to pieces, and his body and theirs were thrown into a common trench, where they still lie.

Martial courage ranks low as a civic virtue in the estimation of Socialists, but whatever be its worth, the American black soldier is entitled to the credit of having at least a fair share of it.

(To be continued.)

## A STATEMENT.

On December 18, 1897, there appeared in "The People," (the paper published by the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, which purported to be a stenographic report of an address made by Daniel DeLeon at a meeting in Boston.) The address consisted of a series of attacks on the "pure and simple" trade unions, the "Barons of the Cloakmakers' Union" being cited as an example of alleged criminal practices of the "labor fakirs."

The statements made in regard to this union included charges of fraud, and unprofessional conduct against its counsel, whose identity was thinly veiled under the designation of its "Legal Department." The description being otherwise sufficiently specific, however, to enable every one on the lower East Side of this city to identify the attorney in charge of all legal business of the United Brotherhood of Cloakmakers of New York.

Mr. A. A. Horwich, who was then the attorney for the Brotherhood, thereupon addressed to Mr. Daniel DeLeon an open letter, which was published in the "Social Democrat" of Chicago, and in the New York "Vorwaerts" (likewise in English) and a copy of which was sent to Mr. DeLeon by registered mail.

In that letter Mr. Horwich demanded of Mr. DeLeon that he should publicly prove his charges before a court of honor, to be chosen by both sides to the controversy and designated Dr. Ginsinsky, then a member of the Socialist Labor Party, as his (Mr. Horwich's) representative to arrange the details. Mr. DeLeon ignored the letter. After waiting a reasonable time for an acknowledgment, Mr. Horwich brought an action for libel against Daniel DeLeon, as editor, and the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, as publishers of "The People."

Daniel DeLeon thus waived his right to prove his charges, basing his defense solely on the technical ground that the language of his attack was cautious enough to guard him against a judgment for libel.

The Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association was also made a defendant to the action. But about three weeks after the removal of DeLeon and his National Executive Committee by the opposition within the Socialist Labor Party on July 10, 1899, Mr. Horwich addressed a letter to the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, offering to discontinue the suit against the Association upon payment of a proper sum for damages and payment of the law suit.

Pressure of business delayed action on that proposition. The case was called in court in June, 1900, but was adjourned by consent pending settlement as against the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, and was finally settled upon the terms proposed by the plaintiff, leaving Daniel DeLeon the sole defendant to answer the complaint in court.

## CAMPAIGN FUND.

Now that the campaign is closed all comrades holding lists should return them at once so that the accounts can be closed. The Campaign Committee is desirous of making a report as quickly as possible, and in order to facilitate the work contributions intended for the campaign fund should be turned in immediately to Julius Gerber, 64 E. Fourth street. Acknowledgements will be made in The Worker and "Volkszeitung."

Previously acknowledged \$1,720.80

List 5017, Local Richmond, per Neidermeyer	2.80
List 5018, Local Richmond, per F. Schmitt	2.95
List 5021, Local Richmond, per W. Weeks	3.00
List 285, Ph. Schmitt	2.00
List 700, John Goldhamer	.50
List 420, L. Jablonsky	1.50
List 5422, Ledertafel Egotille, John Swinton	4.80
Clamrakers' Union No. 149	5.00
List 518, G. Arvedson	1.00
List 176, H. Herlein	3.00
List 542, Wm. Benckamer	2.00
List 908, M. Klein	.25
List 1267, G. F.	.50

"New Yorker Volkszeitung" Carpenters' and Joiners' Local 291, 55; Arbeiter Kinder Sterbe Kasse, Br. 158, 82; F. Schultz, E. Portcheter, No. 5, 50 cents; J. B. L., 50; Jos. Stockert, 50; Carl Delong, Pekin, Ill., 50; total

George Speyer	5.00
List 5310, R. Ditz	5.75
List 1480, John Doshier	1.00
List 5285, Columbus Lodge O. T. F.	2.75
List 105, Rod Tobbe	1.35
List 5182, Arbeiter Ledertafel, Morrisania	5.00
List 14, Frank Boetger	5.00

List 1400—Finishing, L. T.—H. Dronke, 50 cents; Ed. Simon, 50; Uhas, Erhard, 25; Karl Sauer, 25; H. Relew, 50; Abbe Frank, 25; Henry Uhl, 25.

List 45, R. Bock	2.50
List 1480, John Doshier	2.50
List 5122, Arbeiter Kranken Kasse, Br. 80	3.25
List 5123, Arbeiter Kranken Kasse, Br. 80	.80
List 5124, Arbeiter Kranken Kasse, Br. 83	.10
List 2302, John Spargo	2.50
List 22, Ch. Behne	1.00
List 5551, Socialist Women's Society, Br. 9	.50
List 5550, Socialist Women's Society, Br. 9	1.70
List 5547, Socialist Women's Society, Br. 9	2.50

List 5548, Socialist Women's Society, Br. 9	1.20
List 21, E. B.	1.00
List 420, H. S.	1.15
List 1057, M. A. M.	.50
List 26, B. Benzenberg	2.00
List 336, E. Floetz	3.25
List 512, Aug. Uhl	3.65
List 444, Aug. Uhl	1.00

Br. 24, Arbeiter Kranken Kasse, donation	25.00
Br. 158, Art. Kranken Kasse, donation	10.00
List 477, Charles Weyel	2.50
List 33, J. Besold	3.10
List 273, A. Mohl	1.00
List 241, E. Kuehl	1.00
List 111, E. Follendorf	1.00
List 12, E. Elges	1.00

List 5129, Branch 91, Arbeiter Kranken Kasse	2.25
List 5131, Branch 91, Arbeiter Kranken Kasse	2.85
List 5439, Wood Carvers and Modelers, Coburn Bros. shop	9.75
List 5438, Wood Carvers and Modelers, Klotzhoof's shop	2.55
List 5440, Wood Carvers and Modelers, Hertz shop	1.50
List 5441, Wood Carvers and Modelers, Steinway & Sons' shop	1.25
List 5473, Wood Carvers and Modelers, "V. Koffenbergers"	.25
List 5478, Wood Carvers and Modelers, Baumgartner's shop	4.50
List 5419, Wood Carvers and Modelers, Pottery - Styms' shop	1.00
List 5420, Wood Carvers and Modelers, Pulmer - Eubury's shop	2.20
List 5421, Wood Carvers and Modelers, Hildebrand's shop	2.75
List 5495, Workmen's Educational Association, Elmer	7.60
List 91, Wm. Elmer, on account	2.00
List 275, L. A. Matkeli	2.00

Total \$1,902.80

## KNOWLEDGE IS POWER.

Do not deceive yourself or suffer others to deceive you. The trusts are here; they have come to stay, they have come to rule. It is for the people to say, by their intelligence and their political and industrial action, what shall be the outcome. The people have the majority by millions. It simply needs the unity of actual interest to make the necessary change. This is our country. We will not submit to be ruled by the insane money kings. Greed shall not conquer patriotism, love of family, you might say. It is for the people to say, by their intelligence and their political and industrial action, what shall be the outcome. The people have the majority by millions. It simply needs the unity of actual interest to make the necessary change. This is our country. We will not submit to be ruled by the insane money kings. Greed shall not conquer patriotism, love of family, you might say. 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## LAWLESSNESS OF CAPITALISM.

### Railroad Companies Are Shown to Be Systematic and Intentional Violators of Law.

Neither Honor or Humanity Weighs Against the Desire for Profit. "Remedial Legislation" Always Ineffective—Socialism the Only Way Out.

The defenders of capitalism in press and pulp like to talk of "law and order" and preach the discontented workmen with a tendency to lawlessness. Here is a bit of evidence taken from the daily papers—a Chicago dispatch, dated Nov. 8—showing in which class are the really formidable and dangerous lawbreakers:

"Evidence of flagrant violations of the interstate commerce and the anti-trust laws by railroads east and west of Chicago was adduced at today's session of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Traffic managers of lines in the Central Freight Association and the Western Trunk Line Committee admitted that export rates on grain and grain products are constantly cut, and that officials of the roads meet at stated periods and agree upon rates which are then promulgated by the individual lines interested. The principal witness of the day was Traffic Manager George J. Grammer of the Lake Shore Road.

"In the opinion of the commission the condition shown by the evidence is the strongest argument that can be adduced for the passage of a bill by Congress giving the commission the power to make rates, after a thorough investigation, upon complaint and also the power to punish violators of the commission's rulings. Traffic Manager Grammer admitted that the export rates on grain and grain products were constantly cut, that the tariffs were seldom maintained, that little grain had been moving as domestic grain, and that an association existed, the members of which met at regular periods and in violation of the anti-trust law agreed upon rates and percentages and kept a record of the same. When asked why the roads did not publish their export rates the same as domestic rates he replied that if they did the press of the country would charge that the railroads were favoring foreign countries and foreign markets at the expense of the home market and home producers.

"W. B. Hiddle, Freight Traffic Manager of the Santa Fe, admitted that rates on export grain to the seaboard had not been maintained, and that a large percentage of the grain moved was moved as export grain. J. T. Hudson, Traffic Manager of the Illinois Central, and several prominent mill owners testified regarding the discrepancy between grain and flour rates, claiming that the railroads had practically closed the European markets to American flour.

"It transpired during the investigation that the commission is interested in the preparation of a measure which is to be a modification of the Cullum bill, and which will be introduced at the next session of Congress. It was also asserted that the result of the evidence taken by the commission here and in New York City will be given to Congress in the form of a report and petition for the remedial legislation sought."

Year after year the small capitalists, whose business is injured by the unlawful discriminations here complained of, have been appealing for "remedial legislation." But the legislation has never helped them, because the great capitalists control the two old parties and name both the legislators and the judges.

Little is said of a far more serious form of lawlessness practiced by the railroad companies—their neglect in continued violations of law, to-wit: their tracks and trains with the most improved devices for signaling, switching, braking, and coupling and their practice of overloading the employees—both of which result in the needless killing of hundreds and crippling of thousands of workmen every year.

These flagrant violations of law, at the expense of injury to the public, will go on as long as the railroads are left in the hands of capitalists, to be run for private profit. The collective labor of the working people—not the labor of the Goulds, Vanderbilts, Huntingtons, and Hills—has created the railroads and keeps them in operation. They are a necessity to the common life of the people. Let the people, to whom they rightfully belong, take possession of them and operate them for the public good, and the Socialist Nation of the world will be the only one that will ever succeed.

#### THE LOS ANGELES SOCIALIST

Local Los Angeles has started a weekly paper to serve the movement. It is called the "Los Angeles Socialist." The first number contains contributions from Comrades E. G. Severance, Laura Richardson, James S. Roche, W. A. Corey, John A. Morris, D. S. Van Dyke, and others, and the "Los Angeles Socialist" promises to be a valuable aid in the propaganda work of the party. We welcome this addition to the Socialist press, and wish it long and fruitful life. As is happily remarked by the editor: "Although born in poverty, its heritage is the wealth of the world—a common ownership in all the means of production and distribution."

#### MIDDLE CLASS FAILURES.

"Bradstreet's" reports 104 failures last week, exceeding the record of the corresponding week in any year since 1897. What is most significant is that 87 per cent. of the failures were of concerns having less than \$5,000 capital, and 8 per cent. more were of concerns whose capital did not exceed \$20,000. Such figures as this, repeated week after week, show how the middle class is steadily going to the wall.

#### BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

## COMPENSATION.

BY JAMES ONEAL

In discussing the question of compensation, our opponents, as a rule, look at but one side of the question and do not consider the existence of another side, and when confronted with the other side usually manifest indignation and surprise. They being saturated with the views of the ruling class, and being concerned in strengthening its sway, which implies the further absorption of the products of the workers—naturally look at this question, like all others, from the standpoint of their material possessions. They want to know first of all what we are willing to "pay" as a condition for our liberation, and if we do not indicate a desire to render a remuneration which they impose, then they shriek: "Confiscation." Here as usual in capitalist society cold "cash" is the determining factor. "Opinions," with eloquence grown rhythmic, drawn from the cheek of Pluto; but by what witchery of rhyme or prose will thou from the pocket of Pluto draw gold?" asks Carlyle.

As against this cash, determinism, the Socialist opposes the gaunt, pale, and hollow-eyed millions in mine, sweatshop and factory, and if compensation is considered a question for debate by those who made them thus, then those who have claims to present; claims all the more forceful from the fact that they are of such a nature that all the millions of "cash" existing cannot settle the account. Our claims are human; theirs, mere "cash." Thus the two parties to the controversy base their claims on separate premises which are hard to reconcile. If they who are already gorge to suffocation, ask us what we will give, we reply: "The same opportunities and advantages we would expect for ourselves; no more, no less." "Confiscation!" "Holl there!" Else we shall present our claims. The indictment reads as follows: Will you return the rose-bud, tinge of health to the little children of our class from whose cheeks it faded in the factories and sweating hells while producing "cash" for you? Will you return to the thousands packed in the slums the least spark of those attributes which we associate with human beings and compensate those that live in these quarters, and the dying, for the loss of the use of opportunities which your miserly denial? Will you restore to the paths of virtue the proletarian girls who have been forced into the street to sell themselves for your "cash"? Did you ever, do you now, or will you in the future render compensation to those of the working class whose opportunities for earning a living have been "confiscated" by the introduction of machinery and whose families have been and are now being destroyed by this method? Will you restore one human life shot into the great beyond when defending scanty wages against your efforts to reduce them lower, or the lives of those whom you beguiled into securing markets for your class at the expense of their life blood? Will you wipe away the tears or assuage the suffering and anguish of those left alone to continue the battle for bread, who are least fitted to cope with the difficulties that surround them? Think you that with this record of "confiscation" we need to fear the charge from the lips of those who are adepts? Not at all. Our premises are human and our demands the same. Our opponents: "cash" first, last and all the time. We would suppress the domination of "cash" in order to secure and preserve human life. They would suppress life in order to secure and preserve "cash." Not being satisfied with the continued "confiscation" of the products of labor, they desire the victims to pay them for getting off their backs and while enjoying their luxurious ride scream "confiscation" and grasp the reins tighter when requested to dismount. They can take human life by drafting the workers into the army, but let Socialists propose the drafting of inert matter and tools of industry into the service of all instead of a class and all the forces of capitalism are launched at their heads. The most that our opponents could expect after a careful examination of these facts would be the generous cry of the workers: "We forgive the past!" Socialists are not only willing to do this, but more, as we shall see a little further on.

We have thus far discussed the fundamental premises on which the question of compensation is based and which result from the class antagonism that prevails in modern society. We have seen that the Socialist has the best of the argument when discussed on its merits apart from other considerations such as, Can we pay, and if so will we, and in what manner will compensation be rendered if it is decided to do so? This we will now take up and while the writer makes no pretense to authority he believes that what follows is, on the whole, in entire accordance with the facts. It must be borne in mind that nothing exact or definite can be said regarding the transition from capitalism to Socialism because we of necessity are not possessed of knowledge which belongs to the future, and which would enable us to speak with accuracy. Nor is it probable that Socialism will be inaugurated in a peaceful, or in the same manner, in all countries. All this will be determined by the degree of industrial development, the form of government, the wisdom displayed by the Socialists when they have obtained a majority, the common sense of the ruling class when they are made aware of the inevitable, and conditions impossible to foresee or enumerate at present. But under all circumstances Socialists stand for a peaceful solution so long as it does not compromise our ultimate goal and desire, and the change from the present to the future by the same means that the present system is maintained, viz.: political power.

Bearing in mind that we have claims for compensation if we desire to assert them, we will now meet our opponents on their own ground, that is the "cash" basis on which rest their claims for compensation. If our opponents can comprehend the enormous values summed up in the land and capitalized wealth of this country, its very magnitude almost dazes him and it becomes apparent at once that it is an impossibility to pay the colossal sum that represents its equivalent. This aside from

## THE SPY SYSTEM.

### Methods of the Russian Czar Used by American Capitalists.

Vote Such a Social System Out of Existence, Says the "Mechanist's Journal"—That Is What Socialists Would Do.

It is now a well known fact that many of the larger corporations maintain a regular spy system for the purpose of keeping themselves informed as to the movements of the trade unions and learning the names of the most active members, so that those who are brave enough to lead their fellow workers in their struggles against the exactions of the capitalists may be weeded out.

This clearly attests the fact that the large majority of workmen are virtually slaves, to be spied upon and dragged about by their masters as if they were so many criminals. We have here in the United States to-day an industrial tyranny which resorts to the methods of the Russian Czar to maintain its supremacy.

The existence of the spy system, as well as every strike, should be a sufficient answer to those who claim that the interests of capital and labor are the same. The working class can make no progress, either through trade unionism or politics, except as they take up the battle against the capitalists as a "CLASS" whose interests are exactly the opposite of the working class. Against the spy system, the injunction and the blacklist, the trade union is almost helpless, but on every election day, by a secret ballot in a voting booth where there are no spies, the working class can, if they will, by voting the Socialist ticket, in the interest of their own class, capture the machinery of government and turn every governmental, judicial and military power against the capitalist class.

This is the only resource of the working class. Do away with the private ownership of the means of life, do away with an industrial system under which one class lives upon another, a system which is upheld by spies, injunctions and the shooting of striking workers, and replace this system by the common ownership of the means of producing wealth in a co-operative commonwealth in which every man will receive what he produces, for which your fellow workmen are fighting under the banner of Socialism.

We quote from the well known "Mechanist's Journal" the following account of the operation of the spy system, and commend to every workman the excellent advice of that recognized representative of organized labor—namely, to vote such a system of society out of existence.

"Not long ago an advertisement appeared in an out of the way country paper for machinists. One of our

members applied for one of the supposed vacant positions and got the following choice morsel in reply: Personal.

THE EDWARD SMITH COMPANY, General Agents, Special Service Division, 812 N. 2nd St., St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir—Your letter of the 27th to hand with contents noted. What we want is a first-class railroad machinist to take on the RAILROAD SPECIAL SERVICE DEPARTMENT and to be subjected to calls throughout the United States and Mexico. Of course, you must be a single man and we would prefer further that you acquaint us with your railroad experience, etc. Besides this you must be a "UNION MAN" holding traveling card so that you can gain access into meetings wherever you are sent. No one should know your business and if you are a man that knows how to keep his business to himself, you certainly will get along. Our men in the Motive Power Division of this company get from \$5.00 to \$7.00 per day and expenses in service. They are constantly shifted throughout the country. Yours truly,

THE EDWARD SMITH COMPANY, General Agents.

By EDWARD SMITH, Vice Pres. and Gen'l Mgr.

"Anyone who occupies a position under conditions similar to those outlined above, does so with the full knowledge that the nature of the services required must and will brand him as a traitor to his fellows. It is needless to say that the member who received that letter in answer to his application did not accept the offer contained therein, but very promptly sent it to headquarters so that it would get the utmost publicity. He did as all true men will do under similar circumstances. It is only the fellow who is at heart a traitor who would do otherwise."

"Notice how the fact is emphasized that a special and essential requirement is membership in a trade union. 'Besides this you must be a "UNION MAN" holding traveling card so that you can gain access to meetings wherever you are sent.' Ability as a mechanic is not so necessary, all that would be required in that line would be sufficient to hold down a job under the most favorable circumstances, so that the workmen could be spied upon during their working hours and their meetings reported during their hours of recreation.

"There must be something wrong in a SYSTEM OF SOCIETY that requires services of a nature so dastardly; services so degrading that anyone who accepts ceases to be a factor in labor's advancement and becomes a creature so vile and reprehensible that he is unfit to mix with honest men. When the sooner we VOTE IT OUT OF EXISTENCE the better."

ists being opposed to war and violence in all its forms would readily consent to action of this kind should expediency dictate such a course, provided that the compromise did not endanger the ultimate realization of their purposes. But to compromise with the capitalist system of industry, never! It must go! It has served its purpose in organizing the material and laying the basis of the new order that is ahead of us and must give way to its offspring, Socialism, and go the way of all systems that have outlived their usefulness in the past. It must and will be relegated to the junk shop of history together with its ancestors.

The fruition of the Socialist movement is based on all that is fair and reasonable. We not only are willing to waive our demonstrated claims for indemnity for past and present wrongs, but are willing to consider the questionable claims of those who oppose us and do all in our power to arrange a peaceable settlement. Even were the Socialist to advocate complete confiscation without any indemnity whatever, he would still have the best of the argument, and could point to the capitalist class in justification of his action and exclaim to these paragona of virtue, "I learned the art from you!" But this is not all. Such an action would not in the last analysis be confiscation. It would be restitution of things that had been "confiscated." It would be the performance of an act of restoration in order to abolish confiscation forever. Our opponents, the capitalist class, continually confiscate in order to delay restoration forever. Which do you prefer, dear reader? Restoration that restores of confiscation that confiscates and prevents restoration?

Thus we find that it is an impossibility for us to compensate all the owners of land and capital, but that some may be compensated there is no doubt. What form this compensation will take we cannot say with absolute certainty, but it is probable that consumable goods out of the annual produce will constitute the storehouse from which it is drawn. These goods being consumable would be of such a nature that the receiver could not capitalize it and endeavor to employ others, thus living off of others as he does at present. Furthermore, the enjoyment of this privilege would cease on the death of the receiver and society would refuse to grant the privilege to the receiver's posterity. To allow him to hand it on to others would be a negation of that equality of opportunities and privileges for which Socialists stand. It would be granting a privilege to some that would not be granted to others. This granting of a temporary remuneration of consumable goods not capable of being capitalized, to some owners of the tools of wealth production, may be objected to on the ground that such action means a compromise of the ultimate goal which we seek, that is, equality of opportunity. The compromise is only apparent, not real. It would really be a compromise of tactics or methods by which we seek to reach the goal and not the goal itself. This becomes apparent when it is remembered that the benefits accruing to those who secured the compromise would only be enjoyed during their lifetime. The complete realization of the Socialist ideal would only be delayed, not thwarted. If it were a question of obtaining the complete ideal immediately by a violent conquest of the public powers, due to the resistance of the ruling class, or gaining the incomplete ideal by the compromise suggested above, Socialists would no doubt in order to avoid this violence, adopt the latter course, being conscious of the ultimate triumph of their complete program which even this temporary compromise would indicate. Social-

#### MANUFACTURERS OF PRESERVES COMBINE.

Seventeen of the larger preserve manufacturers of the country, at a meeting held in Pittsburgh last week, formed a combination, to be known as the American Association of Manufacturers and Distributors of Food Products. The object of the organization is to regulate prices and sales territory and "to secure a more just interpretation of the pure food laws." The companies represented at the meeting have a combined capital of \$3,500,000, and control about three-fourths of the total production of the country. A central office will be established either in Pittsburgh or Chicago.

The phrase "to secure a more just interpretation of the pure food laws" is good. Once in a while an honest and efficient health officer prosecutes one of those companies for selling adulterated, often poisonous, food products. This interferes with profits, and the manufacturers consider it very annoying. They have therefore formed a combination to resist the enforcement of the laws, regardless of the people's health. One more reason why Socialists should bestir themselves.

#### CRIME.

Lacassagne, the noted French criminologist, says: "The social environment is the cultivation medium of criminality; the criminal is the microbe, an element which only becomes important when it finds the medium which causes it to ferment: EVERY SOCIETY HAS THE CRIMINALS WHICH IT DESERVES."

## ADVANCE PROGRAM

GRAND

## LABOR FAIR, EXPOSITION AND BAZAAR

### FOR THE LABOR PRESS.

## Grand Central Palace,

LEXINGTON AVENUE, 43d to 44th STREETS, NEW YORK.

#### Daily Program.

Beside Dancing and Band Concerts for each day of the Fair, the following program has been arranged, which will be subject to considerable addition and slight change:

THURSDAY, NOV. 14.

- 1—March "Nibelungen" ..... Wagner
- 2—Fancy Dancing, by 10 and 12-year-old girls. Lulu Krombs and Lilly Dressler.
- 3—Tyroli Mountain Songs (yodling) Six Native Mountaineers under Francis Brandt.
- 4—Overture, "Morning, Noon and Evening" ..... Francis Van Supper
- 5—Chorus, "On the Altar of Truth"—United Singing Societies of Brooklyn.
- 6—Horizontal Bar Performance .. Turn Verein Vorwaerts, Brooklyn
- 7—Concert-Characters by Lightning Artist, Richard Haymer (Accompanied by music.)
- 8—Music, Farewell to the Versaglieri" .... Bellview Musical Circle
- 9—Cornet Solo, "Far from Home" ..... August Schneider
- 10—Chorus, "Workmen, Arise!" United Singing Societies, Brooklyn
- 11—Overture, "Anacoda" ..... August Schneider, Director

MUSIC BY THE LIBERTY CHORUS, BROOKLYN.

FRIDAY, NOV. 15.

- 1—Variety Numbers ..... Actors' Protective Union
- 2—Exhibition with Punching Bag ..... Witt Brothers
- 3—Mandolin Solo ..... Mr. Hoffman, accompanied by Mr. Pond
- 4—Piano Solo ..... Mr. Pond
- 5—"Baker's Stories" or "On the Wedding Day," Comic Opera in 1 act
- 6—Exhibition by Pupils of Henry Sadler's School (15 Violins.)
- (a) Overture ..... Henry Wormbacher
- (b) Edelweiss Gavotte ..... J. Rixner
- (c) Overture, "The Califf of Bagdad" ..... Mr. Baildine
- 7—Chorus ..... Fleetwood Quartet Club, Bronx

MUSIC BY THE CARPENTER'S BAND, BRONX.

SATURDAY, NOV. 16.

- 1—Grand Chorus ..... All Workmen's Singing Societies
- 2—11-Year-Old Grotesque Dancer, Dances, Songs and Plays Banjo
- 3—Zither and Mandolin Selection .....
- 4—Zither Solo ..... Albert Morganstern
- 5—"Promp" (F. Schubert) ..... Miss Sarah Sokolski
- 6—Athletic Exhibition .....
- 7—Fancy Dancing ..... 11-Year-Old Francis Schumann
- 8—Illustrated Song .....

MUSIC BY THE CARL SAHM CLUB.

Besides the regular Program, there will be Plays, Exhibitions, etc., in the Vienna Cafe and Bavarian Bier Stube.

Grand distribution of Prizes, donated to the Fair, will be held on Saturday, Nov. 16, 1901. Over THREE THOUSAND PRIZES will be distributed, among which are Four Pianos, several Sewing Machines, Parlor Furniture, Silverware, etc., etc.

Come and have a good time and bring all your friends along. Barrels of fun for old and young. Don't forget the dates and place.

#### CONNECTICUT STATISTICS.

The Census Office has published the statistics of the manufacturing industries of Connecticut, and when the figures are analyzed they show some interesting facts.

The first of these is the actual average earnings of the working people. In the industries covered, in the census year of 1900, there were 176,094 wage workers. Total wages paid were \$22,707,725. A simple division shows that the average wages were \$128 a year, or just \$9 a week. A glorious income, truly, on which a free citizen is expected to maintain his family and educate his children in accordance with our boasted American standards and ideals!

The 9,081 salaried officials received \$12,286,020, an average of \$1,330 a year, or \$24 a week. If we should deduct the hundreds of clerks and bookkeepers who work for "salaries" of from \$9 to \$35 a week, we should have a much higher average left for the class of "salaried employees" who are at the same time capitalists.

The total value of the product for the year was \$32,824,106. After deducting cost of materials, wages, and salaries, and "miscellaneous expenses," there remains \$49,039,306 as the clear profit created for the capitalists by the labor of the wage workers—an average of \$277 a year, taken from each workman by his capitalist master. When it is remembered that this is figured upon the factory price of the product, while the workman in buying has to pay an additional profit on top of this; when it is remembered further that many of the higher salaries do not represent payment for work done, but really belong in the column of capitalist profits; and that the item of "miscellaneous expenses" (over \$23,000,000) conceals various forms of capitalist appropriation (interest on bonds, rentals, etc.); when, finally, it is remembered that from 10 to 20 per cent. of the workers' wages goes back to the same capitalist class in the form of rent for their little homes—it becomes evident that, taking all the manufacturing industries of the state together, large and small, more than half of the product of the brain and brawn of the working class goes to the capitalist class as an absolutely free gift.

Socialism, then, by giving to the workers the full product of their labor, would at least double their actual income for the same amount of work; and this without taking any account of the fact that Socialism would do away with the enormous waste of competition, hasten the introduction of improved methods of production, and in various other ways increase the actual product, besides securing its equitable distribution.

#### LONDON JUSTICE.

The organ of the Social Democracy of Great Britain. Published weekly by the Twentieth Century Press, 37A Clerkenwell Green, London, E. C. Subscription price, \$2.50 per year; six months, \$1.15.

Books published by the Twentieth Century Press and for sale at the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York:

"HOW I BECAME A SOCIALIST," containing biographical sketches (with portraits) of H. M. Hyndman, Robert Blairford, Wm. Morris, J. E. Williams, Walter Crane, H. Quelch, J. Hunter Watts, James McDonald, R. Belfort Box, H. W. Lee, Tom Mann, Andreas Scheu. Price, 40 cents.

"THE ECONOMICS OF SOCIALISM," Marx' great analysis of the capitalist system of production condensed, explained, and amplified. Price, cloth, \$1.20.

"THE POVERTY OF PHILOSOPHY" (Miseere de la Philosophie.) By Karl Marx. Preface by Frederick Engels. Translated from the French by H. Quelch. Cloth, \$1.00.

"HOW IT CAN BE DONE, OR CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIALISM." By John Richardson. Cloth, \$1.00; paper edition, 10 cents.

#### DON'T TALK SOCIALISM

without studying it first. If you do, you will be unable to answer questions and you may do more harm than good. The book to begin with in studying is "COLLECTIVISM AND INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION," by Emile Vandervelde. Price, in cloth, 50 cents; in paper, 25 cents.

To keep in touch with Socialism thought the world over, you need to read the "International Socialist Review." Edited by A. M. Simons, with contributed articles by the leading Socialist writers of the world. Eighty large pages, ten cents a copy, \$1.00 a year.

Send 60 cents, mentioning The Worker, and we will send a paper copy of "Collectivism" and the "Review" six months.

CHAS. H. KERR & CO., Publishers, 50 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.

## National Platform of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party of America in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of international Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalist the control of the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit; wars are fought between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are all political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act

as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties "formed" by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end. As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes or property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing, and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

It is universally acknowledged by all who use yeast that

Fleischman & Co.'s

YEAST

is the best. This is an undeniable fact, well known by the public at large.

Furthermore, it is well proven that

Fleischman & Co.'s

YEAST

has done more in improving the quality of our bread than all inventions in arts and science combined.

NO TRUSTS! NO PRISONS! NO SWEAT SHOPS!

Shirts, Waists, Collars or Cuffs

BEARING THIS LABEL ARE O. K.



This label is sewed on Shirts and Waists just below the tab or bosom and is stamped in miniature on Collars and Cuffs

No Chinese exclusion act needed when up-to-date Union Laundries use this Label to stamp Price List Slips on your laundry packages. Ask for it.

#### FRUIT CANNING COMBINE.

It is reported in San Francisco that all the leading fruit-canning companies of California outside of the California Fruit-Canners' Association are to pass into the hands of an Eastern syndicate. This will organize the whole business into two great combines and these will then be able either to "divide the field" or to consolidate. Thus competition always ends in combination, and if this people don't like it, their only hope is in Socialism—establishing public ownership of the means of production for the good of all, in the place of private monopoly for profit.

Capitalism prepares the soil in which Socialism must grow. But it is necessary to sow the seeds of Socialism and this can best be done by circulating the party press—Workers' Call.

#### CROSS AND CROWN.

"The weary watching water by wave, And yet the tide leaves onward; We climb the pathway, grave by grave, We drive back for our next day A better strength to become to-day And rear shall rest to-morrow."

"The hearts brood o'er the past, but eyes look on the day; 'Tis but a day, For in our day bursts out the skies—Lean out your souls and listen! The world is rolling freedom's way, And rippling with her sorrow: Shall wear the crown to-morrow."

—Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

Competition between the Steel Trust and independent makers of wire nails may result in combination. Another nail in the coffin of capitalism!

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.







—Every strike is proof that the system under which we live is wrong, and in order that the strike may become a thing of the past, the people must own these public utilities they require in their labor. The first of these is to be taken possession of by the government itself. If a few business men can successfully carry on the business of the community, there is no good reason why all the people cannot do it better.











# The Worker

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## SOCIALIST VOTE.

### Returns for New York City Are Now Complete.

Comparison of Results May Suggest Comparison of Tactics—Ohio Makes Large Gain—Vote in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland.

We always intend to tell the truth in this paper and to observe the proverbial injunction, "Give even the Devil his due." But we are liable to error, and have this week been made painfully conscious of the fact.

In our last issue, through an absurd blunder in addition, for which we offer no excuse, since no good one is possible, we credited the S. L. P. with 1,000 fewer votes than they really had in the Borough of Manhattan. Their total for the first thirty-three districts was really 3,792, not 2,792, and their loss in these districts was 949, not 1,949. Much as we wish that the figures we gave had been correct, we offer a frank apology for misrepresenting the facts.

The canvassing of the vote for Greater New York is now completed and we are able to give the full returns, which show a gain for the Social Democratic Party of 61 votes and a loss for the S. L. P. of 1,511.

The result is given by boroughs, the comparison being made between the vote cast for Governor in 1900 and that for Mayor in 1901:

#### SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC VOTE.

Borough.	1900.	1901.
Manhattan and Bronx	6387	6390
Brooklyn	2575	2692
Queens	698	506
Richmond	110	114
Total	9740	9801

#### S. L. P. LOSSES.

Borough.	1900.	1901.
Manhattan and Bronx	5385	4345
Brooklyn	1925	1638
Queens	274	173
Richmond	153	80
Total	7747	6236

#### MANHATTAN AND BRONX.

The vote is here given by assembly districts, comparing, as above, the vote cast for mayor this year with that for Governor last year. The presidential vote last year was lower than that for Governor, in the case of the S. D. P., by about 200 and in the case of the S. L. P. by about 500.

#### SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC VOTE.

A. D.	1900.	1901.
1	11	8
2	63	57
3	88	41
4	383	529
5	42	40
6	123	130
7	42	45
8	253	257
9	50	34
10	403	415
11	89	97
12	349	302
13	141	113
14	320	314
15	109	103
16	223	223
17	102	107
18	107	100
19	57	65
20	40	74
21	112	132
22	101	97
23	155	172
24	210	234
25	33	25
26	384	307
27	19	22
28	438	454
29	42	28
30	515	521
31	100	113
32	100	245
33	100	69
34	288	268
35	504	573
Annex Dis.	61	50
Total	6387	6390

#### SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

A. D.	1900.	1901.
1	22	22
2	37	22
3	49	40
4	206	185
5	55	45
6	145	90
7	52	41
8	169	158
9	70	62
10	252	221
11	63	58
12	462	505
13	84	70
14	278	202
15	101	80
16	870	680
17	101	117
18	161	61
19	81	61
20	76	73
21	133	83
22	61	78
23	123	115
24	95	80
25	31	22
26	143	144
27	25	22
28	133	129
29	47	28
30	158	157
31	124	82
32	221	154
33	108	96
34	904	246
35	318	200
Annex Dist.	32	38
Total	5395	4345

#### THE BLOODHOUNDS.

A wage slave to his master said: "I am a man, I want more bread, and time for pleasure, too."

"Never shall you have more!"

"Then I'll not be a slave!"

"And he passed from the factory door."

Up rises the master in wrath's excess;

"He calls to his bloodhounds three!"

"Bring the rebel back to me!"

Upon the track the wage slave bold

Leap the bloodhounds three straightway;

Grin Hunger and Nakedness and Cold.

With their jaws set wide for prey.

He heeds their swift and stealthy tread;

"Their growls, reply, to his groans:

"They call the slave from over his head,

And the devil from out of his bones."

He dies, but ever on his track

The bloodhounds three come faster;

"They want the slave back and back

To the hands of his cruel master."

The slave sinks down in sore distress;

"The master cries in glee:

"Good Cold and Hunger and Nakedness three."

"For your task, wage slave, or feel the lash!

Watch him my bloodhounds true!

For ever rebellion makes him rash.

His flesh will be their prey!"

And the slave with anguish never told

Feels their breath as he tells away

For Hunger and Nakedness and Cold.

Are watching him each day!"

—Wm. R. Fox.

—Keep in mind that the Cremo, G. W. Childs, Henry George, General Arthur, Tom Moore, and Robert Burns, are non-union cigars.

## WORKING FORCE TO BE REDUCED.

### The Steel Trust Will Increase Its Profits by Discharging Hundreds of Employees—Clerical Force to Suffer First.

So large an undertaking as the Steel Trust takes time to carry out its plans to completion. While in several respects the effects of the consolidation of the steel industry have already come much into evidence, there is undoubtedly more to come. This week's dispatches forecast the making of one change, and a very important one from the workmen's point of view, that should naturally be expected as a result of trustification.

It is announced that about the beginning of the new year the United States Steel Corporation will take steps to centralize the workings of its departments, and that this will mean a large reduction in the clerical force. Hundreds of employees, it is said, will be thrown out of their positions. Undoubtedly, as the plans are gradually carried out, the number will be swelled from hundreds to thousands.

Economy is, of course, the chief motive in the formation of such a consolidation as the Steel Trust—economy in the interest of the proprietors. And one of the chief methods of cutting down expenses is by so organizing the business on a large scale that the same amount of work can be done with less expenditure of labor on the part of the employees.

So long as the industry continues to be a private enterprise, carried on for profit, the sole object of reducing the labor-cost is to increase the capitalists' revenues, and the means by which it is done is the discharge of a part of the employees. The payroll is directly reduced, and a number of men are thrown into the army of the unemployed, whose added competition tends to render still more insecure the position of those who are retained. Thus, under private ownership, the more perfect organization of industry, as well as the improvement of machinery, operates to the injury of the working class, instead of being an advantage to the whole society.

While the Socialist Party still lacks a few hundred of getting official recognition, our comrades are well pleased with a gain of about 60 per cent, and propose to make a corresponding increase when the votes are counted in 1902.

## OHIO'S GOOD VOTE.

Harry C. Thompson, candidate of the Socialist Party for Governor of Ohio, polled 7,350 votes. The S. L. P. had 2,718. Last year we had 4,450 and the S. L. P. had 1,707. Both parties thus gain.

While the Socialist Party still lacks a few hundred of getting official recognition, our comrades are well pleased with a gain of about 60 per cent, and propose to make a corresponding increase when the votes are counted in 1902.

## NEW JERSEY.

Full official returns for the state of New Jersey give Charles H. Vail, candidate of the Socialist Party (formerly Social Democratic Party), 3,480 votes. Wilson, the S. L. P. candidate, has 1,918. Last year the national ticket of the S. D. P. received 4,090 votes, and that of the S. L. P. 2,174. The total vote of all parties was very light this year, and the loss of the Socialist Party was no doubt partly due to the change of name. Vigorous agitation all through the coming year is needed to retrieve what has been lost and register a net gain at the next election. This can be done if the comrades will try it.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

J. M. Barnes, candidate for State Treasurer on the ticket of the Socialist Party—or, as it appeared on the ballot, "Public Ownership Party"—received 2,674 votes. McConnell, the S. L. P. candidate, had 2,583.

Last year we had 4,831 for our national ticket, while the S. L. P. had 2,436. An examination of the vote for the county tickets of the two parties this year, several of which have been reported in *The Worker*, shows that many, probably one-half of the votes cast for the S. L. P. state ticket were intended for us. Our county tickets appeared under the proper name of our party, but the state ticket was at the last moment put under the name of "Public Ownership," on account of a court decision barring us from the use of the word "Socialist." Many voters, not being informed of the facts, voted the S. L. P. state ticket by mistake and many others refrained from voting any state ticket. If we had not been handicapped by the confusion of names, we should probably have held our own or gained slightly, while the S. L. P. has from 1,000 to 1,200 votes that do not belong to it.

## MARYLAND.

The vote of the Socialist Party in Baltimore is as follows: Jacobson, for Surveyor, 745; Marek, for Sheriff, 647; Cassidy, for Clerk of the Circuit Court, 628; Laughlin, for Clerk of the Supreme Court, 608.

Last year the vote for Debs and Harriman was 619. As many votes were cast in favor of Debs on account of his personal record in the labor movement, while this year's result is a vote strictly for Socialism as such, the gain is satisfactory—especially when it is remembered that here, too, we were compelled to change our official name fifteen days before election, the Attorney General deciding that we could not use the name "Social Democratic," under which we had carried on our campaign.

## THE BLOODHOUNDS.

A wage slave to his master said: "I am a man, I want more bread, and time for pleasure, too."

"Never shall you have more!"

"Then I'll not be a slave!"

"And he passed from the factory door."

Up rises the master in wrath's excess;

"He calls to his bloodhounds three!"

## FOR LABOR POLITICS.

### Trades Council of Essex County, New Jersey, Instructs Delegate.

Hot Fight Over Resolution Instructing Delegate to A. F. of L. in Favor of Political Action for Co-operative Commonwealth—Finally Carried by a Vote of Thirty to Ten.

The Essex Trades Council held a lively session Friday night of last week, the subject of discussion being a resolution instructing the delegates to the A. F. of L. convention to vote in favor of independent political action of the working class for the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The resolution, which was introduced by Delegate McIntosh of the Hatters' Union, was identical with that adopted by the New York Central Federated Union the previous week. It is in the following terms:

"Whereas, The ownership of the means of production—land, mines, factories, railroads, etc.—is rapidly being concentrated in the hands of a smaller and smaller number of the people, and the class line between capitalists and workmen is being more and more clearly drawn; and

"Whereas, The capitalist class, is clearly conscious of its class interests and uses the powers of government to advance its interests at the expense of the working class through legislative bodies which defeat labor bills but enact laws demanded by great corporations, through courts which declare labor laws unconstitutional and issue injunctions against trade unions, through executive officers who neglect the enforcement of laws for the protection of the working people but who use the police, the militia and the federal troops to crush strikes; and

"Whereas, In all conflicts between Labor and Capital the Republican and Democratic parties have proven themselves to be equally subservient to the desires of the capitalist class and equally callous to the sufferings of the working class; be it therefore

"Resolved, That this convention calls upon the workmen of the United States to unite for independent political action in a party having as its avowed object the overthrow of the capitalist system of production and distribution and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth—that is, the public ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution for public service instead of for private profit."

## A HOT FIGHT.

As soon as the resolution was read, Delegate Gottlieb of the Typographical Union rose to speak in opposition and indulged in language which provoked loud protests from various parts of the hall. His chief argument was that the resolution was a political one—and in this objection he was supported by several of the most active Democratic politicians in the Council.

Delegate McIntosh of the Typographical Union replied by showing that unions and central labor bodies all over the country were now considering and acting favorably upon such resolutions, as they were coming to recognize that politics could not be kept out of the labor movement—that it was only a question between straight labor politics and crooked capitalist politics. Delegates Nelson, Jones, and others spoke in the same vein.

Delegates Hillers, Hall, and Freeman continued the opposition, as did also Gottlieb, and the chairman, although himself opposed to the resolution, received very little attention from those who were fighting against its adoption.

## PNEUMATIC TOOL TRUST.

A plan is being formulated to organize a pneumatic tool trust, to include both British and American concerns, to be known probably as the Chicago Pneumatic Tool Company, and capitalized at \$10,000,000. The purpose is to unite all the plants necessary to the production of pneumatic machinery, such as drills and riveters, which are used extensively in mining, submarine, and bridge work, as well as in steel working and railroad shops, and to include the following companies, together with others manufacturing cranes and hoisting machinery: Chicago Pneumatic Tool Company, Boyer Machine Company of Detroit, Franklin Air Compressor Company of Cincinnati, and Tate Howard Company of Manchester.

It is authoritatively reported that meetings of representatives of American putting press manufacturers have recently been held for the purpose of forming a combination, which, it is said, will include most of the large press manufacturing firms of the country, but not R. Hoe & Co.

## TRACTION TRUST IN THE SOUTH.

The street railway system of Savannah, Ga., will pass under the control of the Edison Electric Company of Boston on Jan. 1. The Edison Company has also recently acquired control of the street railways of Houston, Tex. The same company already operates a lighting plant in Savannah and this will now be united with the traction system with a capitalization of \$3,000,000. The Edison Company is one of three or four concerns which have got under their control the lighting, heating, and street railway service of many Northern cities during the last few years, and it is now the turn of the South to be trustified.

## MORE ARRESTS OF WORKMEN.

### Three Union Butchers Fined for Distributing Boycott Notices.


"Reform" Magistrate and Tammany Police Co-operate to Prosecute Workingmen Striving for Shorter Hours of Labor—A Dead-Letter Ordinance Serves as a Pretext.

Now that election is over the capitalist politicians are showing that those sprouts which they assured the workmen were appearing on their shoulders and were to develop into wings are really coming out on their foreheads and show a tendency to grow into horns. This was illustrated last Sunday, when three members of Butchers' Union No. 2 were fined, on the unsupported testimony of a scab employer that they had distributed boycott circulars.

On Saturday, Gebhard Schaad, a union butcher, was standing on the sidewalk opposite Hartwig's meat-shop, 91 Avenue A. Hartwig, seeing him, came out and asked a policeman to arrest him, saying that he had distributed circulars asking workmen not to buy at Hartwig's place. In the meantime, Joseph Melber and Adam Fuchs, also members of the union, came up and on Hartwig's request all were arrested.

## FINED ON SLIGHT EVIDENCE.

The men were tried before City Magistrate Mott of the Yorkville Police Court on Sunday morning. The only evidence against them was Hartwig's accusation and the fact that one of the men was found to have in his pocket some copies of a sticker, which is here reproduced:

**Boycott**  **Boycott**  
**A. Hartwig's Provision Store,**  
91 AVENUE A.  
Butcher, 400 West 1st St., Queens, Queens Borough  
Wholesale, 61 AVENUE A, near 6 St.  
The B. O. S. E. Y.

Hartwig admitted that he had not seen any of the accused men distributing boycott circulars, but that "a woman," who could not be found, told him that she saw them do so. The three men were fined \$10 each under an ordinance forbidding the distribution of cards, handbills, etc., on the streets. As this law is constantly violated by business men in distributing advertising matter and no action is taken to prevent it, it is evident that the ordinance was merely taken as a pretext to punish the union men for boycotting Hartwig's place.

## GROUND OF THE BOYCOTT.

The Butchers' Union has tried to induce Hartwig to establish the ten-hour day for his employees, believing that even ten hours is too long for men to be compelled to work. Hartwig paid no attention to the requests of the union, and required his men to work for excessively long days, sometimes, it is said, as long as fifteen hours. The union was obliged, therefore, to request workmen and their sympathizers not to patronize his shop.

Magistrate Mott, it should be remembered, is one of the appointees of "reform" Mayor Strong, while the police, in making such arrests as this, are acting under "Tammany" Mayor Van Wyck. "Reformers" and Tammany men agree very well on one point, which is that employers' interests must be protected against the organized workmen. Workmen should retaliate, not only by boycotting Hartwig and other sweaters, but also by boycotting the two old political parties which aid the sweaters.

## WORKINGMEN'S LITERARY SOCIETY.

The Workingmen's Literary Society, of the 16th Assembly District, is preparing for a number of lectures, discussions and entertainments to be held this winter.

Sol Feldman has been made business manager, and under his energetic and enthusiastic direction the club will be much improved.

An entertainment and ball is soon to be held, at which Frederick Krafft's Socialist play, "Now and Then," will be produced.

The physical culture club, now being organized by Sol Feldman, under the auspices of the Workingmen's Literary Society, is increasing in membership daily.

Hereafter the regular meetings of the society will be held every Wednesday evening. Any person of good character may become a member. The dues are five cents per month.

MORRIS WEISSMAN, Secretary, Workingmen's Literary Society, 616 E. Fifth Street, New York City.

## SOME RUSSIAN PROVERBS.

If the Tsar gives you an egg, he wants a chicken in return.

If the Tsar has the small-pox, the people bear the marks.

When the Tsar dies, no peasant would change places with him.

## TAMPA STRIKE IS AT AN END.

### After Four Months' Brave Struggle, Cigarmakers Have to Yield.

Strike Declared Off Last Saturday—Resume of the Story of Capitalist Outrage—Complicity of Both Old Parties in Employers' Crimes.

The great cigarmakers' strike at Tampa, Fla., was declared off by La Residencia Union last Saturday. It was shown that the funds of the union were exhausted and that no further provision could be made for those on strike, and by a unanimous vote the struggle was declared at an end. Nothing has been gained by the strike, which has lasted for four months and has been marked by great enthusiasm and courage upon the part of the workmen, as well as by brutal tyranny on the part of the manufacturers and their friends in public office.

Although the cigarmakers of Tampa have failed in this battle—which is greatly to be regretted, because they surely deserved a victory—yet they are not crushed nor discouraged; the spirit which has enabled them to carry on so splendid a fight this time will enable them to build up their organization and begin the struggle again when the opportunity shall present itself. And if the workmen of the country at large have learned the lesson they should have learned from the conduct of the capitalists and the politicians in this affair, then a great deal has been accomplished.

## CAPITALIST OUTRAGES.

The outrages committed against the strikers have already been recounted at length in the columns of this paper, but it may not be out of place briefly to call attention to them once more.

After the strike had lasted some five or six weeks, seeing no hope of conquering the strikers' resolution by ordinary methods, the bosses resorted to methods of violence and practical anarchy. They organized with their capitalist sympathizers a so-called "Business Men's Committee"—including some of the "best citizens" of Tampa. These highly respectable gentlemen, by a carefully planned conspiracy, succeeded in kidnapping thirteen of the leaders of the union; robbed them of what little money they had in their possession; put them secretly on board a ship and had them left, without food or other necessities of life, on an uninhabited island off the Central American coast.

An incident that added horror to this high-handed crime, was the fact that one of the strikers was forcibly torn from beside the sick-bed of his wife, who had just given birth to a child, and that the poor woman, suffering from the terror and anxiety thus caused her in her helpless condition.

The unwarmed men were accidentally discovered by a "savage" Indian, who saved them from the wretched fate designed for them by the "civilized gentlemen" of the capitalist class. After great hardships they got back to this country and showed their courage by returning to the scene of battle.

A part of the capitalist party without comment, some suppressed it; one New York daily referred to it as "one of the humorous features" of the strike; but not one of them vigorously condemned it.

## ABUSE OF PUBLIC POWER.

The Democratic authorities of the city of Tampa had winked at the proceedings, as well as at the violent destruction of the Union's soup-kitchens by a mob of eminent citizens. When even these means failed, the city government itself took a hand in the fight against the workmen. The police were sent out to arrest the strikers and brought them in by dozens and scores. They had committed no violence, but they were tried and promptly convicted.

Judges then gave them the choice of going back to work in the strike shops at the bosses' terms or being sentenced to sixty days in the chain-gang. Most of them accepted the sentence and went out to work on the streets, in the broiling summer heat, and under the supervision of brutal guards, rather than become scabs.

## THE LESSON OF IT.

The Democratic government of the state of Florida and the Republican national administration stood calmly by while these outrages were being perpetrated and did not raise a finger—no, did not utter a syllable—in behalf of the persecuted toilers. There is a lesson for workmen of all trades in all parts of the country to learn from this experience, at their brothers in Florida. The lesson is that neither of the old parties can any longer be trusted to defend even the present legal rights of the working class—much less to advance the workers' interests or secure them new rights; that the insolent aggressions of the capitalists can be checked only by putting in office—in all offices, local, state, and national—men chosen by and from the working class, chosen because of their proved and uncompromising devotion to Labor's cause, and elected to power by Labor's class-conscious votes. With a Socialist mayor in Tampa, or a Socialist governor at Tallahassee, or a Socialist president at Washington, the crimes we have had here to recount would never have been committed.

Socialism does not wish to abolish private property or accumulation of wealth, but it aims to displace the present system of private capital by a system of collective capital, which would introduce a unified organization of national labor—Prof. Schaffke.

The distribution of prizes from the Fair takes place Thursday, Nov. 28, and a report will be printed and issued by the Fair Committee.

## HEROES CANNOT BE GOT FOR HIRE.

### A girl in Brooklyn, a nurse by profession, has voluntarily allowed herself to be inoculated with the germs of tuberculosis, in order that the doctors may test certain theories in regard to that disease and thus gain knowledge that will help them in preventing or curing it.

In Cuba, last summer, several persons volunteered to take what they knew to be a great risk of contracting yellow fever, with a similar object in view.

In St. Louis, two or three months ago, a physician gave up his practice, gave up his social life, gave up all his other enjoyments and hopes and ambitions, in order that he might shut himself up in close quarantine with a leper and nurse him and study the loathsome disease, with a strong chance in view that he would himself become affected with it and would thus be doomed to one of the most hideous forms of slow death known to mankind. Six other doctors had applied for the position and were deeply disappointed when their applications were rejected.

These people sacrificed themselves for the love of science and for the benefit of mankind, not for wages. No capitalist could have hired those people to do what they did—unless they had been forced to it to save their loved ones from literal starvation, which sometimes happens in our present society, to its shame be it said.

## WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT.

S. L. P., After Trying to Breed Dissension in the Labor Movement, is Having Troubles of Its Own.



## The Worker.

AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY  
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### SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	2,068
In 1890.....	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,157
In 1894.....	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,564
In 1898:	
S. L. P. ....	82,204
S. D. P. ....	9,545
In 1900 (Presidential):	
S. D. P. ....	96,918
S. L. P. ....	33,450



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

### THE PART AND THE WHOLE.

The Reverend Robert L. Paddock, Vicar of the Pro-Cathedral and prominent in East Side "settlement" work, addressed the clergy of the city the other day on the needs of the poor. He urged the necessity of having more public baths, more libraries and reading rooms, more club rooms, and more gymnasiums in the poorer quarters of the city. He said these things were "a part of the poor people's rights."

We have three questions to put to Mr. Paddock and to all benevolently-minded persons like unto him:  
First, since these things are a part of the poor people's rights and since it is their poverty which prevents them from providing these things for themselves, does it not follow that their poverty is a wrong, in the strictest sense of that word, and that the system which makes them poor (and makes other and less useful people rich) is a radically wrong system?

It will be no answer to this question to say that the poverty of these people is their own fault, due to their lack of industry and sobriety or of some other virtue much praised and little practised by the owners of the earth. That answer is impossible, for then these things, which only their poverty prevents them from possessing, could not be spoken of as a part of their "rights."

Second, if baths, libraries, and gymnasiums are only "a part" of the poor people's rights, why do not Mr. Paddock and his friends define the whole of their rights and go in with might and main to help them secure the whole?

Certainly Mr. Paddock must know that it will be easier to secure a part by lustily demanding the whole, even if he does not hope to be able to secure the whole for these wronged people. And surely he is compromising his own conscience when he contents himself with an agitation—or, rather, a plea—for "a part of the rights" of his fellow men. When Mr. Paddock gives moral lessons to his flock, does he confine himself to defining "a part" of the virtues they ought to practice? Very likely he does not expect them to be perfectly virtuous. But we think he would repeat to them Christ's saying, "Be ye therefore perfect." In the hope that he will thereby do more to make them approach perfection than if he merely advised them to drop ten per cent. of their sins and practice ten per cent. more virtue. Why not be bravely consistent, Mr. Paddock, and demand the whole of the people's rights—though the heavens fall?

Third, to put the two former questions together, since the claim of these slight ameliorations in the people's conditions as "a part of their rights" necessarily implies a radical wrongness in the system which deprives them of these desirable things, and

since it is neither practical nor honest to confine oneself to the advocacy of a part of any right thing, why do not Mr. Paddock and his colleagues, instead of spending their energies in pleading for the partial righting of a few of the wrongs that result from the existing system—why do they not strike boldly at the root of all these wrongs by directly attacking the system itself?

Socialists say that baths, libraries, and gymnasiums are but a very insignificant part indeed of the rights of the working class and that the fact that these little things seem so great is evidence of the utter wrongness of the capitalist system which makes a few people rich by making a great many people poor.

Socialists say that, even though this small part of the people's rights be in itself worth getting and even if nothing more can be hoped for, yet this small part can be more quickly and easily got by urgently and uncompromisingly demanding the whole. They also think that the whole could be got almost as easily as any part of it, if people would not fritter away their efforts in half-hearted efforts at half-way measures.

And accordingly, Socialists center all their force in a vigorous and radical attack upon the capitalist system, the evil tree which yields all the poisonous fruit of which the people are sick into death.

Mr. Paddock can do no less, if he be morally brave enough and intellectually honest enough to follow out his own phrase to its logical conclusion. We are afraid he will not do it, though. The right course is never an easy one.

Archbishop Corrigan says: "Socialism is unchristian." This is a hard blow at Christianity. When the Archbishop says his religion is opposed to Socialism he is drawing an indictment against his religion exactly as terrible as Socialists can draw up against capitalism. We have an idea, however, that if Christ were living he would differ with Archbishop Corrigan on this question and some others.

### SCHOOLS OF CRIME.

At the Conference of Corrections and Charities, last week, Secretary McLaughlin, of the State Prison Commission, said that many of the prisons and jails in New York, notably that at Sing Sing, "are so constructed as to be schools of crime, affording opportunities for the confirmed criminal to cultivate criminal inclinations in the minds of first offenders and accidental criminals." He also said that the state prison at Sing Sing "is a veritable hotbed for the culture of the bacilli of tuberculosis and a distributing center for the scattering of the seeds of the disease not only among the prisoners, but among their families and the communities to which they return on their discharge."

"A pretty state of society, is it not. First, we allow a few people to own all the land, railways, factories, machinery—everything that the people need in order to work; by the ownership of these things, this possessing class is able to reduce a large part of the non-possessing and all-producing class to the direst poverty, keeping their children in ignorance, and forcing them to live in surroundings that tempt them to crime and under conditions that often drive them to crime. Then, instead of using the power of the state to put an end to this class rule, with all its disastrous consequences, we employ police and judges to catch the young criminals and shut them up in places which are at once 'schools of crime' and 'hotbeds of disease.' Have we any right to wonder that there is a criminal class?"

A Socialist judge would refuse to send men and women to prisons, so long as, by the admission of an official authority in the prison system, these institutions are schools of crime and hotbeds of disease. A Socialist city or state administration would assuredly overhaul these jails and prisons within its jurisdiction and make them healthful and decent places. But it would do something better than that. It would overhaul the tenement houses and make clean and self-respecting home life possible for their inhabitants. It would help workmen and workingwomen in their struggles to reduce the hours of labor and increase their remuneration. It would see that children went to school, instead of working on the street or in dingy factories. It would provide work for the unemployed and protection for the weak and helpless. By making the life of the people more comfortable and their existence more secure, it would do more to prevent crime than all the policemen and judges and jailers and electrocutions have ever done by punishing it.

Andrew Carnegie is getting a good deal of praise for having set aside \$4,000,000 in Steel Trust bonds, the income of which, amounting to \$200,000 a year, will go to form a pension fund for the employees of the Carnegie Steel Company, now one of the constituent companies of the trust. On any just view of the case, Mr. Carnegie deserves little praise for his generosity. The "gift" is, in fact, simply a tardy and very inadequate act of restitution.

Mr. Carnegie has accumulated one of the largest fortunes ever known out of the product of the labor of the thousands of men in his mills. He is now only returning a very small portion of the surplus of his unearned income. When we consider the enormous number of serious or fatal accidents in the steel mills and when we remember that, owing to the insistence of Mr. Carnegie and his fellow capitalists on the twelve-hour day, a large part of the men are worn out and broken down at the age of forty, it is hard to work up any enthusiasm over his attempt to avoid "dying disgraced."

### THANKSGIVING.

We should all be thankful, so they say. For something on Thanksgiving Day; No matter if we haven't a cent. Our clothes they may be torn and rent. No matter if we've naught to eat. And have to sleep out in the street. We may be blind and deaf and lame. But should be thankful just the same.

If we are down and sick in bed. We should be thankful we're not dead; If condemned to die and made to curse. We should be thankful it's not worse. The poor old tramp who walks the street. Nowhere to sleep and nothing to eat. Who in a box car makes his bed. His hopes all crushed, his friends all dead—

Say what you may of fools and cranks. I ask, for what should he give thanks?

But the millionaire in his palace fine. Can eat his turkey and drink his wine. Surrounded by wealth he can take his ease.

And amuse himself as he may please; All that he wants in this broad land. That can be transferred, is at his command. So, laying aside dame nature's pranks. He has good reason for giving thanks.

But doesn't it look like partiality or show? If we say that the Giver who sits on the throne. Gives to each one what he himself thinks best?

For some we see happy and others distressed. To some he gives health and wealth and all. While others get almost nothing at all.

So it seems to me, sir, if you please. This Thanksgiving should go by degrees. —Crane, in Central Missouri Push.

## THE TIME WILL COME.

BY PETER E. BURROWS.

The time will come, and may it come soon, when the working class will be so conscious of its utter separation from the interests of capitalism that it will no longer submit its mind to that international conspiracy of slaveholders, the owners, editors, and sellers of the mediocrity of our great dailies.

The time will come when a workingman would as soon open his door to admit a mad dog among his children as to open it in order to take in, pay for and read, a newspaper run by his economic enemies confessedly for their own profit only. When labor papers are cherished at the breakfast tables of our lords then may their papers be read by the workers; but that time will never come.

The time will come, and that very soon, when the police of New York will be reformed according to the secretly cherished designs of our great autocrat. With both Low for cat's paw and Roosevelt for cat's paw, the process of transforming the police of American cities into a tool for the suppression of labor will soon commence. Already General Collis is slated for commissioner. The command for labor riots, "Shoot low," will, therefore, soon come to us out of Pennsylvania, and it will not mean shoot the mayor.

The time will come when the last boy that has learned to read will be able to catch on to such a game of con as fraud and now passes through the houses of America for simple news. Such tales as they give us concerning the exorbitant demands of the French miners and their danger to that dear old republic will soon be known for what they are, a deliberate organized conspiracy for the purpose of carrying out their homes, with our own consent, by the treacherously great dailies.

The time will come when the push and tinsel, the feathers, the puff and the guf of court life and diplomatic intercourse will be seen only through the economic spectacles now in use by the laboring class, and seen to be all, just that much flim flam for concealing the meanness and trickery of a big international bargain counter for the production and sale of cheap labor. No coronation, no canonizing, no pompous treaty making, no high stepping militarism, no hysterical patriotism, no ancient nor mediæval trappings nor affectation of time honored ways will be able to conceal from public view that scold little monkey who sits upon the throne of all modern states—the profit monger.

The time will come when readers of newspapers will have a chance of knowing something about labor strikes besides the bulletins now issued by shareholders; those lords of scabbiness who rant for the right of free Lazarus who rant for the right of free Lazarus who rant for the right of free Lazarus.

The time will come when, on Thanksgiving Day an educated, class-conscious population will inquire: "What for?" when the governor of a state officially calls upon them to give public thanks; when no workingman will deem it honorable to conceal his poverty and his bonds, when all workingmen will know it to be a public duty to tell the truth about their conditions—to tell that truth entirely and shame the patriots and deceivers who call them to go into the presence of God

with a lie of gratitude upon their lips, instead of a cry for revolution.

The time will come when the amazing significance of some newspaper concealments will have due weight upon the public mind; when to conceal a public activity such as that of The Worker Fair, where tens of thousands of persons met together for an entire week, will mean bankruptcy for any sheet called newspaper; especially if such sheet devotes columns of space to the inanities of a horse fair for the display of well-dressed snobs and promoting the pleasures of matrimonial exchange.

The time will come when the honorable men of this country will blush for nothing in their history so deeply as for the laws protecting property against mankind, when men whose fathers were Republicans will read of republicanism in Kentucky and Pennsylvania with bowed heads, when the sons of Democrats will read of Democracy's doings in the mining and manufacturing states with the exclamation, "Hell must have been empty, in those days." When the property spirit is taken from the eyes of America, what a tragedy of shame, villainy and oppression will be revealed in capitalist politics!

The time will come when the tremendous power of a united lie such as that embodied in the great international news-gathering associations, under capitalist direction, will be appreciated with a swift and active alarm, when the danger of letting bandits and economic thugs tell us the whole of the story will appear about as reasonable as to allow the prisoners of Sing Sing an exclusive right to arrange and revise the pictures in the Rogues' Gallery.

The time will come when a waste of enthusiasm will be among the greatest of public crimes; when crank reformers who consume public time and effort in putting a Low into the majority of a city will stand in the pillory of public ridicule with the faded philanthropists who waste years of time and benevolence on such huge enterprises as getting an old life convict out of prison because she has been so long there; when the world will write one sentence over most of our frantic politics, and the sentence will be "Was that all?"

The time will come when the clergy of this city (in fact it has come already) will get new light on the Sunday open-air question, and that light will be caught from the old tanks of the Republican party. The said clergy will also take new light on any other moral question, if it comes from the same old tank, with its gold fastenings, its silver taps and its increased dividends.

The time will come when that terrible hatred of other countries known as patriotism will be looked at squarely in the face and found to be a fierce insanity nourished by the monster classes for the further division of the world's laborers.

The time will come when there shall be no money price for crime's release, when punishment shall have no money equivalent; when the right to be a lawbreaker can never be claimed by the man who can pay a fine; when rewards for virtue in the form of exchangeable values will never more promote paid hypocrisy; when there shall be no dollar value at all on a human life; when the judge who suggests a dollar as the value of a workman's child will be whipped from the bench.

Commercialism and the drama. Mrs. Sydney Rosenfeld, speaking on "Commercialism versus Art in Connection with the Stage," last week, said: "This is an age of pot-boiling; very few of us are doing the best that is in us, and in the dramatic world the spirit of commercialism has so completely overmastered that of art, that a dramatist can no longer give expression to the thought that inspires him, but is obliged to think along lines laid down by the manager. The time when men wrote because they had a story to tell is long past. Plays are written and produced to-day in the same way that costumes and hats are made. A certain style and fashion governs the present play as certainly as it does the present mode of dress, and the dramatist is obliged to write in the fashion or give up the business."

"Dramatically speaking, all the nations of the world are waiting breathlessly for some one to invent a new side story or plot on which to build up their spring fashions in plays, and the dramatists have been so cramped and so stunted by commercialism that they don't realize that they might be a good moment in which to try and utter their message. Some have forgotten they ever had a message, but the majority having rushed into the work with no message to give, no special love of the art, but merely a certain gift of dramatic cutting, fitting, and general tailoring, are waiting patiently till their new patterns are served out to them."

For this state of affairs Mrs. Rosenfeld could suggest no more practicable remedy than "the cultivation of a pure dramatic taste." This is a good deal like the proposition to raise oneself by one's bootstraps. Certain commercial conditions now prevent the production of really good plays, or put them at a disadvantage in comparison with poor ones. So long as these conditions prevail, we may expect the degradation of art to continue, in spite of all the preaching in the world.

The fact is, the best work is never done for mere pay, never done for purchase and sale, never done on a commercial basis. Our whole civilization is today founded on commercialism, and therefore its art is inferior. When this commercial basis gives way to a human one, then true art will reappear.

Private property is so sacred that only about 10 per cent. of the population are allowed to have any. Sacred things must not be made common.—Workers' Call.

If the coal miners will be real good and work cheap enough, they may yet enjoy the privilege of furnishing England with all the coal she needs.—Workers' Call.

I think we are a body strong enough even we are, to equal with the king.—Shakespeare.

## SOCIALIST PARTY IN NEW ZEALAND.

### Not Yet Clearly Class-Conscious, but Marks an Advance Over Previous Political Conditions.

A Socialist party has been organized in New Zealand during the past summer and, although it is at present, as the following correspondence will show far from being a satisfactory movement, there is room for hope that it will develop into something much better than New Zealand has yet seen. The constitution is a brief one. It is as follows:

"1. Name.—The name of the party shall be 'The New Zealand Socialist Party.'

"2. Objects.—The objects of the party shall be to work for the organization of New Zealand as a Co-operative Commonwealth, in which the land and all the instruments of production, distribution, and exchange shall be owned and managed by the people collectively.

"3. Methods. A.—The propagation of Socialism by meetings, lectures, debates, and classes.

"B.—The circulation of books, papers, pamphlets, and leaflets of a Socialist nature.

"C.—The utilization of the press in spreading the principles of the party.

"D.—The organization of Socialists for united action on elections.

"4. Membership.—Membership to the party shall be open to all who pledge themselves, first, to work for its objects; second, to vote for all candidates regularly adopted by the party."

The expenses of the party's work are to be met by the contributions of its members, an entrance fee of one shilling and more "dues of sixpence."

The General Secretary is R. C. DENNEW, Box 5, G. P. O., Wellington.

Immediately upon hearing of the formation of the new party—that is, on August 29—our comrade, Robert Rives Lamonte, formerly of New Jersey, but now living at Rongotea, N. Z., wrote to the General Secretary, asking for information. A reply was received on October 3, and this, together with Comrade Lamonte's further letter, we are allowed to publish for the benefit of American Socialists. The fact that the new party has been organized by some of the so-called "Clarionettes"—British Socialists through the influence of Whitelock's "Clarion," which has been advertising New Zealand as an example of "practical" Socialism already in working order—this fact makes the correspondence all the more interesting.

We present first the reply of the General Secretary to Comrade Lamonte's letter:

"Dear Comrade:—In replying to your inquiries as to the social legislation and political situation in the Colony, I must in the first place ask you to excuse the unwilling delay on my part in answering your letter. The matter was brought up at our last meeting, and the action taken with regard to your letter by one of our comrades has also contributed to the delay. In addition to the fact of want of leisure to give any thing like a full account of what is required, and I am afraid this reason will also be gone very fully into details now. To understand or attempt to explain the peculiar position of public opinion and ideas on Socialism would require a great deal of time and space. However, as clearly and concisely as I can, I will try to do so."

"As to the comrades who have started this movement, some of them are colonials, most are British born from Great Britain and Ireland. They include three town and city councillors and several leading men on the Wellington Trades Council. The M. H. R.'s at present do not identify themselves with us, though some are in sympathy with our movement. None of our comrades seem to consider the lineaments of their physiognomy of sufficient importance to have them published to the world."

"As to what led to the starting of the Socialist Party, which I may say, is only of two months duration: The reason was, that we felt that the time was ripe to give a definite statement of Socialism as apart from Socialistic ideas, so called, and to lead public opinion on to a definite Socialist program and policy with the definite aim of establishing the Co-operative Commonwealth in New Zealand."

"As to the trade unions: Speaking of Wellington, owing to a split on political action, about eighteen months or two years ago, it was settled that the Trades Council abstain from all political movements. Consequently as a body they have stultified themselves as a fighting political force, and can have no dealings with us, as such, though many of their leading men have joined our party as individuals. In Christchurch things are not quite so. In Christchurch the Trades Council and unions taking a more active part in politics, and are more permeated with Socialist ideas."

"We have not considered the point as to Socialism and the class struggle. Personally, I do not see that the circumstances of New Zealand make it necessary or expedient to make Socialism a class movement. \* \* \*

The purely labor class would be outnumbered by the others, besides which, the Trades Council and unions taking a more active part in politics, and are more permeated with Socialist ideas."

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## PERSECUTION CONTINUES.

**American Authorities in Puerto Rico Trying to Crush Labor Movement There.**

**Santiago Iglesias Is Still Held in Prison, Though Bail Is Offered—Another Workingman Fined and Imprisoned for Organizing a Longshoremen's Strike.**

Our comrade, Santiago Iglesias, still remains in prison at San Juan, Puerto Rico, on a charge of having incited workmen to strike, notwithstanding the offer of President Gompers of the A. F. of L. to furnish bail for him. The accusation under which Iglesias is held is an old one, dating from his previous residence in the island, more than a year ago. He was active in organizing trade unions there and this caused much trouble to the American capitalists who are exploiting the island and who wish it to be "Americanized" in all but one respect—they do not want to pay American wages. In order to intimidate the workmen they got Iglesias arrested on trumped-up charges of "inciting to riot"—just as Delms and many others have been arrested in this country.

Having no evidence against him, they feared to bring him to trial. After a long detention in prison he was released. Twice he was summoned to court and both times he was told that the case was postponed. In the meantime he was unable to get work, being blacklisted as an "agitator." In order to save himself and his wife from starvation he had to come to New York. While he was here another summons was issued, which was never served, and when he went back to Puerto Rico as a representative of the A. F. of L. he was at once arrested for failing to obey a command of which he had no knowledge.

It appears that the "American liberty" which has been carried to Puerto Rico, at so much cost of blood on all sides, amounts to absolutely nothing more than the liberty of American capitalists to acquire property and to make profits from the underpaid labor of the native workmen.

Iglesias is not the only victim. Our latest mail brings the news that Juan Bautista Portalatin, a member of the Longshoremen's Union, has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine of \$81 (which, being a workman, he has no money to pay) for helping to organize a strike on the docks at San Juan.

The men demanded eight hours and \$2 a day. The bosses of New York and Puerto Rico, the Steamship Company—refused to grant the demands and imported workmen to take the strikers' places. Many of these men refused to scab and the capitalists alleged that this was due to "intimidation" by the union men. On this charge, after a delay of about a year, Portalatin is sent to jail.

It is the duty of American workmen, who enjoy at least some degree of civil liberty, to come to the aid of their oppressed brethren in Puerto Rico, both by the exercise of their labor organization against such high-handed conduct and assisting in the maintenance of the labor agitation by their votes for the Socialist Party, which alone has put itself on record against capitalist tyranny.

## THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE.

The Socialist Educational League, now comfortably installed in its new quarters at 215 East Fifty-ninth street, New York City, provides every facility for the entertainment and education of its members. Portraits of the great pioneers of the Socialist movement adorn the walls and, upon the tables and book-shelves of the club are to be found a varied assortment of books, papers, and magazines which are always at the disposal of anyone who wishes to drop in and spend a pleasant and profitable hour in reading. A billiard table, punching bag and boxing gloves afford amusement and exercise for the members, and a distinctive restaurant supplies them with wholesome refreshment. One of the comrades, who is an adept in the brewing of most refreshing coffee, is always present and ready to minister to the intellectual or physical needs of visitors. After the Sunday evening lectures the comrades gather around a table and over the coffee and cigars often prolong the discussion of the evening's lecture until far into the night. The quarters of the League are small and modest, but they are not such as would impress the unsympathetic visitor, but within its hospitable walls the spirit of fraternity and kindly comradeship is so prevalent that the discerning ones who appreciate true fellowship, earnestness of purpose and lofty aims, will not fail to return after having once enjoyed the pleasure of an evening there.

Among the most active spirits of the League are Comrades Nicholson, Phillips, Loewenthal, Goldfarb, Reichman, and Mayall, and the genial young man who makes the coffee, whose name has unfortunately slipped us.

The members have organized the Twentieth Century Debating Club and will be glad to try their strength against any similar organization. This Friday evening, Nov. 29, a debate will take place at the rooms of the League on "Resolved, That Trade Unionism is Beneficial to the Working Class." Comrade Nicholson will take the affirmative and Comrade Loewenthal the negative. The meetings of the 22d and 24th Assembly District branches are also held in the League rooms.

Last Sunday Morris Hillquit delivered a most instructive lecture on "Socialism as a Science," and this Sunday evening, Dec. 1, J. W. Dooley will speak on "Child Labor." Further announcements will be made from time to time.

Visitors are always welcome, and strangers from other cities are especially invited to pay a visit to the rooms of the Socialist Educational League, at 215 East Fifty-ninth street, New York City.

## THE FOLLY OF GOV. VAN SANT.

**Trying to "Do Something" against the Railroad Monopoly, but Does Not Know What to Do—Certain Not to Do the One Right Thing.**

We are glad to see that the Republican governor of Minnesota is aroused to the point that he proposes to take some kind of action. He does not know just what can be done; he does not seem to have any plan of action mapped out for the protection of the poor voters that so blindly elected him for their governor. We have read that "if the blind lead the blind they both shall fall into the ditch," and we hope that when they get into the ditch of despair, that fact will open their eyes so that they may hear the words of salvation as preached by the Social Democratic Party, the only party that knows what kind of legislation to pass to protect the farming class of our citizens from the class-conscious rich of our community—Morgan, Hill, et al.

We know that there is only one way to remedy the evil, only one kind of legislation that will protect the farming lands of the West and South from the ravages of the world. Now, no good man who is a Republican or a Democrat, that kind of legislation even where the emergency is so great that it requires a call for a special session of the Legislature of Minnesota from its Republican Governor to try to get relief from a soulless corporation, owned and operated in the interest of the class-conscious rich, whether they live in the "land of the free" or abroad.

These public utilities have been bought or stolen from the American farmer and laborer, under some pretense or other to blind us, perhaps, so that we might not know that we were being robbed by way of dividends on stock that was watered from four to six hundred per cent. on the amount that it actually took to build and equip these public utilities; that enormous dividends might be paid to our Goulds and Vanderbilts and others to buy bankrupt debts and counts as husbands for their daughters. But legislation that will right these public wrongs will be called paternalistic; and really, can be Republican (Governor) or Democratic (Legislature) of Minnesota be expected to advocate and pass measures that will take away from these sharks the public utilities that have been given to their fathers or stolen outright by them, under the pretense that all the people, the government, were not able to build and operate them in their own interest and in the interest of their children?

But must we allow a part of our citizens to monopolize and use them for the purpose of robbing the great mass of our citizens of their money, locally, to enrich the few, unscrupulous though they be? We know that if a robber had a running nose around the arteries in our neck he could by pulling the string stop the blood from circulating through our bodies, and by that little act kill us by degrees or in an instant, if he pleased. Are we so blind that we cannot see that these railroads are the jugulars, as it were, of our body politic? Now can we see, or are we too blind to see, that if we allow our railroads to be controlled by men or men to own and operate these public utilities in their own interest they have a running nose around the jugulars of our very existence as a body politic?

Legislation that will take these public functions back and operate them in the interest of all the people is the only kind of legislation that can give any relief whatever to the people of the commonwealth of Minnesota or of the American Republic. And can a man, though he be the Governor of Minnesota, with a Republican Legislature, pass such legislation, when the Republican party is the party of the plutocracy in this great republic? I submit that Governor Van Sant, no matter how honest he may be or how much he may desire to give his constituency the needed relief, is as a Republican, with a Republican legislature, as helpless as any one of us is. Poor man, will his helplessness open his eyes until he can get into a new party, one that proposes the government ownership and operation of all the means of production and distribution of wealth, before he can give or get any relief whatever from the so-called owners of these public utilities. Governor, there is no relief outside the Social Democratic Party. Social Democracy is pure democracy. It is the only party that stands for economic liberty.

Why will workmen stay in the old parties and vote away their liberty and the liberty of their wives and children, a thing that they have no moral right to do? They have just voted the Fusionists into power in the city of New York; and now they have had to go on a strike to try to hold the jobs that some of them have on the New Haven Railroad. Such action is childish. If they support their bosses at the polls, why should they be so foolish as to expect the bosses to respect their right to work? Don't they know as well as the boss does that so long as the boss can fool them into voting for his candidates on the old party tickets, the boss will be upheld in whatever he may see fit to do in the interest of his pocketbook after election is over? Will workmen ever learn that the candidate nominated is as honest as the workingman is and that it is the duty of the candidate to serve the class that gave him the nomination? It does not matter if laboring men are foolish enough to vote for the capitalists' ticket that they had nominated, knowing that every one of them were expected to take and obey every order given them in case they were successful—workmen will never get their rights and neither will the farmers of the West be protected until they vote a poor man's ticket that is strictly class-conscious.

L. D. MAYER.

—The cost of making a millionaire is thousands of paupers, drunkards, lunatics, and tramps. But the price will have to be paid until the people learn better; that is, learn Socialism. —Social Democratic Herald.

## THE AMERICAN NEGRO'S PROBLEM.

**Another View of the Race Question, Considered in the Light of Economic Conditions.**

BY CAROLINE H. PEMBERTON.

This is the third of a series of papers which Miss Pemberton is contributing to The Worker. As a member of a family that distinguished itself on the Confederate side in the Civil War, and as having closely observed conditions in the South in recent years, the author is especially qualified to discuss the negro question without being open to the charge of Northern prejudice.—Ed.

III.

The growth of the South's prosperity since the war has been in exact proportion to the economic progress of the negro. A stream cannot rise higher or than its source; the "prosperity" of a community which lives off the labor of others cannot rise higher than the consuming power of the exploited class. This is the high water mark of capitalist "prosperity" limited in all communities.

The dark skin of the negro is the livery of the laboring class in the South. His north is his apron or cotton blouse to mark his calling. The Northern white laborer can doff his apron and hide his blouse when he suits his capitalist masters to lift him out of his class and make him one of themselves. With all the old ear-marks carefully obliterated, even his old comrades can now hardly recognize him, and his place in their ranks closes up as if it had never been.

But the negro cannot shed his skin. The white South not only adheres firmly to its traditional scorn of the laborer, but enjoys the immense advantage of dealing with its laborer as a race rather than as a class. If he does rise above his fellows, he can be pushed back into the ranks and denied the benefits that capitalism is generally willing to bestow on those who can beat it at its own game.

But despite the almost insurmountable obstacles in his path, it is generally acknowledged that the negro—since the war—has "risen." That is to say, a goodly number of individuals by dint of thrift, penuriousness, favoritism or Heaven knows what extraordinary gifts of foresight and mental acumen, have succeeded in placing themselves beyond the grasp of their would-be exploiters.

This task has been made somewhat easier by reason of the contempt with which even the poorest white Southerner regards all kinds of labor. The negro has few industrial rivals in the South; and these are confined to certain trades. Therefore, in spite of the "mortgage system" and a thousand other links in the chain that binds him, the negro is emerging from his economic bondage to the extent of being here and there a small landowner—now and then a successful "business man" on a small scale—and, in a crude, unrefined, but, nevertheless, in his landlord's absence, while in another direction may be seen a considerable army of decent, fairly well educated colored men and women occupying the positions of pastors and teachers of their race.

Now, when the Southern capitalist casts his eye over this slowly growing and still struggling class of semi-emancipated toilers, they loom up, as numerically powerful as darkly outlined by racial class distinctions against his mental horizon, a black cloud of looms intruding a harvest field.

He will not accept them as belonging to his class; he sees that they stand on the very edge of escape from their own class—if indeed they have not already escaped. Where, then, do they belong, these beings whom Heaven has so considerably branded as the forever-to-be-exploited-ones? "As they can be classed neither as equals nor servants—alike nor slaves"—cries the Southern capitalist—"they are a menace to our whole social structure—they are our enemies! We have nothing to fear from the ignorant, degraded or criminal negro, but these creatures we must brand in such a way that their escape will be of no possible service to them. We shall insist on treating them as the fugitive slaves of our social system. They have come out from under, but better would it be for them if they had never come out!"

Accordingly, in every Southern state since the war, the genius of the exploiting class has been busily engaged in passing laws to hedge the "rising" negro within the cruelest of social barriers. No absolute monarch or ancient barbarism has ever exceeded these statutes in their ferocious injustice. They are aimed at the self-respecting, independent negro, and not at the humble servant or degraded black peasant. Wherever the two races touch—and it must be remembered they touch at all points—the contact must be that of master and slave. They can never touch as equals. Together they may ride in the same coach, the same car; they may sit in the same railway depot; they may live under the same roof—provided they are recognized as master and servant. But except as his servant, no negro can lawfully sit or stand or eat or live or learn or worship God under the same roof with a white man! This is the decree of the Southern white race and it is written into the laws of his land.

The white man's son cries out from one end of the South to the other for recognition of his parentage for justice to his colored mother. What answer does he get? Another prohibitive law to emphasize further the social ostracism that is to be his lot in life. The factory girl of the North is considered to be the lawful prey of her capitalist seducer; but the colored woman of the South, by the decree of every Southern court, is to be regarded as a courtesan from the first, as far as the white man is concerned, without regard to her personal virtues, without reference to her fitness to become his wife, or even to his willingness to so honor her.

Laws forbidding marriage between two races exist only for the degradation of the inferior race. In no wise do they preserve the purity of either race. In the South they tend to the preservation of a large class of colored prostitutes. They are an ingenious device on the part of Southern capitalists for making prostitutes easily.

## FROM A CORRESPONDENT.

The following excerpt from a personal letter from a correspondent in North Carolina is interesting, especially that part which closely corroborates the account of farming conditions given by Caroline H. Pemberton in a former paper, which our correspondent had not seen at the time of writing:

"About the 'race question'—it seems to me a great fuss and a useless waste of energy, for the negro's evolution is going on at a more rapid ground than the external conditions around him. In this eastern part of our state his chance for education and livelihood is better (for fear of exaggeration I will say so) than with the poorer whites—yet our press, nor our politicians, nor our leaders of reform ever raise a lusty cry against this accepted condition."

"Therefore, while you all know all about the 'poor down-trodden negro' of the South, you know nothing about the 'po white trash.' He has been carrying on a dumb unconscious class struggle from the first halcyon days of slavery, as well as now. To-day, as then, he feebly struggles against dire poverty, ignorance, the greed of our capitalists, the arrogance of the more prosperous whites and 'niggers' alike; and it has come to pass in these days that not the 'trash' alone swell the number of stifled lives."

"The 'agriculturalist' might tell the farmer how to wax fat on the farm, but I would grin with delight to see your theorist forced to step in and try it for a year under the same circumstances—the poor tenant farmer in the South. For the use of the land he pays to the landowner one-half of all he makes before the expenses of the making and the housing of the crop are deducted—that expense comes from the tenant's half. Then, too, the landed proprietor usually owns a store where his tenants run an account, paying 'time prices,' which means an extra per cent. for the privilege. It is either to one merchant or another, this giving of the growing crop as security for credit. Of course, it takes all the poor devil makes, and he actually feels poorer if expenses are paid and he can start the next year fresh—'out of the expenses and try to save a little.' His qualifications are seldom realized beyond a few dollars which go to 'fixing up' personal wardrobe, household or some other necessity which seem to them almost a luxury. Markham need not go to Millet's peasants. Men men with the hip are infinitely sadder pictures if not so strong dramatically."

## DIVES AND LAZARUS.

Did you ever hear of Dives, who lived in Palestine?

A marvelous rich man was he, well clothed in purple and fine linen.

His table graced with wealth of food his wines by gallons ran.

No wonder his slaves and stout, just like an angelus!

And he had Lazarus, homeless and sick and poor.

In hopes to beg the rich man's crumbs lay curled he on the door.

He heard the sounds of mild within, but sought a friend had he.

Except the dogs who licked his sores in silent sympathy.

You'll think it strange that such a thing could happen here below.

But this was in a far-off land—a long, long while ago.

Now Dives died, and was gone—was gone—was gone.

Not at all because he liked it, but because he had no more to live.

That the people might have called he clothed in himself in purple and fine linen.

And, unheeded him on cream that they might get the milk.

He fed five lepers and he died.

And he was made of gold that they might get the silver.

And he was made of silver that they might get the gold.

And he was made of gold that they might get the silver.

And he was made of silver that they might get the gold.

And he was made of gold that they might get the silver.

And he was made of silver that they might get the gold.

## BULGARIAN SOCIALISTS REJECT COMPROMISE.

The eighth national congress of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Bulgaria, held at Pleven showed the Socialist movement in that country to be in good condition, both in respect to its numerical strength and in respect to its clearly revolutionary position. Reports showed that the party now comprises sixty-eight political organizations, with 2,213 dues-paying members (among them sixty women) this is an increase of 26 per cent. in membership during the last year. There were also five co-operative societies and nine unions affiliated with the party. The party organ, "The Labor Journal," has 2,400 regular subscribers; the party has two other periodicals, and a large amount of other literature has been circulated during the year, including, for instance, 25,000 copies of the "Red Almanac," an annual publication devoted to Socialist propaganda and education. Some 800 meetings of various sorts have been held in the course of the year. The voting strength of the party, as shown at the last parliamentary election, is growing, and is now about 15,000, the population of the country being a little over 3,000,000.

The congress elected committees to prepare a program for Socialist activity in local governmental bodies and to investigate and report upon the question of child and female labor.

The most important action taken related to a tendency shown by several prominent members of the party to depart from the revolutionary attitude, to make political compromises with the liberal or so-called "Progressive Democratic" party, and to turn their attention to propaganda especially among the farmers and small merchants, rather than among the wage workers. The tendency corresponds to the policy of Bernsteinian Germany and it was as emphatically repudiated by the congress as by the great one at Lieke. A long resolution was adopted, clearly affirming the aim of the Socialist movement to be the economic and political emancipation of the working class; declaring that the awakening of class-consciousness among the wage workers must be the principal means to this end, that propaganda in the middle class can be beneficial if strictly subordinated to working class interests, and that a campaign which fails to make the awakening of proletarian class-consciousness its chief point and seeks rather to secure votes than to make Socialists a positive danger to the movement. This resolution was emphasized by the expulsion of Tr. Bakaloff, a prominent leader who had gone so far in the direction of compromise as to violate plain decisions of previous congresses.

The "agriculturalist" might tell the farmer how to wax fat on the farm, but I would grin with delight to see your theorist forced to step in and try it for a year under the same circumstances—the poor tenant farmer in the South. For the use of the land he pays to the landowner one-half of all he makes before the expenses of the making and the housing of the crop are deducted—that expense comes from the tenant's half. Then, too, the landed proprietor usually owns a store where his tenants run an account, paying 'time prices,' which means an extra per cent. for the privilege. It is either to one merchant or another, this giving of the growing crop as security for credit. Of course, it takes all the poor devil makes, and he actually feels poorer if expenses are paid and he can start the next year fresh—'out of the expenses and try to save a little.' His qualifications are seldom realized beyond a few dollars which go to 'fixing up' personal wardrobe, household or some other necessity which seem to them almost a luxury. Markham need not go to Millet's peasants. Men men with the hip are infinitely sadder pictures if not so strong dramatically."

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means will labor ever secure justice, and until the Black workers do something similar they will remain, as at present, useless. Old time trade unionism is dead, and there is no hope but in political action."

Socialists of British Columbia have to put up a \$200 forfeit for every candidate.

Canadian Socialists hold a convention in Toronto on Thanksgiving Day to complete organization and determine what plans of action are advisable in the matters of educational propaganda and political action. A Socialist party of Ontario, modeled after the Socialist Party of the United States, will probably be organized at this convention.

Shocking accounts have been received at Cracow of wholesale flogging of Polish children by Prussian schoolmasters for refusing to learn the catechism and prayers in German at Wroslaw. The flogging nearly produced a riot, and many persons were arrested on charge of insulting government officials and sentenced to imprisonment for periods ranging from a month to two years.

The Spanish government is proposing to enact a law to make striking a crime. Large protest meetings were held by workmen in Barcelona, Corunna, and Cartagena, and other cities last Sunday. A general strike is talked of as a response to the tyrannical plans of the government.

## THE WOMEN'S WORK.

The American Federation of Women is an organization composed of wives, daughters, and sisters of trade unionists and designed to act as an auxiliary to the trade union movement. It is evident that such a body can accomplish a great deal in furthering the ends of the labor movement, and it has, indeed, done very good work in various lines.

One phase of the Federation's activity is the advertising of the union label. As a large part of the retail purchasing is done by women, it was desirable that the women should be familiarized with the labels of the various trades, and induced to give their preference to goods so marked as the product of union labor. To this end the Federation has a standing Union Label Committee whose duty it is to advertise the label by sending out circulars through the mails, by



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The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the wrapper.  
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No bills or receipts sent to individual subscribers.

VOL. XI.—NO. 36.

## LARGE GAIN IN NEBRASKA.

### Socialist Party Adds 150 Per Cent. to Its Vote in Bryan's State.

Election returns seem to be long in coming from Nebraska, but when they come they are good.  
The vote for the Socialist Party in the state this fall was 2,007. Last year we had 823. A gain of 145 per cent. would surely justify our Nebraska comrades in boasting a little.  
Douglas County, including the city of Omaha, gave us 855, as against 215 last year. Scott County gave us 121 where last year there were 19. In Florence we have 20 Socialist votes; last year there was not one.  
Our correspondent adds: "We have got the S. L. P. licked to a finish. Only 15 left in the state."  
If the Nebraska comrades will keep on at the same rate for two or three years Mr. Bryan may recognize him.

## HAVERHILL ELECTION.

### In Contest for Mayoralty We Slightly Increase Our Proportion of the Total Vote.

Tuesday's city election in Haverhill, Mass., resulted in giving the following vote for Mayor: Poor, Republican and Democratic, 3,276; Parkman B. Flinders, Socialist, 2,341; Daily, S. L. P., 65.

A year ago Poor was elected with a vote of 3,351; our candidate, John C. Chase, then had 2,874, and the Democrats, who then had a ticket in the field, as a matter of fact, had 130.

We thus cast a slightly larger proportion of the total vote than we did last year—42 per cent. instead of 41.

Owing to the fact that our nominations were made directly by the primaries, instead of delegate convention, as provided in the election law, we could not use the name "Social Democratic"—or "Democratic Social," as it goes in Massachusetts. The name "Socialist Party" was therefore chosen. The De Leontes contested our right to this name, but were defeated in two hearings before the board of registrars.

## MASSACHUSETTS VOTE.

The final official canvass of the votes cast in Massachusetts at the state election on Nov. 5 show the following results for the Social Democratic Party—or, as it is called in most states, the Socialist Party:

For Governor, Wrenn ..... 10,671  
For Lieut.-Gov., White ..... 11,442  
For Secretary, Bennett ..... 13,263  
For Treasurer, Bosworth ..... 13,120  
For Attorney-General, Spelman ..... 11,502

Average vote ..... 12,067  
The vote of the S. L. P. is:

For Governor, Berry ..... 8,808  
For Lieut.-Gov., Jones ..... 7,277  
For Secretary, O'Flaherty ..... 9,631  
For Treasurer, Nagler ..... 6,310  
For Attorney-General, Hargraves ..... 8,820

Average vote ..... 8,573  
Last year, our candidate for Governor, Bradley, received 12,290 votes, while Berry, of the S. L. P., had 8,784.

Our national ticket at that time had 9,097 and that of the S. L. P., 2,569.

## AN ENTERTING WEDGE.

The "Oklahoma Socialist" reports that the ticket of the Socialist Party was victorious in Canton Township, Northwestern County, Kansas. Let us hope they will carry the whole county next time.

## WEIGHED AND FOUND WANTING.

In the steel strike, and for some time previous, so-called pure and simple unionism was on trial and was defeated. The trusts are growing in power.

Machinery continues to encroach on every trade.  
Nothing has been gained in lobbying. Labor laws are either declared unconstitutional or are not enforced.

Strikers and their sympathizers are fined and thrown into prison.

The injunction meets us at every turn.

The boycott is illegal and encourages employers to start suits for damages. The blacklist has been legalized.

Bogus labels flood the market.

Union men continue to vote against each other and nullify one another's political power at the ballot box.

Trade unionism is being beaten in all its sides.

And those who are paid to think and lead occupy the same position to-day that they were in twenty years ago.

As has been stated in these columns before, when the rank and file wake up sufficiently to demand a voice they will get it, and not before. Votes count.

Meanwhile, let the progressists stand solid for new trade unionism—industrial organization and close federation, high dues and transfer of funds, political action based on the principles of Socialism.

Pure and simple unionism has been on trial and found wanting. Reorganize!—Cleveland Citizen.

## DON'T.

Don't wait until to-morrow; to-morrow never comes.

Don't wait for some one else to start; start it yourself.

Don't bearken to the indifferent; wake them up.

Don't think it impossible; one million organized workers pray different.

Don't weaken; persistence wins. Cincinnati Central Labor Council Chronicle.

BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

# The Worker.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 8, 1901.

## AGENTS, ATTENTION!

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.  
Agents are personally charged and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.  
Only duly elected and approved agents acknowledged.

PRICE 2 CENTS

## NEW YORK STATE.

### Comrade Butcher "Going Out as State Organizer and Agent for The Worker."

The attention of all readers of The Worker in the state of New York is called to the circular letter sent out this week by State Organizer William Butcher, and it is expected that all comrades and sympathizers will put forth their best efforts at once to carry out the desires of the State Committee by working for new subscribers and assisting our organizer to obtain many new readers in every town he shall visit.

The comrades and sympathizers are also requested to lend him all possible assistance in organizing the unorganized Socialists, for we want to get every one not affiliated with the S. D. P. to become an active party member, to help us in advancing the cause of Socialism throughout the entire state.

Everyone can do something, and if each does his very best, the success which will crown our efforts will be a surprise even to ourselves. So let each one begin right now to "hustle" for new subscribers for The Worker.

If you cannot elicit the subscription yourself, interest your friends enough to be captured by our organizer when he visits you. There is a movement on foot to establish a Socialist daily, and all that is needed to insure the success of a daily is a sufficient number of subscribers to the weekly; therefore, comrades, let us all work to increase our subscription list so that The Daily Worker may accompany our agitators in the coming state campaign.

New subscribers mean more votes for Socialism, and more votes for Socialism means the quicker ending of the enslavement of the working class from wage slavery and capitalism.

Comrade Butcher will begin his work as State Organizer this week by covering Westchester County, after which he will visit all points in New York on the east side of the Hudson River as far north as Troy, and then returning to New York City through the counties on the west side of the Hudson. As soon as this trip has been made, Comrade Butcher will tour the state as far west as Buffalo, taking in all points where there are any Socialists known to the State Committee.

Comrades, the work before us is enormous, but we do not propose to allow a little thing like that to dampen our enthusiasm or lessen our devotion to the cause of Socialism. The state campaign is next on the program, and the S. D. P. must be organized in every county before we hold our next state convention. Shall we do it? Indeed we will! Now, all to work!

## KANSAS STATE CONVENTION.

The State Socialist convention at Parsons, Kan., on Nov. 24, was in every way a most successful convention. There were present fifty-seven delegates representing thirteen locals and unaffiliated representatives from four other towns who were given the privileges of the floor without a vote.

A public meeting was held in Library Hall, besides several street meetings, the result of which was the addition of twenty-five new members to Local Parsons. The constitution adopted follows closely the model of the other states and of the national party. The only resolutions adopted were an endorsement of the resolutions and platform adopted by the Indianapolis convention.

The state headquarters will be at Abilene. J. D. Haskell of that place was elected secretary-treasurer. Wilbur C. Benton state organizer and Walter Thomas Mills was nominated for member of the National Committee.

Comrade Benton will devote his whole time to the party, beginning at once on the close of the fall term of the Socialist Training School at Girard, at which he is studying.

## SOCIALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM.

The following resolution was adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., on July 31, 1901:

"The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, declares that the trade union movement and independent political action are the emancipating factors of the wage-working class. The trade union movement is the natural result of capitalist production and represents the economic side of the working class movement. We consider it the duty of the Socialists to join the unions of their respective trades and assist in building up and unifying the trades and labor organizations. We recognize that trade unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds as far as political affiliation is concerned.

"We call the attention of trade unionists to the fact that the class struggle is nobly waged by the trade union forces to-day, while it may result in lessening the exploitation of labor, can never abolish that exploitation. The exploitation of labor will come to an end only when society takes possession of all the means of production for the benefit of all the people. It is the duty of every trade unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on class-conscious lines, to join the Socialist Party, and to assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage-working class, whose ultimate aim and object must be the abolition of wage slavery and the establishment of a co-operative state of society based on the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution."

"The average American 'kicks' about monopoly and the 'politicians' for these hundred and sixty-four days in the year. And on the three hundred and sixty-fifth he goes to the polls and puts in his ballot in favor of them.—Social Democratic Herald.

## CRIMES OF CAPITALISM.

### Law, Morality, and Human Comfort and Safety Sacrificed in Scramble for Profits.

### Three Instances in a Week in New York City—Another Tarrant Horror Narrowly Averted—Subornation of Perjury Among the Metropolitan's Crimes.

Fire Chief Croker places the responsibility for the spread of the big fire in Tenth street, New York, last week, upon the Standard Oil Company. He said that before the rear wall of the Uptown factory fell on the Standard Oil Company's premises, he had inspected the latter building and found 125 barrels of naphtha and gasoline stored there, which was a violation of law, as it is specifically prohibited to store more than one barrel of an explosive in any one building within the city limits.

Officials of the company claim that they had a special permit allowing them to carry thirty barrels of naphtha and gasoline. Chief Croker said he did not know anything about the permit, but the law had been violated nevertheless. Inasmuch as it specifically states that whenever any quantity of explosives are stored in a building, the structure must be located fifty feet from any other building, and the floor must be two feet below the street level, in order that the oil cannot flow over the streets, as it did in this case.

Between 600 and 700 men and women have been thrown out of employment by the fire, and many lives would undoubtedly have been lost had it not been for the brave work of the firemen.

This latest instance of the flagrant violation of law by the capitalist class calls to mind the Tarrant explosion, in which the lives of many workers were sacrificed to the greed of the criminal capitalists who tried to save expense by violating the law, and risking the lives of their employees and the safety of the public. The Tarrant explosion occurred a year ago, but the case has not yet been brought up in court.

Three officials of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company have been indicted by the Grand Jury for bribing a boy witness to perjure himself in a damage suit brought by a widow whose husband was killed by a trolley car. Why this discrimination against the Metropolitan? Other capitalists had perjury to legalize murder and nothing is done. This indictment therefore seems partial. But then they are not punished yet—there's many a slip 'twixt the indictment and the conviction.

A guard on one of the bridge trains had to force back the mass of people in order to close the car gate and in the crush a woman's ribs were broken. He was arrested, but when arraigned in the Police Court he was discharged by Magistrate Tighe, who held that there had been no intent of wrong on his part, and that the only remedy to be had should be obtained through a civil action.

This accident is a result of the company's neglect to provide adequate facilities for transportation. The guard has to get the gate closed and run in schedule time, and he is discharged and the people "be damned." In the same way "Mormon" on street cars are forced to run at high speed, resulting in many fatal accidents. But then they must reduce in the dividends of the transit companies. They are an evidence of pro-spectivity.

## LOCAL NEW YORK.

The subdivisions of Local New York will take notice that the time for making nominations for a member of the National Committee of the party has been extended until Saturday, Dec. 14. Subdivisions which have not made any nominations will do so at once, and submit same to the Organizer. All nominations must reach the organizer not later than Saturday, Dec. 14, on which day the nominations close.

## LOCAL PHILADELPHIA, S. P.

Every member of Local Philadelphia is requested to attend a regular stated meeting on Sunday, Dec. 8, at 8 p. m., at the Tabor Lyceum, Sixth and Brown streets. The order of the day will be: The advisability of abolishing the ward clubs or branches.

—ED. KOPPINGER, Rec.-Sec'y.

## BROOKLYN LECTURES.

The Brooklyn Labor Lyceum Association has arranged a series of lectures for the coming winter. These lectures are to take place on the third Sunday of each month at 3 p. m. at the gymnasium of the Labor Lyceum, 949-957 Willoughby avenue, Brooklyn.

Algeron Lee will deliver on Sunday, December 15, 1901, at 3 p. m., the second lecture of the series above mentioned. Subject, "Labor Politics and Socialist Policies." All comrades and friends of organized labor are invited to attend.

—Now that virtue has triumphed in New York and Seth Low is finally installed in the mayor's office, the workmen can go back to his ten-hour daily stint at the usual rate per diem.—Workers' Call.

## PECULIAR TACTICS.

### Used in Essex County Trades Council.

To Free Federation, Delegate from Instructions Given Him to Support Resolution for Independent Political Action and Collective Ownership.

Very peculiar methods were used in last Friday's meeting of the Essex County, N. J., Trades Council to free the delegate to the A. F. of L. convention from the instructions given him to support a resolution in favor of independent political action of the working class for collective ownership of the means of production. This resolution, it will be remembered, was introduced by Delegate Millstein at the previous meeting of the Council and passed, after hot discussion, by a vote of 30 to 10. The minority was not willing to submit, however, and resorted to parliamentary tricks to annul the resolution at this, the last meeting of the Council before the departure of Delegate Hifers to the Scranton Convention. Delegate Hifers was himself in the chair and, as the Newark "Advertiser" remarks, he "ruled with a strong hand."

## TEST VOTE FOR INSTRUCTIONS.

When the minutes of the previous meeting were read, Delegate Hifers of the Typographical Union, moved to strike out the record of the resolution of instructions. Delegate Gahling of the Tailors and Pishers raised the point of order that nothing should be struck from the minutes unless it was an error and it was not claimed that this was an error. The chair refused to entertain the point, saying that the resolution was a political one and was therefore out of order. On appeal the chair's ruling was defeated and Gahling's point sustained by a vote of 33 to 19, but the chair paid little attention to this decision. In the course of the contest Delegate Gahling challenged Gahling's right to vote or speak, claiming that he was not a member of the Council; but reference to the official list of delegates showed that his charge had no foundation.

Delegate Waller of the Patternmakers' Union pointed out that the chair's ruling was founded only on the preamble, and that there was nothing in the constitution proper to prevent the Council from acting on political questions if it saw fit to do so. On his motion, the question was laid over to new business, again by a vote of 33 to 19.

Under the order of reports of organizations, the question came up again. In fact, this question occupied the whole time of the meeting. Delegate McHugh of the Allied Printing Trades Council presented a resolution which he said had been passed by that body at its session on the preceding Wednesday, demanding that the Millstein resolution of instructions be rescinded. Delegate Gahling of the same body denied that such action had been regularly taken. Delegate McIntosh of the Pressmen's Union explained that no meeting of the A. P. T. C. had been held on Wednesday evening, the regular meeting having been postponed on account of its being Thanksgiving. Delegates of three unions had met and passed the resolution which was now being presented by McHugh as coming from the A. P. T. C. As the resolution did not bear the official seal of the A. P. T. C. and was evidently not regular, it was referred back to that body.

## GAG RULE USED.

When the order of new business was reached McIntosh moved that the minutes recording the Millstein resolution of instruction be adopted as read. Two votes having shown that the majority of the resolution were in the majority, the opponents of the resolution adopted tactics of obstruction and disorder. Delegate Matthews called Gahling a scab, but was compelled to apologize, as he could not produce the slightest evidence in support of the accusation. The chairman refused to entertain any motion that he considered unconstitutional and refused to allow any appeal from his rulings. He held the action taken at the previous meeting to be unconstitutional and set himself up as the sole judge in the matter. Delegate Nebel of the Street Railway Employees denounced this conduct as "gag rule" and, being called upon to apologize, refused to do so or to withdraw the remark.

The arbitrary rulings of the chair resulted in a scene of great disorder. In the midst of which the chair called for a motion to adjourn, and declared it carried, thus preventing a further vote on the resolutions of instruction. By this action, it is said, he holds himself to be released from the instructions given him—released by his own rulings, over the heads of the majority—and free to vote at Scranton against the proposition that the working class take independent political action for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of collective ownership.

## INCIDENT NOT CLOSED.

The affair has caused great excitement and ill feeling on both sides and some of the more rabid anti-Socialists say the Council shall be disrupted before they will allow it to go clearly and free in favor of collective ownership and independent labor politics. The incident is not closed, apparently, but it suffices to show the strength of Socialist thought among the organized workmen of Essex County and the desperation to which its opponents have been driven.

BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

## CAPITALISTIC EDUCATION.

### College Teachings Controlled by Money Kings in the Interest of Class Rule.

During the past decade a number of professors have been forced out of their positions in the great colleges and universities because they held opinions on social and political questions which displeased the capitalists who supply these institutions with funds or because they impartially expounded certain economic theories which exposed the evil nature of the present capitalist system of society.

The great institutions of learning are actually dependent upon the donations of millionaires who supply them with funds, under the guise of philanthropy, and endeavor to maintain the supremacy of the capitalist class by preventing the teaching of doctrines inimical to the interests of capitalism. Thus education is perverted and freedom of speech suppressed in the interests of class rule.

Professor Andrews of Brown, Professor Bemis of the University of Chicago, Professor Herron of Leland Stanford, Professor Herron of Leland Stanford, and many others were forced out because their teachings were opposed to the interests of donors who benefit by present industrial conditions.

With the press and, to a great extent, the church, as well as educational institutions, under the complete control of capitalist influences it will be seen that every power of moulding public opinion is in the hands of the capitalist class, and their "philanthropic" investments pay them well.

The subsidized nature of modern education was strikingly brought out in the papers read at the fifteenth annual meeting of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, held at Syracuse last week. The discussion of the afternoon session on Friday, Nov. 29, was on "Freedom of Speech in Connection with Education."

## JUDGE PARKER DEFENDS CUBESIZED TEACHING.

In his address on this subject, Chief Justice Parker of the Court of Appeals, after allowing the right of professors to freedom of expression as long as they "inculcate nothing destructive of social order"—by which he means the present social order—contended for the right of donors to dictate the teachings of an institution, in the following words:

"And as to the founders of and donors to institutions of learning, whose sole business in life-money-making, may not have especially qualified them to determine what should be taught in colleges and universities, I am in favor of their having the complete freedom within their province which I accord to teachers within theirs—freedom to insist upon it that the doctrines they believe to be true and for the propagation of which they have expressly and avowedly founded the institution or endowed the chairs, shall be taught in such institutions. . . . In such institutions as I have just indicated, where a full professor becomes a member of the faculty under an agreement for a longer or shorter term of years, he does so with a clear conception of what he is to teach and presumably with a desire or personal preference to propagate the doctrines held by HIS EMPLOYERS. Under such circumstances I assume no one will deny the right and the propriety of the founders or the donors requiring that the professors teach the chosen doctrines, or, in a case a professor should at any time during the term of his engagement, refuse to carry out his agreement and should demand from his instructions, the right and propriety of their insisting upon the governing board demanding the professor's resignation. . . .

"But with the indoctrination in the minds of students of such social, political, economical, or religious ideas as tend to subvert the purpose of the founders or directors of the chair he occupies, or can have reference only to a more or less distant, revolutionary future, the professor and university should have nothing to do. Therefore, when in opposition to the wishes or without the consent of the supporters of the institution, any of the faculty persists in a course that must tend to impress upon the tender minds of the youth under his charge theories deemed to be false by the foundation whose servant he is, or which if not strictly false to be, are deemed so by the vast majority of the most intelligent minds of the age, it seems to me that he has abused his privilege of expression of opinion to such an extent as to justify the governing board in terminating his engagement."

This outspoken advocacy of subsidized education in the interests of the capitalist class did not harmonize with the opinions of those who are themselves the victims of such conditions, as the following quotations from the preceding address of President Paunce of Brown University will show:

## AN EDUCATOR'S PROTEST.

"First, there is the crass Philistine view, that a man has the right to hire what teaching he will in the school he himself has established or enlarged, just as he has the right to hire any other kind of labor, and that no one can criticize him for propagating certain views any more than for paying certain kinds of fees that he may happen to prefer. Those who adopt this view reduce the school or college at once to a private plantation, and reduce all teachers to the grade of hired men. Under such conditions a donor does not elevate and enrich a school, he degrades and impoverishes it. He really seizes the school, withdraws it from the catalogue of life-giving institutions

and makes it a personal appendage of dimensions as small as his own. Such a man is within his legal rights; but he can never be called a benefactor.

"Still more urgent is it that we keep a school or college free from external control for the sake of the faculty. If there be a string behind the professor's chair, making him a puppet, both his reputation and his character are gone. If in his class room, he is ever glancing over his shoulder to measure the effect of his words on certain persons who are more wealthy than wise, his words have lost all value to the public and his influence has received the quietus it richly deserves. Worse yet, his own spirit has become craven and ignoble, and he who might be the inspiring guide of youth and the courageous leader of men has become a sycophant and an echo. A school where such conditions prevail may grow rich in purse while it steadily grows poor in spirit. It has lost not only its freedom, but its democracy and its virility; it may gain the whole world, but surely loses its own soul."

## "THE WHOLE THING IS WRONG."

One of the leading papers was read by St. Clair McKelway. He said: "The trouble with any donations which have caused friction or criticism has been due to the wish of donors to perpetuate the system or the methods in business or in economic or in ethical by which they have made their money. An investment, as well as a gift, have been in their minds. These have been expressed, but well understood conditions. Trustees have not been in the dark about their merely because they have been expected to be silent concerning them. The whole thing is wrong."

President Scherman of Cornell University said:

"From the fact that a professor should be deposed for immorality, it can scarcely be inferred that limitations on his freedom of thought and speech are justifiable. Yet it will be asked, 'what would you do if his teachings lead to Socialism or to Anarchy?' I do not myself believe that Socialism is a workable scheme of human government, but I know that some of the noblest characters and profoundest thinkers our race has produced have regarded it as essential to the ideal commonwealth. And it is surely no reflection upon a professor that he is in the goodly fellowship of Plato. In any event, the world has seen many social and economic institutions and many forms of government, and no thinker is to be tabooed for refusing to glorify in perfect and final those under which we happen to live."

## THE METHODS OF THE SCAB "SUN."

### Newark "News" Prints Fictitious Letters Against Trolley Employees' Union, but Refuses to Publish a Signed Reply.

It is an old trick of the New York "Sun," in times of strike, to publish bushels of "communications," alleged to be written by workmen but never signed by their real or supposed authors, in which trade unionists, strikers, and Socialists are vigorously condemned and the employers defended. "Contented Workmen," "Old Printers," "Industry," and many other mythical personages have appeared in the columns of the "Sun" to denounce the Typographical Union and to praise Dana and Laffan. The trick was overdone, however, and when it was tried again during the strikes of machinists and steel workers last summer every one knew that the letters were composed in the editorial office of the "Sun."

Since the New Jersey trolley employees have begun to organize, the Newark "News" has been imitating the "Sun" in its own weak way. An editorial in the "News" recently published the "News" in denunciation of the Essex, Union, and Hudson Counties Street Railway Employees' Union. The fictitious railroader said the members of this union were wicked Socialists and were trying to humbug somebody. He also explained that the only real good, nice harmless organization of street railway men was a benefit association, which never thinks of striking, never tries to raise wages or reduce hours of labor or do anything against the interests of the bosses, and which "has the sanction of the local companies."

Inasmuch as this supposed "Old Railroader" is so fully sanctioned by the trolley magnates, President Nebel of the Street Railway Employees' Union wondered why he did not sign his name. He wrote a reply, showing that the union of which he is president is a subdivision of the national organization of the trade and is recognized by the Essex County Trades Council and challenging the article to disclose its name. Of course, the "News" refused to publish Nebel's letter.

A real union—one which tries to improve the condition of its members and is ready to fight the capitalists for that purpose—may have good reason for keeping the identity of its members secret until the fight comes, to prevent their being blacklisted as individuals. But an association which claims to exist "with the sanction" of the employers and yet conceals itself under bogus plume is open to suspicion of being an association that either exists only on paper or else exists for the benefit of the bosses themselves.

An inquiry into sweatshop conditions in Chicago reveals the fact that hundreds of girls and women are working fifteen and sixteen hours per day in order to earn from 25 to 30 cents. In the interests of the Chinese we demand that the exclusion act be extended.—Workers' Call.

## ONE MORE INJUNCTION.

### Philadelphia Judge Issues One Against Allied Building Trades Council.

Must Not Call Strikes to Prevent Employment of Non-Union Men—Threats, Express or Implied, Are Made Punishable.

A Philadelphia court has added one more to the list of injunctions issued against organized workmen and in the interest of organized capital. Judge McCarthy of the Common Pleas Court is the author of the injunction, which forbids the Allied Building Trades Council or its officers or agents to declare strikes on buildings where contractors employ workmen not affiliated with that organization and forbids them further to use threats, EXPRESS OR IMPLIED, that employers would suffer loss by employing non-union labor.

## SERIOUS BLOW TO CENTRAL LABOR BODIES.

This means that, even though a contractor has made an agreement with a central labor body, binding himself to employ union labor and observe union scales in all departments of his work, he is at perfect liberty to break the agreement whenever he pleases. And if, in case of the contractor hiring non-union plumbers, for instance, the Council should call the carpenters, bricklayers, and other trades out on strike, or if they should even ask him to observe his agreement and advise him that he could bring trouble or loss to himself by refusing, then the members, officers, and agents of the Council would be liable to summary punishment by fine or imprisonment, for contempt of court.

It is evident that if this injunction holds and becomes a precedent, central bodies, whether of the building trades or of any other, will lose one of their most powerful weapons.

The case will be appealed and the outcome will be watched with interest.

## TO BE TRIED IN NEW YORK.

A New York paper, in reporting this injunction, gives an interview with Contractor Stokes, of this city. It says: "W. E. D. Stokes, who is building a \$3,000,000 apartment-house on upper Broadway, said to-day that the above decision would create a sensation among the trade councils, and would do a great deal to free the contractors from the attempted dictation to which they are now so frequently subjected. THE SAME QUESTION WILL BE TESTED IN THE COURTS OF THIS STATE IN THE NEAR FUTURE."

It would be well for the trade unionists of New York if they had elected a few Socialists as judges in anticipation of such a case as this. Of the decision of a Socialist judge there could be no doubt whatever.

## SOCIALISM AND TRADE UNIONS.

The Socialist movement is an ally of the labor movement, but at the same time the Socialist recognizes that the Socialist way of settling the industrial question is about 100,000 times better than the labor union way. When the two classes, the wage-worker and the capitalist, meet on the economic field of battle, the wage worker is not in it because the number of dollars on each side largely determines the respective strength of each. On the economic field, a single man like John D. Rockefeller can bring to his terms a hundred thousand wage-workers. By the Socialist way, at the ballot-box, the poorest worker is an equal of the richest multi-millionaire. The workers are many and the capitalists are few. The many have struck on the economic field hundreds of times against the few, and yet the many are losing on every side. One strike of the many at the ballot-box will settle the question for all time. Get in line. Vote the Socialist ticket. It is the only political party that stands for the interest of the many.—Exchange.

## STRAINING AT GNATS

AND SWALLOWING CAMELS.  
The government has gone to great trouble and expense to deport one solitary immigrant, one Thomas Boden, who is alleged to be suffering from consumption, for fear he would infect the people of the United States with that disease.

Meanwhile, the city of New York alone, by allowing the existence of dark, damp, unventilated, and ill-drained tenement houses, is regularly manufacturing consumptives at the rate of about 6,000 a year. This is no exaggeration. The figure given is the city's death rate from consumption, and the highest authorities have declared that practically all the consumptives in New York arise in the tenements and is the direct result of the lack of light and pure air in the dwellings of the people.

This is straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel, with a vengeance. Socialists think that while it may be very well to exercise due vigilance to keep consumptives from entering this country from abroad, it is infinitely more important to stop the breeding of the disease at home. The profits of the landlords would suffer, but Socialists value human lives above landlord's rent-rolls.

—What's the use of putting up a "labor" candidate if he is in favor of continuing present social and industrial conditions? The capitalists will put up a man who advocates the same thing, and thus save you the trouble.—Workers' Call.



## The Worker.

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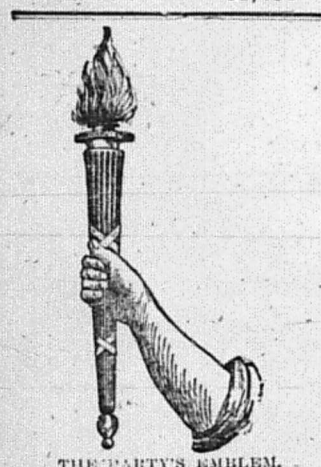
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### SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)..... 2,068  
In 1890 ..... 13,331  
In 1892 (Presidential)..... 21,157  
In 1894 ..... 33,133  
In 1896 (Presidential)..... 36,564  
In 1898:  
S. D. P. .... 82,204  
S. D. P. .... 9,543  
In 1900 (Presidential):  
S. D. P. .... 96,918  
S. L. P. .... 33,450

S. D. P. .... 96,918  
S. L. P. .... 33,450



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

The attention of party members is directed to the official notice in this paper calling for nominations for a member or members of the International Socialist Bureau. The position is an important one, requiring in the candidate who is to fill it both cool and sound judgment and a good knowledge of the Socialist movement on both continents, both in its theory and in its history. The Socialist Party in America has much to gain by a closer connection with the movement in Europe and care should be exercised in the choice of our representative, that the greatest possible good may be realized through this connection.

The comrades, and sympathizers too, should also observe the announcement of party leaflets issued by the National Committee. The prices of these leaflets are so low that not only the smallest locals, but even individual comrades or sympathizers can afford always to have a supply on hand for distribution when the opportunity shall present itself. Many millions of these leaflets ought to be put into the hands of our fellow workmen during the next year.

It is important that the comrades of every state should elect their representative to the National Committee and see that he is present at the meeting to be held in St. Louis in January. The choice should be made with the greatest care, in order that the National Committee may truly represent the party, and may be qualified to perform its important duties with the greatest advantage to the party as a whole. There has been a certain tendency in many quarters to neglect the work of organization, especially of national organization, and to concentrate all forces upon propaganda alone. Undoubtedly too much stress cannot be laid upon the propaganda of our ideas; but this propaganda will be of little avail unless we also take steps to realize our ideas in action; and the resulting action will be wise and vigorous just in proportion to the efficiency of our organization. Let us by no means neglect propaganda; but let us, in order that the propaganda may bear fruit, build up our organization by all means in our power, exercising care in the choice of party officers, providing them with necessary funds for their work, and paying due respect to the authority which we have put into their hands.

On Thanksgiving Day the papers which editorially called upon the people to be thankful for the blessings of prosperity contained in their news columns the usual record of strikes, injunctions, evictions, deaths from starvation, and as a special feature long accounts of Thanksgiving dinners given to the thousands too poor to provide for themselves. But then we should all be thankful for the size of

the trust dividends. The gentlemen who write the editorials of our dailies seem to read only the Wall Street column of their papers.

### SOCIALISM IN NEW ZEALAND.

The system of social and labor legislation of New Zealand has for some years past, attracted considerable attention in this country and in England, especially in labor circles and in certain sections of the Socialist press. We have been assured that New Zealand was well on the way to "practical" Socialism and rosy pictures have been painted of the results achieved. Unfortunately, these pleasing reports seem not to have been altogether justified by the facts in the case, and reports of unquestionable authenticity have reached us, showing that conditions in the colony at the Antipodes are far from being satisfactory. If judged by the aspirations of the Socialist workman.

Since these adverse reports are likely to have a discouraging effect upon those who have believed that what had been done in New Zealand was really the application of Socialist principles, it is worth while for us to remind our readers of the opinions which, from the very first, we have expressed on this matter. We have never recognized the New Zealand legislation as being truly Socialist in character and we have warned the workmen of America against lending too ready credence to the glowing reports which were, so widely circulated.

If the labor legislation of New Zealand has failed, whether completely or in part—if, what is particularly to the present purpose, it has failed materially to improve the condition of the working class there—and if this there can be little doubt—that can by no means be set down as a failure of Socialism; Socialism has not been tried in New Zealand and therefore it cannot have failed there, any more than it can have succeeded.

The New Zealand system has, it is true, included a certain measure of public ownership. But public ownership is not necessarily Socialist. A man may kneel in order to pray for his enemies or he may kneel in order to take better aim in shooting his enemies. So a government may establish public ownership for the purpose of freeing the workers from exploitation or it may do it for the purpose of perpetuating their exploitation. If public ownership were the one essential feature or the chief essential feature of Socialism, then we should have to believe that Russia was nearer to Socialism than the United States, because the Tsar's government owns a great many railroads, telegraphs, iron mills, distilleries, and other institutions which in this country are owned by capitalist corporations. But we all know that the Russian government is not Socialist in the least, that the government control of certain industries in Russia is designed to strengthen and perpetuate class rule and exploitation and oppression.

It is true, also, that the New Zealand legislation has included several provisions intended, or alleged to be intended, expressly for the protection of the wage-workers—such as the state employment bureaus, the courts of industrial conciliation and arbitration, and the system of old-age pensions. These things certainly would go farther with us than the mere fact of public ownership to impress us with the Socialist character of this legislation—were it not for one consideration which applies to both.

The consideration we refer to is this: No part of the New Zealand legislation has been won by the independent endeavor of the working class, nor has the object of the whole system been to emancipate the working class or to put an end to the capitalist exploitation of labor. Whether we rely for our information upon the representations of Henry D. Lloyd, the chief apostle of New Zealandism, or upon those of our comrade, Robert Miles LaMonte, whose interesting correspondence we have been glad to print—in either case we find that the whole object of this legislation has been to strengthen the middle class and to check the progress of capitalism, and that what has been done for the working class has been done only for the purpose of winning the support of the workers for this middle-class program—it has been thrown out to them as a sop, to induce them not to demand the whole of their rights, just as, in the United States and other countries, various petty reforms have been conceded by the capitalist parties as the price of the workingman's support.

Mr. Lloyd has admitted that poverty still exists among the workmen of New Zealand; that unemployment still exists, that girls are still forced to prostitution by the pressure of want. Comrade LaMonte's correspondence has shown that the condition of the working class of New Zealand is far from being an enviable one. And the fact that, as was reported last week, a Socialist party has now been launched there shows that the workmen have come to recognize that they have got the worst of it in their alliance with the middle class.

Certainly it was not to be expected that a true Socialist movement could have arisen and grown to power in a new country as New Zealand. So

cialism is the political expression of the labor movement and the labor movement grows in strength and clearness only as capitalism itself develops. The New Zealand experience is exactly what was to be expected; it is exactly what we have predicted; and, so far from weakening our position, it is a confirmation of our insistence on the necessity of founding our movement on the class struggle.

### FOREIGN MARKETS AND ECONOMIC COLLAPSE.

The cry for reciprocity, which was inaugurated by McKinley in his last speech at Buffalo and is now filling the press of the land, is a noteworthy expression of industrial conditions. At present the capitalists all favor reciprocity, except as applied to their own individual industries. That circumstance may temporarily defeat the movement for reciprocity, but it must come eventually, and it must be followed by tariff revision and practical free trade—the demand for foreign markets must be filled. Through the introduction of machinery and the concentration of industry a large unemployed class has been created whose members compete with one another for the right to work. By this competition for work, wages are reduced to, broadly speaking, the cost of living. As the larger share of labor's product goes to the capitalist, and as the working class cannot buy back this product for its own use, the capitalists must find a market for the overgrowing surplus in order to postpone "overproduction," a glutted market and a commercial crisis. Our multiplied and ever increasing powers of production cry out for an outlet, for the surplus wealth which its creators cannot buy back must be disposed of. Capital must also find new fields for investment—every channel is choked at home and the industrial Alexander must look for new fields to conquer.

The outlet provided by conquest and imperialism has even now been found insufficient and the next step is the commercial invasion of the markets of Europe. The last words of Mr. McKinley were the last words of capitalism, the cry for more markets, more markets to satisfy the greed of the "industrial buccaniers" who reach out for new fields of exploitation, more markets upon which to dump the surplus products which labor has created and is denied the use of, more markets in order that the crisis which inevitably follows the prosperity of plunder may be averted and that capitalism may not collapse of its own top-heaviness.

But the conquest of foreign trade will be of no avail. If American capitalists secure the markets of Europe, they destroy the home industries of Europe against which they are competing. When they destroy the industries of Europe they throw the European working class out of employment and thus destroy the purchasing power of the working class who, by reason of their numbers, are the chief consumers. Thus the conquest of foreign trade will, in the end, defeat its own object. The limited purchasing power of the American working class forces the capitalists to seek the markets of other nations and when they win those markets they will have destroyed the purchasing power of the nations to whom they expect to sell. This outcome is rendered more sure by the fact that we are rapidly becoming able to produce everything we need for our own use in this country. Europe cannot forever buy from America and sell nothing in return.

Meanwhile the invention of labor-saving machinery will progress even more rapidly in the future than in the past, with a corresponding increase in the army of the unemployed on the one hand and in the mass of surplus value on the other. When these conditions intensify and foreign markets have been exhausted, capitalism will collapse like a house of cards.

Capitalism was born a suicide. Capitalism cannot stand still, even on the edge of a precipice; it is ever forced by the press of competition to go forward to its own doom. The cry for foreign markets is a symptom of coming collapse—the death-rattle of capitalism. The boasted industrial supremacy of America is the mad intoxication of a lower that is transient. It is the last debauch of a doomed dynasty of dollars.

The economic forces now in operation must inevitably result in the economic collapse of capitalism; unless indeed the ruling powers resort to "panem et circenses," after the Roman fashion, and such an open showing of their hand as that would be sure to result in downfall. Capitalism is a house built on sand.

The collapse of capitalism may be succeeded by one of three things: A blind revolt with chaos and reaction as its result; a system of state capitalism inaugurated by the ruling class to feed the people and perpetuate a privileged class; or a Co-operative Commonwealth brought into being by the class-conscious action of a Socialist proletariat, and establishing one and for all a state of economic justice and social democracy.

To insure this latter result and to hasten its advent is the aim of the Socialist movement.

The formation of the wire fence trust seems to indicate that the capitalists want the earth and the fence around

it." Socialism will effectually fence off these fellows until they are willing to become useful members of society.

### THE GOVERNORS AND THE RAILWAY TRUST.

Governor Toole of Montana, Democrat, is at one with Governor Van Sant of Minnesota, Republican, in thinking that "something ought to be done" about the new railroad trust. He is also at one with Van Sant in not having the least idea what that "something" is. Meanwhile, Jim Hill and Morgan and Harriman are "saying nothing and saving woad," with full confidence that all the Republican and Democratic governors in the United States could not seriously interfere with their plans if they would, and would not if they could.

Hill, nominally a Democrat and a Protestant, always worked hand in hand with the late Senator Davis, Republican and Protestant and with Archbishop Ireland, Republican and Catholic. They were the great triumvirate of Minnesota politics, illustrating by their business-like harmony that differences of political or religious creed count for little where capitalist profits are involved. Hill was always the real manager of the firm, with Davis and Ireland as his facile instruments, and whatever Hill wanted the Republican party, which controls the state, complacently granted him. Davis is now dead, as is also Ignatius Donnelly who, as the leader of the Midroad Populists, was the paid agent of the combination. But the death of this or that man makes but little difference in such matters. The real power was not the personality of Hill or Davis or Ireland, but the money interest which held them together.

What is true of Minnesota is true of the Dakotas, of Montana, of all the states affected. Change the names of men and parties and the same description would apply to all. Senator Clark of Montana, for instance, Copper Trust magnate and Democratic boss of his state, is not going to prove a dangerous foe to the railroad combine. Nor are the Standard Oil interests which proved their overmastering power in Idaho politics in the time of the great miners' strike going to allow any harm to come to a trust movement in which they are so vitally interested.

But not only is it a fact that the machinery of the Republican and Democratic parties is so carefully under the control of the great capitalist interests that they would not, if they could, seriously oppose the capitalist plans; there is a further and a more important fact which makes it impossible for those parties effectively to resist the progress of trustification, even if they would.

Both the old parties accept the foundation of the capitalist system as a natural, necessary, and eternal state of affairs. The fundamental principle of capitalism is the private ownership of the means of production and their operation by wage labor for the creation of profits for the owners.

That principle of private ownership for profit being accepted, there is no logical ground and there is no practicable method of preventing the results which naturally arise from it, and one of those results is the concentration of capital in stock companies, pools, combines, trusts, or great consolidations like the United States Steel Corporation and the Northern Securities Company.

The right of Mr. Hill or any other capitalist to own a railroad or any other means of production which he does not use, and to take a profit by virtue of that ownership from the product of the labor of the people who do use it, implies his right to sell such property or to buy other property and add to it. Since the making of profits is the object of industry under the capitalist system, since economy in the conduct of the industry is the most obvious method of increasing profits, and since consolidation is the best means of effecting economy, it is plainly illogical to allow capitalism to continue and yet to try to prevent the concentration of capital.

The development of capitalism requires free competition—that is, competition free from legal restrictions. But the effect of free competition is to weaken and finally to destroy the smaller competitors, and, in one way or another, whether directly or indirectly, whether openly or secretly, to merge them in the successful competitor. Consolidation of capital is, therefore, the natural result of free competition. When that result has once been attained, when competition has done its work and destroyed itself, any attempt to restore competition by force, by legislative enactment or judicial decision, would be an attempt to make the oak-tree go back into the acorn from which it has grown.

To illustrate by the very case of the railway companies now forming the Northern Securities Company: The real competition which once existed between the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific resulted in the victory of the better-planned, better-equipped, and richer line. The Northern Pacific was ruined. This result was undoubtedly hastened by the more flagrant dishonesty of the chief owners of the Northern Pacific; but even though they had been honest (within the narrow limits possible to capitalists), the same result would have come about. The Northern Pacific was ruined and the

ownership of it passed into the hands of the same men who owned the Great Northern. This has been the state of affairs for several years past, and the only question at the present time is whether the two roads shall continue to be owned by the same men and managed separately, in a wasteful and inefficient manner, or whether the fact of consolidation shall be frankly recognized and avowed and the most efficient and economical organization secured.

These are, in all essentials, the facts in every instance of combination or consolidation. It is only a question between secret concentration of capital, with relatively wasteful and inefficient management, on the one hand, and open concentration, with relatively efficient and economical organization, on the other. In not one solitary case have legislators, courts, and executive officers, local, state, or national, in this country or elsewhere, been able to prevent concentration. All they have ever succeeded in doing has been to conceal it, to hamper it a little, to make its evil effects somewhat greater and its good effects somewhat less, and to confuse the public mind.

To sum up, concentration of capital is the natural outcome of the capitalist system, and if it is not satisfactory there is but one alternative: To abandon the very foundation of capitalism—private ownership of the means of production—and to accept in its place public or collective ownership, with the service of the public, instead of the making of profits, as the object of all industry. That position the Socialists take; that is the aim of the Socialist movement. And therefore the problem of the trusts can be solved only by Socialist politics.

### THE CHINESE EXCLUSION QUESTION.

Although there has been much discussion of the possibility that Congress, at its present session would fail to re-enact the Chinese Exclusion Law, it is hardly to be expected that such will be the case. Undoubtedly strong influence is being used in favor of allowing the law to lapse—not so much the influence of Mr. Wu as that of American capitalists—good patriotic gentlemen they are—who would like to see free competition among the workmen, while they limit competition among themselves. But admission of the Chinese would be an extremely unpopular measure, even in the Eastern states, and more especially so in the West; and after all, the capitalists have more important games on hand—the Ship Subsidy Bill, for instance—the success of which they would hardly care to endanger by too grossly offending popular feeling in the matter of the Chinese.

While it does not seem probable that the Exclusion Law will be allowed to lapse, and while there are questions of far greater moment to the working class than this, we have been asked to state our position on the matter and we do not hesitate to do so.

On the basis of natural rights and the theory of free competition it is impossible to make any logical arguments for the exclusion of the Chinese. Unfortunately, however—or, perhaps, fortunately—people are seldom logical in considering questions that directly affect their material interests.

For us, we do not lay much stress on so-called natural rights. It is much easier to weave fine phrases about the natural rights of man than to define them or to act consistently upon the definition once made. Man's rights, indeed, are not absolute and "natural," in the sense in what that word is commonly used, but are strictly "artificial" and relative. The human rights that are worth talking of are not handed down by a Creator nor inherited from a "state of nature." They have been historically developed, won and built up by generations of sober thinking, strong feeling, and sturdy fighting, in the age-long class struggle.

The Chinese question, like most or all social questions, is not to be settled by a reference to abstract theory, but by a consideration of the good or evil social effects which this or that course of action would produce.

The purpose for which the admission of the Chinese is in certain quarters desired is to supply a large amount of cheap labor-power "for the development," as it is said, "of our natural resources." Would this be good or bad? It would be good for some and bad for others.

It is not for the good of the Chinese that their admission is demanded. The capitalists who wish to make use of them would, so soon as their own purposes were served, turn them off to beg or steal or starve in a strange land just as heartlessly as they turn off their fellow-citizens of the American working class.

tion of immigration. As we had occasion to say but a few weeks since, in answer to a correspondent, the agitation for further restriction is generally a ruse of the capitalist politician to rouse race hatred and divert the minds of the working people from other and more important questions. The restriction of European immigration, if it could be carried into effect, would do but little good to the workmen already here, and its evil effects would probably outweigh its benefits.

But there is really no parallel to be drawn between the European and the Chinese immigrant. The Italians and Poles and Hungarians become assimilated with the rest of the people in the second or third generation, if not in the first. They very soon mix with the great mass of the working people and learn to fight side by side with them. They have, indeed, been accustomed, for ages past, to fight against oppression in their old homes, and it does not take them long to learn that they must fight against capitalist exploitation here. The Chinese, on the other hand, by reason of the difficulty of communication between them and ourselves, and by reason of their low standard of living, their habit of obedience, and their stolid conservatism, would, if admitted in large enough numbers, become a formidable passive ally of the capitalist class and a dangerous army to the working class.

The age of full and free competition is past. We have now one-sided competition, competition among the working people for employment, and but little competition among employers for workmen. When this state of affairs shall have passed away, when industrial competition shall have become a thing of the past, when collective production for the satisfaction of human wants shall have taken the place of capitalist production for private profit, then we shall be willing and able to stretch out a hand to our Chinese brothers with the assurance of being able gradually to lift them to a better sort of life. To-day we could do it only with the assurance of being ourselves dragged down.

For the present, let us hope that the capitalist politicians at Washington will not dare to allow the Exclusion Law to lapse. But let us not fancy, in that case, that Labor has won a very great victory or that the politicians have done us a great favor. Let us recognize that this is only one small incident in the class struggle and that if the open or concealed desires of the capitalists are against our interests in this matter, so are they also in other matters.

### THE NATIONAL MILITIA PLAN.

Secretary Root's plan for transforming the militia of the various states into a "first reserve" of the federal army, so that they can be ordered out for service in any part of the United States, can have but one object in view. Even with the change of foreign policy which has been effected in the last few years, bringing the United States into "world politics," neither Secretary Root nor anyone else expects that this country is likely to be invaded by a foreign enemy. And if such a thing should happen, it would not be necessary for the government to have power to order out the militia, for they would almost unanimously volunteer on a day's notice to repel an invading force.

But that is not the sort of service for which the national administration wants this special power granted it. The enemies it has in view are not foreign soldiers, but American strikers. There is a growing disinclination among the militiamen to shoot at striking workmen among whom may be their own brothers, their personal friends, or, at least, their acquaintances and neighbors. But if militia could be brought from a distant part of the country—if, in case of a strike in New York, armed men could be brought from Florida or Kansas, and vice versa—then, our statesmen and their capitalist backers think, the militia could still be made to serve their purposes effectively for some years to come.

If this plan is carried out—which is somewhat doubtful, since the militiamen, mindful of their own comfort, will protest pretty vigorously against such a change—but if it is carried out, the first result will be to strengthen the movement in the trade unions to prevent their members from joining the militia. And even aside from this, the plan will hardly effect its purpose: for workmen are coming to feel their brotherhood and to recognize the identity of their interests, not only within the limits of neighborhood or state, but the country over and the world over.

### FOREIGN MARKETS.

The wages paid the workers, being less than one-quarter the price of their product, cannot possibly buy back what they make and distribute. What they cannot buy—estimated by Mr. Dewey at two billions annually—is vastly greater than this owners of the tools can consume even in the most wasteful manner. Yet unless this surplus can be sold at a price which makes it profitable to the owners of those resources by the cheap labor of Chinese coolies. And American workmen would pay for their masters' prosperity by starving in idleness or by reducing their standard of living to a lower and lower level.

We do not favor, in general, a restriction of immigration.

## Current Literature.

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

EQUALITY. By William Marion Reedy. The Mirror Pamphlet, Vol. 2, No. 10, St. Louis, Mo., 1901. Paper, 28 pages. Price, 3 cents.

Mr. Reedy has attempted an answer to Edward Bellamy's "Equality," which he characterizes as "a beautiful dream that will not work out into actual living."

There is certainly a good argument to be made against the theory of human equality as we have inherited it from the eighteenth century revolutionists. It is a theory which served its purpose and marked an advance upon medieval conceptions, but which will not stand the test of modern science. It was an approximation to truth, good for its day; but it was only an approximation and its day is past.

How far Edward Bellamy's book was founded on this antiquated theory is another question, which it is not necessary to discuss here, because Mr. Reedy's pamphlet is neither a serious criticism of the theory nor a valuable criticism of Bellamy's book.

Mr. Reedy writes with an easy flippancy and a levity which are very commonly exhibited in the numerous "free" magazines—and in some that are not consensated "franks"—and which makes his pamphlet fairly entertaining. But it is nothing more than that. Its brightness is all superficial. It is the glitter of a smoothly polished surface—appropriate to a "Mirror"—and has nothing of the glow of conviction or the original light of thought.

The author does not enter into any thorough consideration of the causes of the unfortunate condition of the poor negroes nor does he seek to offer a remedy. He confines himself chiefly to a statement of facts as they appear upon the surface. The book appeals to humane sentiment and reason against prejudice, passion, and violence. Of the correctness of the statement of facts—so far, at least, as it goes, so far as the negroes' side of the question is concerned—there cannot be much doubt; and the author's indignation over them is quite justified. But something more than indignation and sympathy will be needed to relieve the colored people from the oppression under which they suffer.

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"Twenty-six and One," a story by Maxim Gorki, is the best feature of the December "Comrade." It is a simple story, terribly sad and terribly true, very straightforwardly and very vividly told, with no "gush" and no "smartness" in the style. Another good piece is "A New Chapter of the Bible," alleged to have been discovered and translated by Herbert N. Casson. Ernest Crosby contributes a brief account of a visit to John Burroughs; John Spargo a biographical sketch of Heinrich Heine, which is accompanied with translations of a few of Heine's poems; William Edlin an article on "The Life and Work of Jim Stewart," the Massachusetts labor agitator of the last generation; and Walter Martin Raymond a story entitled "A Matter of Definition." Morris' "News from Nowhere" is continued. Some of the illustrations are very good—a reproduction of Debat-Ponsant's painting, "This Is My Commandment, that Ye Love One Another," an excellent cartoon by W. Benesi; portraits of Heine and of Steward, and one or two decorative pieces by Gardner Teal. The frontispiece is a drawing by Walter Crane, appropriate to the Christmas number. We should also mention an excellent bit of verse, "The New Year's Christmas," by Franklin H. Wentworth.

The "Arena" for December contains the following articles: "The Rights of Men," by W. A. Northcutt; "Publishers and the Postal Department," by C. H. Howard; "The Co-operative Association of America," by Hiram Vrooman; "Christian Leadership and Economic Reform," by J. Buckley Bartlett; "Revolutions in Religious Thought During the Nineteenth Century," by B. O. Flower; "Evolution and Theology," by Walter Spencer; "Dante Foscolo's Tomb," a satirical sketch by Maria Gertrude Holmes; "His Little Guest," a story by Anna Vernon Dwyer; "Capital and Labor," by George W. Carey; and "Medical Freedom," by Alexander Wilder.

The poet who is worth while is one who has something to do with the larger movements of humanity—a prophet and a seer. We need a new ideal for the poetic and literary life. The poet who is worth while is one who has something to do with the larger movements of humanity—a prophet and a seer. We need a new ideal for the poetic and literary life. The poet who is worth while is one who has something to do with the larger movements of humanity—a prophet and a seer. We need a new ideal for the poetic and literary life.

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## PLUTOCRATIC CHURCHIANITY.

Josephine K. Henry writes in the "Blue Grass Blade" of the Episcopal General Convention recently held in San Francisco at which J. Pierpont Morgan was the most prominent figure, as follows:

"If Jesus was present at the Episcopal convention the press and the members of the convention made no mention of him.  
"But Pierpont Morgan was there and bishops and laity resolved themselves into humbly, flustering nervously and eagerly about this money king and the heavenly king was retired every time the king of finches appeared."

"This court paid to Pierpont Morgan at the San Francisco convention stamps his servile courtiers as fawning sycophants who worship the almighty dollar rather than almighty God."

"So much for the personnel of the convention. We are glad the good time is here when we can draw our own conclusions in regard to the going on in this world, and not have to receive them, ready-made, from those who claim the privilege of preparing their fellows for another."

"The work of the convention was as unique as its personnel. These gorgeously gowned, well groomed, fastidious clergymen deemed it their province to resolve on the relations of 'capital and labor,' and 'marriage and divorce,' the most vexed and vital problems of the centuries. Surely there is glaring inconsistency that the wealthiest, toniest, and most exclusive religious sect in the United States should presume to dictate the duty of the laborer to employer, when the big guns of the convention were the financial king of two continents. The resolution passed by the convention declared for arbitration and conciliation for the settlement of labor disputes, but the ruling charge of the rubber clergy was 'laborers, study the interests of your employers.'"

"Though the founder of their religion was a humble carpenter, these daintily robed ecclesiastics and their exclusive I-am-better-than-thou constituency feel themselves contaminated if the laboring people presume to enter their costly places of worship and they quickly get rid of them by building a mission chapel in charity lane or invite them to attend the 'little church around the corner.' Whoever heard of an Episcopal bishop while on his confirmation tour being the guest of those in ordinary circumstances? Not much! Bishops put up at the manner homes of every community—those who dress in purple and fine linen and fare sumptuously every day. They roll up to the grand cathedrals in carriages with liveried coachmen while the laborers in awe of the splendor of these ambassadors of God, pass by on the other side. Yet these nobles presume to dictate to the brain and brawn of the labor world their duty to capital. Not a man in that Episcopal convention dared utter a word suggesting that capital has resolved itself into a vulpine, preying upon the hearts, hopes and life blood of humanity. The church has always been the ally of capital, and is about as likely to work for the interest of the laboring classes as the House of Bishops is to issue an edict to the Pierpont Morgans to 'sell all that thou hast and give to the poor, for it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.' We wonder what the 'glorious, blessed and Holy Trinity' thought of the kings of sin and their bishops, priests, and deacons' discussion of the labor problems, as they revelled in table luxuries at the rate of \$200 for each day's entertainment at one house and supplemented with wine at \$20 per bottle and hot house grapes at \$10 per pound."

### MORALS.

It has been truly said that "man makes God in his own image." No less certain is it that the dominant class of every age makes the morals of that age in its own image, and dictates its moral judgments on men and movements as it suits its purpose. The attributes right and wrong as applied to actions and events simply mean that these things have been favorable or unfavorable as the case may be, to the material interests direct and indirect of the class that is economically, socially and politically dominant during the period in question, or, as sometimes happens, in that immediately succeeding it.—E. Belfort Bax, in London Justice.

### CORNERING THE NEWS.

The newspapers, too, are coming under the trustification process. Frank A. Munsey, already prominent as a magazine publisher, has bought the New York "Daily News" and the Washington "Times," and he announces that this is only the beginning of a great chain of daily newspapers which he intends to acquire and run under a single management. He is quoted as saying: "Single proprietorship of several newspapers in different cities would tend more to economy of production, of course, than the more newspapers one published, and this is the age of economy. I consider that to-day news is a commercial necessity, just as heated oil and I am anxious to be in the business of furnishing this necessity."

Mr. Munsey is quite right in saying the news and editorial opinion, too, he might have added—is coming to be a commercial necessity, a commodity, to be bought and sold like steel and flour, pork and potatoes. That is the reason that neither the news columns nor the editorial departments of the great capitalist dailies, as they exist to-day, ought to be trusted by the working class. Both are dictated to from the business office, and the Steel Trust or the Standard Oil Company can always furnish conclusive reasons to the newspaper owners for suppressing or falsifying news and expressing editorial opinions favorable to capitalist interests. If Labor is to be fairly represented, the organized working class must own its own newspapers, entirely free from capitalist dictation.

Sample copies of The Worker will be sent free on application.

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## Mosquito Bites

By PETER E. BURROWES

**GOVERNMENT.**—The science of government, for the most part, consists in keeping the children playing. Sometimes it may answer as well to keep them fighting. The rule is to promote barren activity; anything will do from a change of administration to the transference of ocean water from the east to the west side of Darien.

**STATESMANSHIP.**—There were always, and still are, three ways of getting the people to do what you want them to do.

First, by getting them to think they are doing it themselves because it is they themselves that want to do it; and because they are right.

Second, by getting them to think that you are right and therefore it is right for them to do your will.

Third, by getting them to do your will whether it is right or wrong and no matter what they think.

The last of these is ancient and oriental; the second is Russian and Papal; the first is Anglo-Saxon and American.

## OLD PARTY "PRINCIPLES."

Next to the degraded and degrading use of religious fear over the souls and minds of the people comes "loyalty to principles." Few cant phrases have switched men back to the cradle with more success than this. Every principle in capitalist politics is a horse well shod carrying a boss for you upon its back. Some Cubans in ambush during their conflict with the Spaniards adorned themselves with green branches as until they looked like trees, and so moved stealthily on the enemy, all unsuspected until within gunshot, when they fired. No wonder if the Spaniards began to look upon small trees with suspicion. No wonder a wise man starts at the word "principle" in politics. The business of the professional ruling classes is very wisely directed to the formation of their opinions into "principles." To get the masses to believe devoutly what it is desirable to have them believe; to get them to hold to these opinions; to get them to vote them loyally, and then to scatter; or to put these opinions in squads, companies and in regiments, to uniform and arm them to the bidding of the dollar until what is called loyalty to party principles becomes a habit formation.

Capitalism must die, liberty need never die. Knowledge must die with its possessor, and it never dies while life springs anew from the grave. Let desire therefore spread its own table and find its own vands. To the past must die; the contemporary goes on forever. Raise not therefore the despotism of the dead over the free course of the living. The lesson of death is liberty.

## WHY ARTISTS

## ARE SOCIALISTS.

Many artists are Socialists; all of them ought to be. There is no need of mentioning names. To state briefly a few reasons why they are Socialists is the purpose of this article.

In the first place most artists would rather work for the state than for private individuals.

They don't like to be upper servants of the rich. The position of a painter or sculptor dependent upon the whim of some crusty old capitalist is not dignified. The man who does large work for the government knows that it will be seen by everybody; the painter of small, casual pictures is aware that some aristocrat's private gallery. Public art is the art we need.

Then, too, the artists do not like the looks of the world for which the present industrial system is responsible. It is nasty to look at—filled with cheap, tawdry display and ugly squalor.

The artists believe that co-operation in industry will make lean cities and beautiful rural districts. They hold that ugliness is no necessary part of civilization.

Not only is the external world of today an eyesore; the lives of men have become drab and flat. Work used to be a privilege as well as an obligation; the artists are almost the only class of hand-workers who can thoroughly enjoy their craft.

The artists believe that Socialism will restore to all men the right to an interesting occupation.

Under Socialism men will be able to pay more attention to the fine arts than they now can give. Co-operation will mean individual productivity and greater industrial freedom from excess of labor. What the artist does will be better understood and appreciated under Socialism.

Finally, the artists feel that the coming age will be less cynical and ignominious than the present age. They are for the most part a sincere body of men; they take their part seriously. What they lack, however, is the inspiration of high national and social ideals. When an enthusiasm for mutual helpfulness shall have been established, when the industry of the world shall have been organized upon a basis of honor rather than dishonor, when the nobility of the human shall have asserted itself against the meanness of the few—then an art which shall be as comprehensible to the common everyday man as to the distant collector. It will be the art of humanity.

Art is criticism of life. The nobler the life, the finer the criticism.

That is why the artists long for the reign of social justice. F. W. Coburn, in People's Paper, Santa Barbara, Cal.

## SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

Socialism and Christianity are as far apart as the great essentials as the north and south stars. Socialism says, make the conditions of men good and it will be easy to make the men themselves be good. Christianity says, make the men themselves be good, and the conditions of men will be good.

No one would think of improving a breed of cattle in this Christian way. No one would go to a this cow and say, Set your psychic elements right and you will have a healthy, powerful and excellent calf. They would feed the cow. They would give it good

## OFFICIAL

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National Executive Committee, Room 427, Empire Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

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California State Committee, 122 North Broadway, San Francisco, Cal.

CONNECTICUT STATE COMMITTEE.

Connecticut State Committee, 478 Chapel Street, New Haven, Conn.

ILLINOIS STATE COMMITTEE.

Illinois State Committee, 36 N. Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.

KANSAS STATE COMMITTEE.

Kansas State Committee, 121 West Main Street, Lawrence, Kan.

MAINE STATE COMMITTEE.

Maine State Committee, 221 West Main Street, Portland, Me.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE COMMITTEE.

Massachusetts State Committee, 101 North Street, Boston, Mass.

MICHIGAN STATE COMMITTEE.

Michigan State Committee, 317 North Main Street, Detroit, Mich.

MINNESOTA STATE COMMITTEE.

Minnesota State Committee, 505 Third Street, Minneapolis, Minn.

MISSOURI STATE COMMITTEE.

Missouri State Committee, 222 North Fourth Street, St. Louis, Mo.

NEBRASKA STATE COMMITTEE.

Nebraska State Committee, 210 N. State Street, Omaha, Neb.

NEW JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE.

New Jersey State Committee, 114 Bridge Street, Newark, N. J.

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Washington State Committee, 114 Bridge Street, Newark, N. J.

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Wisconsin State Committee, 114 Bridge Street, Newark, N. J.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

National Executive Committee, Room 427, Empire Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

THE COMRADES OF PATRISON.

The Comrades of Paterson, N. J., are determined to keep the political pot boiling until Election Day, Nov. 4, 1902. They propose to open the campaign on Friday evening, Dec. 13, with an entertainment and dance at the Social Ward Labor Lyceum, 100 Sheridan Avenue. The price of admission will be 10 cents. Comrades and sympathizers in Paterson and its vicinity are invited to come and bring their friends, have a good time and get acquainted. All residents of Passaic County who sympathize with the Socialist Party or desire to know more about it are urged to communicate with the Organizer, Wm. Glanz, 68 Lyon Street.

FREDERICK G. STRICKLAND

Frederick G. Strickland will start a lecturing tour of Ohio on January 1. Any local which wishes a visit from him should at once address the State Secretary, W. G. Critchfield, 1145 W. Third Street, Dayton, Ohio. In towns where there is no organization the Socialists should at once get together and prepare to have Comrade Strickland come.

COMRADE HIRSHFIELD WAS INVITED

Comrade Hirschfeld was invited to the other day by Dr. McVey, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Minnesota, to address the latter's classes. "The Cardinal Principles of Socialism." We are informed that he had a large and attentive audience, and we know that Dr. Hirschfeld could not have failed to give his hearers a clear and logical exposition of Socialist doctrine, so far as it could be done in a single lecture. The report printed in the "Alumni Weekly," edited by graduate students, hardly reflects credit on the University. It sadly mangles the matter of Hirschfeld's lecture, as when it makes him say: "The surplus value is the value a capitalist gets from his labor; it may also be defined as the value between rents, interests on capital, and wages." The English of the report reminds us strongly of that used in the Tokyo "Labor World"—but a Japanese may be pardoned for getting into English grammar. If it is rather discouraging to see such an intelligent report in a college paper, it is comforting to consider that the average workman would have done better on the economics and at least as well on the grammar.

THE SIOUX CITY, I.A., "TRIBUNE"

The Sioux City, Ia., "Tribune," somehow found space to print in full a set of resolutions passed by the Socialist Club of that city, emphatically denouncing the conduct of the administration in excluding Socialist and trade union papers from the mails.

UTAH SOCIALISTS ARE STARTING

Utah Socialists are starting a lively movement. Several locals have been organized in the last two months. Communications should be addressed to "Socialist Party, P. O. Box 173, Murray, Utah."

M. W. WILKINS, FORMERLY EDITOR

M. W. Wilkins, formerly editor of the "Class Struggle" (now called "Advance") has been elected organ for Alameda County, Cal., and will devote his whole time to the work. He is a hustler, and good results may be expected. Alameda County includes the cities of Oakland, Alameda, and Berkeley, and has a population of 125,000.

If this paper comes to you with

out your having subscribed for it, you may know that some friend has ordered it sent to you at his expense. Do him the courtesy to read it.

BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

Don't write on both sides of paper.

CORRESPONDENCE

Don't send anonymous letters.

From New Jersey.

Editor The Worker.

In compliance with petition presented to the New Jersey State Committee at its last meeting a referendum vote will be taken as to the basis of representation to the state convention to be held January 1 next. The first referendum on this point offered the alternative of a plain mass convention (proxy votes not being provided for) and a delegate representation on the basis of one delegate from each branch for every twenty members or fraction thereof. The vote, as is known, resulted in favor of the latter plan. The new proposition provides, however, that every member who is chosen to attend the convention shall be accorded full privileges of voice and vote, and that those not present may entrust their vote with any comrade they may select who will attend.

The plan seems altogether superior to either of those before considered and has already elicited the support of most of

those who properly understand it. A little consideration will convince any fair-minded person of its advantage. There are few in the state who are so interested cannot afford the small expense self to be a back number.

and time of being a holiday to attend in person such a central point as Elizabeth, and thus speak and vote for themselves, but those who are more remote or who cannot be present in person will under this new plan have their votes counted for the views they advocate. For they will entrust their proxies with comrades who really represent them and not the underground delegates who would be forced to do with delegates elected by the majority of their branch and with whom they perhaps disagree. Another advantage of this new plan is that it will give a voting representation from each branch commensurate with its membership—each member will have a vote. Thus a delegate convention would not do. For instance a branch with nine members would send only one delegate, while a branch with twenty-one would send two representatives, viz., 10 per cent. more weight is given to a 100 per cent. increase in representation. Where the membership is so small (few of the branches have over forty members) this will result in gross inequalities. Again on the number of delegates could not possibly exceed forty and probably would not be more than thirty-an altogether too insignificant number to be entrusted with the work of the national committee.

The state, when there is no need for so doing. Of course it may be argued that a small vote is a small voice, but it is no doubt true, but we can better afford to sacrifice on this point than about one of those many enthusiastic and able Socialists whose counsel the party needs, and this would necessarily be the effect of the present representation. At its greatest the national committee would have a representation of about 100 delegates, while the state would have only 40 delegates. We can take as a precedent on this point the convention last year in Jersey City. A hundred and fifteen members attended in smaller number than in 1900, but the result was a more successful one. The delegates were more numerous and the work was more successful.

It is in a local case to assume the personal expense or act of the members could find a comrade to properly represent them in the national committee. It is not so in the case of a delegate convention where the delegates would either vote from their treasury or not vote at all. It is not so in the case of a delegate convention where the delegates would either vote from their treasury or not vote at all. It is not so in the case of a delegate convention where the delegates would either vote from their treasury or not vote at all.

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## HOW MUCH LONGER

Will American Workingmen Be Fooled Into Voting Against Their Own Interests?

BY CHARLES UFTY.

This is the question which invariably propounds itself to a Socialist when the results of an election are announced. The late elections, mostly for local offices in the cities, would suggest that the American workingman is a rather easy mark. The reason we attribute the results to the workingmen is because they are the deciding factor in all elections, as they constitute the majority of the voters. In New York City they allowed themselves to be duped into casting their votes for a "reform" administration, and in other places—San Francisco and Bridgeport, Conn., for instance—they were made to believe that because a workingman had been placed at the head of the ticket of one of the old parties, their interests would be served by voting for that party.

The day after election a workingman who knew that I was active in the Socialist movement came up to me and said: "Aren't you disgusted to see that after all your efforts the Socialist Party has polled such a small vote?" My reply was: "No, I'm not disgusted nor discouraged; I am only sorry for the workingmen who have been fooled by the political bunco steers into buying another lot of green goods labeled reform."

That is just about the status of the case. Socialists who were clear and enlightened enough to see through the game of the politicians have no cause to feel discouraged or defeated. That is the lot which will fall to the other fellows when they awake from their trance and discover that absolutely nothing has been done in the way of bettering their conditions, or of effecting any real reforms in the government of the different municipalities.

But then more elections will be held and the workingman will have a chance to correct his errors and to make amends for his mistakes. What strikes me as very queer is the fact that workingmen who are striving the year round to obtain more pay or shorter hours of labor in order that they may provide themselves and their families more abundantly with the necessities of life, will go on Election Day and vote for a continuance of the present capitalist order of society, which is supported both by the Republican and Democratic parties, and which spells subjugation, degradation, and misery for the working class.

Here are the trade unions which fight continually with the employers, and in return are fought by them. The trade union is a product of capitalism, and will have to keep on fighting as long as capitalism is in existence. The fact is that workingmen are forced through the existence of the class struggle to combine into unions for their mutual protection. But how illogical is it to see men who must fight the year round to obtain concessions from their employers and who spend their time and money to maintain their economic organizations, go forth on Election Day and declare IN FAVOR OF CONTINUING THE FIGHT AGAINST THEMSELVES; for that is just what they are doing when voting for either of the old parties, because it means the perpetuation of the class struggle which is inherent in the present order of society.

The trade unionist who votes for one of the old capitalist parties on Election Day is violating the very principles he upholds the other 364 days of the year. The trade unionist fights for better conditions of living all the year through—not merely for the sake of fighting, but because he is forced to do it by the existing conditions. Is there not reason enough for him to go on the most important day of the year and vote for the Socialist Party, for the collective ownership of the instruments of production and distribution, so that the class struggle may be terminated. For surely if these things were collective property, instead of private property, there would no longer be a necessity of fighting their present owners. There would then no longer exist any owners or owned—for it is a fact that the owners of the means of production own also the men who must have access to them. Or, to put it in another way, WE WOULD ALL BE OWNERS THEN.

That any workingman, whether he be a member of a trade union or not, should vote to continue the present competitive system can only be explained by the fact that he does not realize their position in today's society.

Here are the laborers, the producers of ALL wealth, the men, women, and children who by their toil create all the things that go to make up our present civilization. Look at them, study their conditions, their desires and aspirations, and what do we find? Conditions that bring doubt into our minds whether this state of affairs can truly be called a civilization.

The Declaration of Independence contained the following passage: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Can the workingman of today, at the beginning of the twentieth century, say that he enjoys these "unalienable" rights? In order to live we must obtain employment, and as the workingman of today, owing to the development of the machinery of production, is not in the possession of this machinery, he must sell his labor-power upon the labor market as any other commodity is sold. Whenever the supply of labor is large—and it generally is rather large—the price goes down; and when the supply is small, then he may be able to sell his labor-power at a higher price. But sometimes, because the workers have been TOO DILIGENT, they are laid off, they get a vacation without pay; they are not allowed to produce wealth and, receiving no wages, cannot buy food or clothing, simply because they have worked TOO HARD. This condition is certainly not conducive to "liberty or the pursuit of happiness."

The employers, who have the work-

ingmen at their mercy, can dictate terms as to what shall be your hours of labor or what you should receive for it. You have no say in these matters, unless you belong to a union—and even then you cannot achieve full justice. Your happiness depends upon shorter hours and larger pay. But your employer's interest is just opposite—long hours and small pay. So your employer has the power, owing to his ownership of the tools which you must have access to in order to live, to say how much liberty and how much happiness you should enjoy! Think it over, brother workingman, and ask yourself if you should respect such a social system whose very foundation is built upon injustice and wrong.

Do you realize that your position in this world is very much like that of a fruit-tree or a rose-bush? Let me illustrate. You workingmen are in this world merely to bring forth fruit—just as the tree gives fruit, but never receives any benefit therefrom; and the more fruit it produces the sooner its days of living will be over—as when it bears much fruit the limbs are so heavy that they break down and shorten the life of a tree thereby. The fruit which is brought forth by your labor—the wealth which you produce—is never given to you, except a small fraction, perhaps one-fifth, enough to keep you from breaking down, so you can come back the next week and produce more. And when you exert yourself and produce too much wealth you break down just like the fruit tree, in the prime of life, and you leave a family in mourning and in fear of want. That is today the reward for thrift. And yet we call it civilization, this condition we are living under today. What a farce it is!

Labor, that mighty power which builds palaces and dwells in tenements and hovels, builds automobiles and walks afoot, builds beautiful parks, ways for some one else to drive upon, prints books and newspapers which teach that these conditions ARE JUST, also builds mighty weapons of war to destroy that which it has through arduous toil built up—and so we could keep on indefinitely to show the utter lack of sense or reason why such a system of glaring wrongs should be allowed to continue. And you, fellow workingmen, can abolish it, simply by joining the party of your own class, the Socialist Party, and voting the crazy patchwork system out of existence.

The conditions existing today—private ownership of land and capital, which conditions in turn create wage-slavery—are the successors of other conditions of slavery. Before this regime, we had feudalism—the landed aristocracy on the one hand and those who were forced to work for them on the other. Prior to feudalism there was chattel slavery. So we may learn from history that one system of slavery has been abolished, and another system of slavery substituted. And so the present regime is no exception; but it lies in the power of the working class to abolish this present system, because the workingmen are in possession of the right to vote. Let them study the position of their class and they will learn that it is to their interest and to the interest of civilization that they organize politically to abolish the present system of wage slavery and substitute Socialism, the Co-operative Commonwealth, the collective ownership of land and the machinery of production and distribution; thereby putting an end to slavery, once and for all, by abolishing class rule and substituting a Social Democracy, a rule of all the people.

I know Socialism would be a great blessing and the liberation of the working class. I can imagine some one interjecting: "But you are such a small party and have no chance of winning your fight." That is really a peculiar objection. Take, for instance, the hardly little band which in the year 1775 started the Revolution in the then domain of King George, fighting for the political liberties which we enjoy today, and imagine if you can when they pleaded for converts to help them carry on the fight, their receiving this reply: "Yes, it is a great fight you are carrying on, and a noble one, but you have no chance, you are too small an army and cannot hope to win." If every one were to think thus, no great movements begin small—would ever succeed. But happily this is not the case, and not a day passes but there are converts to the great cause upheld by the Socialist Party.

Now a word to those who are already aware of these truths and of the justice of the Socialist movement: I refer to the sympathizers. Sympathy is all very well, as far as it goes; but the fact of the matter is it does not go far enough. The Boers in South Africa have been assured the sympathy of countless thousands, including some great statesmen, and also some political parties in this country; but still we do not find them victorious in their fight with Great Britain. So I want to say to you, my dear sympathizer, come and join the ranks of the army of fighters, the organized phalanx which is working day and night with might and main to carry these truths to those who know them not. Join the Socialist Party and help to carry on this grand fight for Socialism. You can prove your sympathy in no better way.

If this call to duty were to be followed by all those who sympathize with the Socialist Party, then we would have a mighty army of workers to spread literature, get subscriptions for the party papers and in general carry on such a campaign of education that by the time the next general election comes around, we would poll a magnificent vote for the emancipation of the working class.

—Old fogies, hypocrites and the "people who are satisfied" have always tried to block the advance of every true reform. They have always stood in the way of the wheel of progress—until it ran over them.—Social Democratic Herald.

## STREET-CAR PROFITS.

Half the Revenue of Metropolitan Leased Lines Goes to Capitalists—What Socialists Would Do.

The October report of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company for its leased lines—the Third Avenue, East Broadway, St. Nicholas, and three cross-town lines—shows on its face a deficit of \$1,032. If we should take the official bookkeeping of our street railway magnates without criticism, we should have to believe that these gentlemen were in the business for pure love of the public, at a net expense to themselves of some \$12,000 a year.

A little examination of the report shows that this is not the fact, however. The appearance of a deficit is produced by charging up, as one of the expenses of the business, the interest which these gentlemen, as directors and stockholders, pay to their own dear selves as bondholders, and the rentals which they pay themselves as lessors. That is, one of the forms of capitalist appropriation of the product appears as if it were an item of expenditure by the capitalists. This is, of course, the ordinary method of reporting, and perfectly correct for capitalist purposes; but the man who wants to know at what rate our employees and the public are being exploited is able to read between the lines of the report.

When only real expenses, as reported, are taken into consideration, it appears that during the month of October these leased lines paid to their owners, under the forms of rent, interest, or profit, the sum of \$551,047, after covering all cost of maintenance and operation. The gross income was \$1,184,570. So, by a simple process in division, we can see that 46½ per cent. of the receipts went to the capitalists in one of these three forms—or, in other words, that out of every nickel paid in fares, the capitalists pocketed 2 1-3 cents, not for any work they may have done, but purely and simply because they own the roads. Some of the capitalists—a few of the smaller ones—did some work, certainly, in the way of management and superintendence; but for this they received good big salaries in addition to their profits.

Under a Socialist city administration, with municipal ownership of the street railways, that half-million a month which now goes to useless capitalists would be quite otherwise disposed of. A good share of it would be used in raising the wages of the men now employed and in hiring more men, so as to reduce the hours of labor. One-half of that surplus, so applied, would increase daily wages 10 per cent. for all the workmen. The other half could then be applied to improving and extending the service, so that people going to and from their work would not have to be jammed like sardines in a box.

And the benefit to the working class would not even stop there. The raising of the wages of street-car employees and the employment of a larger number at shorter hours would react favorably on other trades, reducing the army of the unemployed and making it easier for other workingmen to secure higher pay or shorter hours from their private employers. Whatever really improves the condition of one part of the working class always indirectly benefits all the rest of that class.

Do you not think, you street-car employees and other workmen, that you would gain more by this one measure which the Socialists advocate than by all that the "reformers" have promised you? The Socialist Democratic Party will have a ticket in the field in the next municipal campaign in this city and in next year's state campaign, too. There will be Socialist tickets in city, state, and national campaigns all over the country, representing always the demand of the working class for the full product of its labor. If you want even a better share of your product, the best thing you can do is to join the Socialist movement now and work for it from now till Election Day.

## PROGRESS OF THE TRUSTS.

One of the probabilities of the future is that the Standard Oil people will acquire a large interest in the Manhattan Elevated, thus bringing it into close connection with the other franchise monopolies of the city. The gas and electric lighting, heating, and power systems and the Metropolitan Street Railway Company, which controls nearly all the surface roads of Manhattan and the Bronx, are already dominated by the Standard Oil ring, in conjunction with the Whitney-Brady syndicate.

The Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company, commonly known as the Fertilizer Trust, having got control of the major portion of the artificial fertilizer industry, the few companies which were left out have now been forced to combine into one. The combination of so-called "dependent" concerns left over by a trust is generally a step toward their final absorption by it.

The two companies which now own all the trolley roads on the Canadian side of the Niagara River are combining.

The Wilmot & Hobbs Manufacturing Company of Bridgeport, Conn., owning the largest rolling mills in the state, has been absorbed by the American Tube and Stamping Company, and is likely to be moved away from that city.

## MIDDLE CLASS FAILURES.

"Bradstreet's" reports 184 failures in the United States during the last week, against 223 for the previous week, and 184, 177, 212, and 220 for the corresponding weeks of 1900 to 1907. About 90 per cent. of the total number of concerns failing had capital of \$5,000 or less, and 6 per cent. had from \$5,000 to \$20,000 capital. And what the small bankrupts lost, the large companies gobbled up.

—As government is but an index of a nation's dominant economic force, so the strife and struggle, the crime and corruption on the political field, is but a reflection of perpetual conditions in the competitive industrial and commercial world. Even modern war between nations has come to be recognized as but an intensified form of the struggle for commercial advantage.—M. W. Wilkins.

## LABOR POLITICS IN CONNECTICUT.

City Elections in Ansonia, Derby, and Bridgeport Indicate Growth of Class Feeling—Socialist Education Needed.

During the machinists' strike last summer the workingmen of Ansonia, Conn., were treated to an object lesson in the shape of a court injunction of the most sweeping kind. Several of the most active among the strikers were arrested on charges of conspiracy and were held under \$1,000 bail to appear before the Superior Court in January.

The Farrell Foundry Company, on whose application the injunction was issued, also brought suit against the unions for \$25,000 damages and an attachment was laid on the homes of about seventy of the strikers.

The reaction against this display of capitalist class-consciousness came at the elections November 5. The trade unionists took an active part in the primaries of both the Republican and Democratic parties and succeeded in getting a number of trade unionists, several of whom were strikers, nominated on each of the tickets. They concentrated their efforts on the election of these nominees and succeeded in electing a mayor and a majority of the council who are union men.

The mayor-elect, Stephen Charters, is a member of the Carpenters' Union, and one of the leaders in the strike at the Farrell Foundry, where he was employed. He was one of the strikers who were arrested on July 16 for violating the injunction of Judge Gager. His home was attached and he is held for trial for conspiracy for taking an active part in the strike.

This movement, so far as the rank and file of the workingmen are concerned, is a genuine outburst of class spirit. The men elected are thoroughly sincere trade unionists. But the movement has no definite program, and the few elected men who have had any previous political experience acquired it in the old political parties.

The neighboring city of Derby, where the trade unions are strongly organized, has been represented for several years in the state legislature by an active trade unionist and agitator and has several unionists on the city council.

The effect of the injunction of Judge Gager has been to arouse an interest in political action among workingmen in this state, and the politicians who are engaged in keeping some semblance of life in the Democratic party are laying snares to capture this sentiment.

In Bridgeport, Dennis Mulvihill, a stationary engineer, was nominated by the Democratic party and elected by the votes of workingmen whom the failure of the machinists' strike in that city had set to thinking. The Derby "News," a daily paper published by the American Newspaper Publishing Company, and which was about to stop publication when the machinists' strike began, was suddenly revived, the endorsement and support of the Central Labor Union was secured for it, and its circulation pushed until it has become the leading paper in the twin cities—Derby and Ansonia. Under the influence of this paper the spontaneous labor movement is rapidly being corralled into the Democratic party and already hints are given in its pages of "a Democratic labor party which shall sweep Bridgeport and the Naugatuck Valley and possibly the county and state by the state election next year."

That this labor movement, like the many similar ones which have preceded it, will ultimately end in dismal failure is certain. It only remains for the Socialists of Connecticut, and especially of New Haven County, to renew their activity and work vigorously to spread Socialist ideas among the workers of these towns while the opportunity is favorable, so that when the fall comes they will know the reason why, and be prepared for a class-conscious Socialist party.

## SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

Significant Extracts from the Capitalist Press Touching on Socialism.

The subject of Socialism is not one to be ignored nor to be sneered out of discussion by the beneficiaries of the oligarchy of wealth. It is receiving the best thoughts of the best minds of the most enlightened nations of the earth.—Editorial in Seattle Daily Times.

The Portland "Oregonian" says: "Socialism is in the air. It has conquered the ranks of labor and permeated the schools of learning."

The Boston "Post" says: "The immense consolidations that have marked the opening of the century point unmistakably to the strengthening of the Socialist idea."

The St. Louis "Mirror" says: "The development of the consolidation idea renders all protest against ultimate Socialism futile and foolish."

The St. Louis "Globe-Democrat" says: "Socialism promises to be a force with which American statesmen may have to reckon."

The New York "Tribune" says: "The capitalist and captain of industry in these latter days has set himself to demonstrate that the theories of the Socialist are sound."

The Boston "Daily Post" after discussing the trust outlook, remarks: "What is to come of all this? It is one more long step towards Socialism."

Possibly the Socialist Party will gain sufficient strength of numbers to force on one or both of the great political parties certain of the reforms they advocate. It is to be hoped that they will.—Barbara Independent.

The Socialist theory and proposition must be reckoned with, and can by no means be dismissed with a sneer.—Springfield (Mass.) Republican.

## ECONOMY.

By economy and self-denial the individual worker may raise himself out of his class, but should the practice be adopted by the whole class of workers, it would defeat its own object, for the production of wealth is limited by the nature of the material conditions. The workers economize by restricting their consumption of the wealth they have produced, so do they cut off their opportunity to labor.—Saginaw Exponent.

## THE AMERICAN NEGRO'S PROBLEM.

Another View of the Race Question, Considered in the Light of Economic Conditions.

BY CAROLINE H. PEMBERTON.

In considering the oppressive legislation passed against the "rising" negro, it is impossible to ignore the astoundingly large charge which the white South now lays against the colored negro race. Any attempt to discuss the race problem with the capitalist class of the South brings one immediately face to face with this charge. After admitting the worth of this or that distinguished colored man, and the fact that the race has progressed wonderfully since the war, our Southern friend invariably proceeds as follows:

"But you must remember that the negro left to himself is by nature a brute—a creature to be feared by the white womanhood of the South. You people cannot understand the panic that pervades an entire community at the mere thought of an offenseless negro, being left to the mercy of these brutal creatures. If you lived among us, you would feel just as we do, and you would understand these outbreaks of popular fury. Why, my good sir, mob rule is deplorable. I admit; BUT WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO TO PROTECT OUR WOMEN AND CHILDREN?"

I have never talked to the better class of Southerners that they did not with passionate fervor plead their case against the negro in some such style as this. The picture presented is so appalling and terrifying that most of us hang our heads and are content to drop the subject. Under such conditions as these, mob rule—the hanging and burning of negroes without the ceremony of a trial—seems almost justifiable.

And yet, observed, the indictment includes the whole working population; every male member of the Southern laboring class (of blacks) is represented as going about with this fiendish ambition in his heart which he proposes to carry out at the first opportunity. Was ever a worse indictment laid at the doors of the working class of any community? The mere thought of it paralyzes one's sympathy and confounds one's sense of justice.

As we begin to recover from the shock of it, and our reasoning powers rally a little, we may perhaps recall the fact—now thoroughly well established and admitted by all Southerners—that during the Civil War when all able-bodied white men in the South were at the front, the helpless "white womanhood of the South" was left at home on lonely plantations not only at the mercy of these black brutal creatures, but under their sole protection! And not a single case on record of these blacks having proved faithless to their trust! On unimpeachable testimony we are told that not only did they refrain from doing evil, but they acted themselves in many cases and patrolled the plantations, defending the homes and hearths of their masters, with their lives against the roving bands of thieves and outlaws that infest every pillaged country after the conquering army has withdrawn.

On the strength of this honorable record, I have many a time put up a timid defense of the blacks and have always met this reply:

"Yes, that is true; the blacks were perfectly faithful then—but that was owing to the influence of slavery! They have changed since. Freedom has developed all their evil propensities that under slavery were kept down and un-  
—See—"

This argument sounds plausible enough to those who hold to a deeply rooted faith in the total depravity of man. It would go far to convince even one who believes in the universal goodness of all men if those apologists of lynching really lived up to any such theory concerning the negro. But they do not.

The theory of a recently acquired universal negro depravity (in relation to the white womanhood of the South) does not stand investigation. It falls to the ground as soon as one visits the South and beholds the "black brute" with the fiendish desire in his heart still burning to defend the white woman in the most intimate and personal manner in all the domestic relations of life in every household in the South. He accompanies her on all her errands; he takes her children to and from school; he is still her coachman, waiter, porter—often her chambermaid and laundress—and always her faithful attendant and protector by day or night. No one seems to have the slightest fear of him. How singular that out of such unusual trustfulness and responsive fidelity, these should grow this phantom of a Frankenstein monster—this picture of a land peopled with such monsters—and terrified women fleeing from them!

From my own experience I can present some interesting testimony. In 1897 I visited a small colored school conducted by a few white northern women and situated in the heart of the Black Belt. On every side was a population of ignorant black peasants who were engaged in tilling the vast cotton plantations on which they lived—some of their older children being students at the school. Now these fair young women from the North were without fail by their black students, their black neighbors and two or three black teachers who were employed in the school. There was not a white man within a mile who could come to their rescue, if needed, even if he wanted to—and the presumption was rather in favor of his not wanting to, so strong was the prejudice against white teachers of colored children. In fact, the white man of the neighborhood had been so hostile to the school and its mission, that the older students were in the habit of arming themselves with sticks and stones and quietly following the young white women when they went out for a walk—under the mistaken impression, apparently, that they needed such protection from the wicked designs of white men! There was certainly no fear of the blacks in the minds of these young women, nor did there seem to be any reason on earth why they should fear them. It was a wonderful sight on Commencement Day when the black peasants gathered around the school

house from many miles around to listen to the recitations of their children—their black, homely faces shining with enthusiasm, gratitude and reverence! It was easy to believe that these were the same people that had defended their master's home and honor in his absence during the Civil War, and it was not easy to convince me from that hour that these people had "changed" and become monsters in human shape—because, forsooth, they were "free," in the narrowest acceptance of the term.

I was told that the neighborhood had been selected because it was the most God-forsaken, degraded community in the whole of the Black Belt, as far as the blacks were concerned. The fair white women are still living there, however, under black protection, though, as I told you are now on somewhat better terms with their white neighbors.

But leaving out personal impressions and observations, the statistics on lynchings bear out my statement that there is no ground whatever for condemning the race as guilty of monstrous tendencies in excess of crimes proved against other races. Not more than 25 per cent. of all the negroes lynched during the past sixteen years were even accused of such tendencies—and of those accused, hanged and burned without a trial, how many may not have been innocent?

The hue and cry against the negro for his monstrous and unnatural brutality has no basis of fact for its support. Doubtless the popular excitement created by mob violence has had the usual effect on two classes of weak minds; it has stimulated here and there the degraded vicious negro to attempt a crime he would not otherwise have thought of attempting; and it has occasionally affected the hysterical weak white woman to the extent of imagining a crime has been designed or attempted where none has been thought of.

There is no other way of accounting for the prevalent belief in the overwhelming danger of this crime being committed—when it has not really been committed to any extent to correspond with the amount of public excitement on the subject—unless one concludes that it is only another evidence of the Southern capitalist's inherited antipathy to the existence of a growing class of comparatively independent negroes.

The charge is in fact another phase of social ostracism, another way of proving that the negro is not a man. It has become more than a form of persecution. The belief in the monstrous depravity of the negro is now a social dogma as dear to the Southerner as his belief in the Trinity.

To sum up briefly: The negro's problem is how to steer his way in the South through a community that wants his work and denies all the rights of his manhood; how to escape from his class conditions without letting his exploiters know that he has escaped.

His problem all over the country is the labor problem plus the inherited prejudices of employer and fellow workman in the North, plus the bitter jealousy in the South of a proud people who were conquered by the sword while defending their beloved dogma that "the negro is not a man."

A more difficult task was never placed before any man of color or nation. The negro needs all the optimism, faith and joyousness of his African inheritance to carry him through—all the touching songs and melodies that his musical fancy can create to lighten him on his journey. He is the only music maker—the only original musician—that this country has yet produced. His history is surely strange and sad enough to stir even the dullest people into song.

The condition of the "poor whites" of the South is another long story, which I hope some one else will take up and describe fully.

## PIERPONT MORGAN'S SOLILOQUY.

I Am "It." Other money kings are not in it. For a minute with J. Pierpont M.—And as for the "Divine Right" kind, They are back numbers.

"Voting kings?" Well! They are my partners.

"Our interests are identical." (Winks solemnly.)

That is to say, They make the "chips."

With which I play This game of freeze out!

Once it was penny ante, but it's A stiff game now, and costs

A railroad, fleet of ships, or A whole bunch of factories or mills To "come in."

Being no limit, you'll soon see An entire century in a jacket!

And when all is won? Why, play must end—and the fun!

But the chips? What use are chips IN SOLITARY?

They may have the chips and welcome THEN;

But since 'twould puzzle Solomon to tell At this late day

From whom each chip was won, I'll give them to Humanity, en masse, For common use of all, if they agree To "exploit" Nature!

Instead of one another? If so, we'll see—as well as me—

Each Man Be "It."

—Geo. W. Rives.

—Did you ever pinch a dog's tail, and watch him turn around and bite his tail instead of biting you? You doubtless thought the dog foolish. But the working people have done the very same thing for many years. When capitalism pinches the working people, they always fight each other instead of fighting capitalism.—Social Democratic Herald.

## Our Esteemed Contemporaries (And OTHERS)

Saginaw Exponent.

As well speak of Christian geology or arithmetic as Christian Socialism or democracy. Socialism is a science and has absolutely nothing to do with religious belief or disbelief. In the Socialist ranks are men of all shades of religious opinion, just as in the church men of all political faiths find common ground of action.

However, Socialists do claim that the abolition of private property in the means of production and distribution of wealth will create a higher conception of morality, by doing away with the opportunity for one to gain profit or advantage at the expense of many. But this is totally aside from creed or worship or belief in supernatural agencies or manifestations.

There can be no true democracy in a state where the institution of private property is such as to make masters of some and slaves of others. The Christian Democracy of Europe is misnamed, as the very fact of its organization is proof positive that the only mission is to continue the division of the ranks of the working class, and thus postpone the coming of the true democracy—the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth.

Workers' Call.

No better evidence of the importance of the Socialist movement of today could possibly be given than the fact that the most powerful church organization in existence has avowedly undertaken the task of wiping it out. In this twentieth century, the spectacle of an ecclesiastical Mrs. Partington attempting to sweep back the tide of social and economic evolution, with a religious broom, may not be in itself a very edifying performance, but it will serve to illustrate the significant fact that the lars who for years have represented Socialism as an empty dream of the future, are finally forced to confess by their action that it is the most dangerous reality of the present instead.

Saginaw Exponent.

According to statistics, the age of both men and women at marriage is greater now than ten years ago, while the records of the divorce courts prove that the duration of the marriage tie is growing shorter. While both of these tend to knock the underpinning from the theory of Malthus, the increase in divorce is evidence of the decay of family life which is the consequence of the capitalist system of production. Even where the natural bread winner receives wages sufficient to make home comfortable, the young wife who has spent her girlhood days in factory or store has frequently lost her adaptability for domestic pursuits.

Two hopeful lives are wrecked. Then again, the competition of child and woman labor, with its baneful effect of lower wages, often makes it impossible for the young husband to provide the home with those comforts to which both wife and self were accustomed before marriage, and love takes flight in fear and trembling at the prospect of the bitter struggle for existence. With those who bear up under the burden of increased responsibilities and diminished incomes, the prospect is ever present of having to send the little one to hall or shop before they are half prepared to battle with the stern realities of life.

And yet, with these evidences of the terrible effects of capitalism, there are still those who profess to believe that "Socialism would destroy the home." To woman more than all other oppressed ones of earth, Socialism opens a vista of liberty. Freed from economic dependence upon man, love will be the sole incentive to marriage, and marriage when consummated will be as enduring as life itself.

Missouri Socialist.

There are two ways of voting. One is in the interest of the capitalist class and the other in the interest of the working class. A man who lives on the profits of his business, the interest of his money and the rent of his land is in the broadest sense a member of the capitalist class. Profits, interest, and rent are just so much robbed from the working class. If there was no labor power applied to the forces of nature there would be no wealth; in other words, wealth is the product of labor. If this be true, then, as it is, labor alone, which creates wealth, the wealth thus created belongs to those who labor—the working class.

We know full well that they do not enjoy it. We also know that those who do enjoy it are those who are living on rent, interest, and profits, and who perform no useful labor. If this be true, they are wrongfully enjoying it. If this class is able to continue this wrongful system they must go on under some form of force, though some advantage which they hold over the workers.

This force is nothing less than the capitalist system.

While it is labor's power which creates wealth, this power can only be exercised with the aid of tools, machines, and without the free access to these machines the worker is helpless and is compelled to submit to those who hold the power of permission. Those who hold this power are capitalists and it is only through their ownership of the machines that they are enabled to hold this power.



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## FIRST ACTION RE-AFFIRMED.

Essex County Trades Council Renews Declaration for Independent Labor Politics.

Motion Instructing Delegates to A. F. of L. Convention to Support Resolution for Collective Ownership Is Finally Carried by a Vote of 32 to 24—A Fair Test of Strength.

In last Friday's session of the Trades Council of Essex County, N. J., the resolution instructing the Council's delegate to the A. F. of L. convention to support a resolution for independent political action and collective ownership came up for a third time and a decided victory was registered for the supporters of the resolution, the instructions being reaffirmed, after a stormy debate, by a vote of 32 to 24.

The resolution in question is identical with that adopted by the Kentucky Central Federated Union last month. It recites the facts of the class struggle between labor and capital, of the progressive concentration of wealth, and of the subservience of Republican and Democratic parties to capitalist interests, and calls upon the working people to take part in independent political action on class lines for the purpose of establishing collective ownership of the means of production and distribution.

The resolution was adopted in the Essex County Trades Council at its meeting of Nov. 22 by a vote of 32 to 24. At the following meeting a vigorous attempt was made to rescind it but, although no direct vote was taken on the question, test votes on parliamentary questions connected with it showed a majority of 32 to 19 for the resolution. That meeting broke up in disorder, without taking definite action on the matter. At last Friday's meeting the full force of the resolution was taken and the vote of 32 to 24 was taken as a final and decisive show of strength on the question of class-conscious labor politics.

## FOR LABOR PRESS IN NEW JERSEY.

Conference Called in Newark to Consider Plan of Establishing a Socialist and Trade Union Weekly There.

A conference of Socialists and trade unionists has been called to meet at the headquarters of the Socialist Party of Essex County, N. J., 124 Market Street, Newark, on Sunday, Dec. 15, at 2 p. m. sharp. The object of the meeting is to take action on the proposition to organize a publishing association for the purpose of establishing a weekly paper for the State of New Jersey, to advocate the cause of trade unionism in all branches of industry and to educate the producing class on strictly class-conscious labor politics, in opposition to the organized efforts of the capitalist class to strangle and perpetuate the system of exploitation.

The organizers of this movement believe that the time is ripe for a class-conscious labor paper in New Jersey and that it should be published in Newark, that being the best organized city in the state and the largest center of industry. They desire that every trade unionist and every Socialist who possibly can do so shall attend this meeting.

The state convention of the Socialist Party is to be held in Elizabeth on the first of January, and it is desired to come to a definite understanding about the paper before the convention meets.

## FROM ST. LOUIS TO NEW YORK.

St. Louis Central Trades Union Congratulates New York Central Federated Union on Passage of Socialist Resolution.

A feature of last Sunday's session of the Central Federated Union was the reading of a letter from the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, Mo., congratulating the New York body upon the passage of the resolution instructing its delegate in the Federation convention at Scranton to introduce and vote for a resolution calling upon the workmen of the United States to unite for independent political action in a party, having as its avowed object the overthrow of the capitalist system of production and distribution and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth—that is, the public ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution for public service instead of for private profit.

The letter of greeting was written by the Secretary of the St. Louis C. T. and L. U., D. Krehling, under instructions given him by that body at its meeting of Nov. 24. It further conveyed the information that the St. Louis central body had instructed its delegate at Scranton to agitate and vote in support of the resolution in question. The letter closed "with the hope that the next campaign in the city of New York will show a unanimous answer to this call."

## AUTHORITY AND REASON.

I accept unreservedly the views of no man, living or dead. The master has said "it" was never conclusive with me. Even though I have found him right nine times, I do not take the tenth proposition on trust. Unless that also be proved sound and rational, I reject it. Horace Greeley.

Grocery clerks report the fight against James Butler still on.

## ABUSE OF POWER IN THE SCHOOLS.

Teachers at City College Attempt to Prevent Socialist Student from Wearing Party Badge.

The attention of The Worker has just been called to another instance of abuse of power by teachers in the City College of New York—where, it will be remembered, an issue of the students' paper was confiscated and the editors threatened with punishment for inserting an article written by a young Socialist reflecting on Crokerism.

A few days ago one of the students, a young man named Sackin, who is an adherent of the Social Democratic Party, came to his classes wearing the party button on his coat. The teacher noticed it and ordered him to take it off at once, and when he refused to do so, threatened to suspend him.

The student, however, was firm in his refusal to betray his colors, and an appeal was made to President Webb. The latter had to admit that he could not expel a student for wearing a Socialist badge, but he gave Sackin a lecture on the subject, telling him that "we will not tolerate Socialism or Anarchism in this college," and advising him to remove the button—which advice, of course, had no more effect than the subordinate teacher's threats.

The incident aroused considerable interest among the students, not a few of whom are Socialists and there was a lively demand for S. D. P. buttons. Comrade Sackin's refusal to bow to the tyranny attempted by the teachers will have a good effect and his example should be followed wherever the school authorities offer to interfere with the political affiliations of students.

## GAIN IN ROCKVILLE.

Connecticut City Increases Its Vote for Socialist Party.

The city election in Rockville, Conn., shows a gain for the Socialist Party. Albert F. Street, our candidate for Mayor, receives 260 votes and our other candidates on the city ticket each got 125 or 126. Our candidate for Alderman in the Third Ward has 92 and the candidate for Councilman 41. In the Second we have 41 for Councilman and in the Fourth, 104.

The S. L. P. has 32 votes for its city ticket, 4 for Councilman in the Second and 25 in the Fourth.

A year ago we had only ward candidates. Our vote was 171 and that of the S. L. P. 42. This year we gain 25 votes and the S. L. P. loses 10.

## CITY ELECTIONS IN WASHINGTON.

At the recent city election in Fairhaven, Wash., there were four parties in the field—Citizens, Civic Municipal Reform, People's, and Socialist Party. The first had a full ticket and the Socialist ticket was complete, except for City Attorney. The C. M. R. had candidates only for Mayor, City Attorney, and Councilmen in the Third, Fifth, and Sixth Wards, and the People's Party for Councilmen-at-Large and in the Third Ward.

Our candidate for Mayor, John Crook, received 138 votes, as against 277 for the Citizens' candidate and 180 for the C. M. R. For other offices our vote ranged from 89 to 117. Our average was 108 out of a total vote cast of 605 and a total registration of 700.

In Whiteout our candidate for Mayor, E. Lux, received 75 votes as against 630 and 502 for the other two candidates.

## THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

GROWING "DOWN SOUTH."

Campbell County, Ky., gave 517 votes for the Socialist Party at the late election. The vote in the presidential election of 1900 was 204. We gain 150 per cent. The total vote of the county is 10,042, so that we have a gain over 5 per cent. The campaign worked hard and intend to keep it up. Newport, which is the county seat, gives us 437 out of the 517 votes.

## SOCIALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM.

The following resolution was adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., on July 31, 1901:

"The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, declares that the trade union movement and independent political action are the emancipating factors of the wage-working class. The trade union movement is the natural result of capitalist production and represents the economic side of the working class movement. We consider it the duty of the Socialists to join the unions of their respective trades and assist in building up and strengthening the trade union movement and independent political action. We recognize that trade unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds as far as political affiliation is concerned.

"We call the attention of trade unionists to the fact that the class struggle so nobly waged by the trade union forces to-day, while it may result in lessening the exploitation of labor, can never abolish that exploitation. The exploitation of labor will come to an end only when society takes possession of all the means of production for the benefit of all the people. It is the duty of every trade unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on class-conscious lines, to join the Socialist Party and to assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage-working class, whose ultimate aim and object must be the abolition of wage slavery and the establishment of a co-operative state of society based on the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution."

## THE FEDERATION OF LABOR CONVENTION

Now in Session at Scranton, Is Largest Ever Held in the History of That Body.

Socialist Delegates Are Numerous and Active—Action on Socialist Resolutions Not Yet Taken—Ben Tillet Makes Good Impression—President Gompers' Report Shows No Change in His Old Position.

The twenty-first annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, which assembled in Scranton, Pa., on Thursday morning, Dec. 5, and which is still in session as we go to press, is the largest which that body has ever held, and undoubtedly represents a much larger number of working people than ever before. The Credentials Committee, at the opening of the first day's session, reported favorably on 253 delegates—representing sixty-eight national unions, 14 state federations, 62 central bodies, and 81 local unions—besides two fraternal delegates from Great Britain and one from Canada. In last year's convention there were 221 delegates.

A number of contests arose, several on the ground of non-payment of dues and others on account of trade complications. Among the latter was the case of Herman Robinson, representing the New York C. P. U., contested by the International Sheet Metal Workers. The protest was afterward withdrawn and the delegate seated. Among the protests on the ground of dues paid to be unpaid was that of the United Mine Workers' Union. After considerable discussion the miners' delegates were seated. Another contest arose over the delegate from the Richmond, Va., central body, on account of its excluding colored delegates; this was settled by seating the delegate and providing for the organization of a separate central body for the colored workers.

Delegates Brandt and Joseph of the St. Louis central body and the Philadelphia Labor League were also contested on questions of trade autonomy, but both were seated.

## SOCIALIST DELEGATES.

Among the Socialist delegates present were J. W. Clayton, representing the "Campaneros" International; Aug. Priesterbach, Ernest Bohm, J. P. Weigel, and Chas. Nicolaus, of the Brewery Workers; J. M. Barnes of International Cigar-makers; Chas. Gebelein, of the Amalgamated Wood Workers; W. J. Croke, of the Flint Glass Workers; Max Hayes of Cleveland; N. P. Geiger of Dayton, O.; Elmer Slinger of March, Pa.; W. M. Brandt of St. Louis; Gabriel Joseph of Philadelphia; Geo. N. Ward of Erie, Pa.; C. Quinn of Wilkes Barre; F. W. Hall of Kansas City; and H. A. Smith of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Delegated Robinson of New York introduced the Socialist resolution already reported in The Worker and an identical resolution was introduced by instructions from Birmingham, Ala.

## TILLET'S SPEECH.

The feature of Saturday's session was an eloquent address by Comrade Ben Tillet, fraternal delegate from Great Britain. Reviewing the progress of the British labor movement, he said that federation was the order of the day. The trustification of capital made closer organization of workmen necessary. He declared that the British unions were making good progress, that their grit and perseverance, they were relieving every defeat and learning by experience how to do better in the future.

"He referred also to the power of labor organizations in Denmark, which, he said, were fifty years ahead of Great Britain. The Danish workmen were thoroughly organized, had their own daily press, and had elected their own representatives to parliament. As a consequence, they were feared and respected by the capitalists.

Tillet openly declared himself a Socialist and said that every thinking workman ought to be a Socialist. Socialists were not dreamers, as could be shown by practical results of Socialist action in England—such as protection for workers in dangerous trades, restriction of child labor, various municipal services for the benefit of the workers, etc.

"In America you are greatly troubled about the trusts," he said. "You don't want them, but you'll have to have them. You cannot win them by force until you have passed through the wilderness of trusts. Trusts are growing rapidly in England. In every avenue of production and distribution the capitalists are exercising collective action. With this growth of trusts there is a rapid growth of belief in collective ownership.

"The Socialists have given new life and inspiration to trade unionism in England. They have given it a new ideal. Since the present system makes a few rich and a great many poor, we must have a new system. We must own the means of production. We consider our citizenship as a means to accomplish this end. This is the ideal of the new unionism in Great Britain.

"We say, Get all we can out of the present system. We have to fight the capitalists all the time. We cannot gain more immediately by demanding the abolition of labor. We must use all our powers, including political action, to advance our interests and realize our ideals.

Tillet's speech made a deep impression on the delegates. It is understood that he will remain in this country for a few weeks and will lecture in a number of cities.

Among the telegrams of greeting received was the following from Leon Greenbaum of St. Louis, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, by order of the National Committee:

"The International Socialist Party, which is the trade unions' party, or-

sity of scrupulous observation of agreements so made. But he entered a strong protest against the idea of compulsory arbitration of labor disputes.

Considerable attention was devoted to the question of high dues, which President Gompers considered necessary to the upbuilding of a strong union in any trade; and he advised the amendment of the constitution of the Federation so as to allow the levying of larger assessments on affiliated unions and the creation of a defense fund.

The existence of rival organizations in the building trades and, to a less extent, in other trades was referred to and harmony and close organization urged as an absolute prerequisite to success.

The President dilated at some length on the growing abuse of court injunctions in labor disputes. He argued the illegality and injustice of the practise, but made no suggestions as to how it was to be met.

He also referred to the new rulings made by the Post Office Department, tending to exclude labor papers from newspaper mail privileges, under which one trade union paper has already suffered. He advised that an attempt be made to have the rulings reversed by the Department, and, in the event of failure, to secure an amendment of the law.

On the whole, President Gompers' report did not differ much in tone from those he has previously made and did not indicate any recognition on his part of the changed conditions which, as we think and as a growing body of trade unionists think, will necessitate new and more vigorous lines of action in the labor movement.

## PROGRESS OF TRADE UNIONISM.

Secretary Wilson's Report Reviews the Condition of the Federation and Affiliated Bodies.

Secretary Morrison presented an elaborate report of the year's work, covering finances, charters issued, strikes, condition of affiliated unions, labels, work of Federation organizers, etc.

The total income for the year was \$115,290.91; the items being: Per capita tax, \$55,102.52 (an increase of 25 per cent. over last year); supplies, \$17,087.88; "American Federationist," \$10,482.22; assessment for organizers, \$1,528.88; assessment for machinists, \$20,334.27. The expenditures amounted to \$118,708.39. On Nov. 1, 1900, there was \$12,301.76 cents in the treasury, and on Nov. 1, 1901, there remained a balance of \$8,814.26. Among the largest items of expenses were: Assessment turned over to International Association of Machinists, \$25,712.41; Union, \$20,072.32; assessment to metal trades, \$10,000; salaries of officers, \$7,018.62; expenses of officers, executive council, and fraternal delegates, \$3,022.77; salaries and expenses of organizers, \$22,328.71; "American Federationist," \$10,482.22.

The receipts last year were \$71,125.82 and the expenditures \$68,373.39—showing an increase of about 62 per cent. in the income and about 74 per cent. in the expenditures.

Nine hundred and sixteen charters were issued during the year. Of these, seven were for national or international unions—the Shirt, Waist, and Laundry Workers, the Watch Case Makers, the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, the Leather Workers, the Paving Cutters, the Car Workers, and the Blast Furnace Workers and Smelters. Four were to state branches of the A. F. of L.—in Michigan, California, North Carolina, and South Carolina, respectively. One hundred and twenty-three were to central labor unions in twenty-eight states and territories, including that of San Juan, Puerto Rico. For the rest, 575 were to local trade unions and 207 to federal labor unions. On the other hand, 602 charters were surrendered—388 of them being surrendered for non-payment of dues, 146 being absorbed by other organizations, and 68 disbanded. In addition to charters granted directly by the A. F. of L., it is reported that 3,130 were issued to locals by affiliated national and international unions, and that 548 such charters were surrendered. There appears, therefore, a net gain of 2,006 in the number of organizations directly or indirectly affiliated with the Federation, and the gain in membership is fixed at about 364,000—few organizations not reporting, while others reported only approximate round numbers.

Forty-six national and international and 222 local organizations reported during the year 1,056 strikes, involving 171,223 members. "Out of that number," says the Secretary, "153,595 were benefited and 12,707 were not benefited." Of the strikes, 588 are reported as won, 242 as compromised, 153 as lost, and 27 as still pending. The cost of the strikes is given at \$548,003.40. A considerable proportion of the strikes were for reduction of hours; and, although the statistics are so incomplete and so badly arranged that it is almost impossible to get any exact information from them, it would seem that the shorter-day movement had a pretty large measure of success. A net gain in wages is also claimed.

Nearly 60,000 different organizers were put in the field by the Federation for longer or shorter periods during the year, from ten to thirty-five being always at work. In order to increase this force of organizers, the Secretary recommended that the per capita tax be paid to the Federation by affiliated national and international unions be increased from one-third to two-thirds of a cent per member per month. In order that financial assistance may be given to striking or locked out local bodies directly affiliated with the Federation, he recommended that they be required to pay 10 cents instead of 5.

(Continued on page 4.)

## THE PRESIDENT AND LABOR.

One Twenty-fourth Part of His Message Devoted to the Working Class.

Many Sweet Words, but Not One Important Recommendation for New or Progressive Measures—Those He Makes Are Qualified and Guarded—Most Interesting Feature Is the Omissions.

President Roosevelt expresses the opinion that, "with the sole exception of the farming interest, no one matter is of such vital moment to our whole people as the welfare of the wage workers." How little he means what he says is shown by the fact that he devotes less than one-twenty-fourth of his message to this subject—less space than he gives to the question of completing the conquest of the Philippines and about half as much as he gives to the army or the navy.

But the thousand words which the President devotes to the interests of the working class would, however, have been enough—if only they had been the right words, if only they had embodied clear and unqualified recommendations of definite measures that would directly and materially benefit the wage-working class. Alas, ever may have expected this, however, is doomed to disappointment.

The President thinks the law against the importation of laborers under contract and the Chinese Exclusion Act are good things. Well, no one proposes to repeal the former and it was already morally certain that the latter would be re-enacted—so here is nothing very radical or progressive.

He thinks that, "if possible," Congress should do something to help the state governments in preventing the competition of convict labor with "free" labor. He thinks that, "so far as practicable under the conditions," the United States government should enforce the law it has already made for the eight-hour work-day on public work. Here, again, is nothing new, nothing more than the government is already doing—or pretending to do.

## "IF POSSIBLE."

And even these recommendations that the government should keep its word and enforce its own laws, are qualified with the phrases "if possible" and "so far as practicable." Mr. Roosevelt has been strenuous enough on the question of "benevolently assimilating" Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, and other who did not want to be assimilated. He is in favor of using all the powers of army and navy to force American rule on the backward people of the islands, and American commerce upon people who preferred to rule themselves and not to be exploited by American capitalists. WHY DOES HE QUESTION THE POSSIBILITY AND THE PRACTICABILITY OF ENFORCING AGAINST AMERICAN CAPITALISTS, FOR THE BENEFIT OF AMERICAN WORKING PEOPLE, SUCH MILD LITTLE MEASURES AS THESE TWO? Why, indeed? Just because he knows that the American capitalists own the Republican party and own him, as the elected representative of that party, and that he and his party can make and enforce laws only by the consent of that capitalist class. He hopes that the capitalists will be wise enough to allow him and his party, as their political agents, to rule, on their behalf, for American capitalist concessions, in order to prevent the working people from becoming class-conscious and carrying into effect, over the heads of capitalists and capitalist parties, the whole of those just demands. But he is not sure whether the capitalists have the wisdom to concede even so little.

For the rest, he recommends that the government should provide in its contracts that all work be done under "fair" conditions and that "a good factory law" should be passed for the District of Columbia. These are among the recommendations that every president regularly makes and that every Congress understands to be intended "in a Pickwickian sense," and quietly drops into the waste-basket.

On the whole, the portion of the message dealing with the labor question is rather more interesting for what it omits than for what it contains. There are at least two other matters of detail, both of very great importance to the working class, on which the President might have been expected to say something. He could hardly have forgotten. One is the protection of the lives of railway employees; the other, the abuse of the injunction power by state and federal courts in dealing with labor conflicts. On both of these points he is profoundly silent.

It is nearly ten years since a law was created requiring the railroad companies to provide their rolling stock with certain uniform "safety appliances" to reduce the danger to their employees of injury or death at their work. The enforcement of this law was entrusted to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Five years were allowed to the companies to comply with its provisions, and then they were given two additional years. But even yet the journals of the railway employees' organizations are full of complaints that the law is not obeyed, as well as that it is not broad enough in its provisions to meet the necessities of the case. These unions have been appealing to the Commission to enforce the law. They have been appealing to Congress to improve it and provide for its enforcement. No doubt within the last two months they have addressed the President on the subject. But not a word does he say.

## RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.

That their complaints are well founded is proven by these two facts: THE PROPORTION OF PASSENGERS KILLED OR INJURED TO THE WHOLE NUMBER OF PASSENGERS CARRIED IS STEADILY IN-

CREASING; BUT THE PROPORTION OF EMPLOYEES KILLED OR INJURED TO THE WHOLE NUMBER EMPLOYED IS STEADILY INCREASING. The first fact shows that the companies CAN run their trains more safely, if they will; the second shows that, so far as their employees are concerned, they WILL NOT unless they are compelled to. It is a QUESTION OF LIFE AND DEATH to hundreds of workingmen every year, and a question of bread and butter to the thousands who are yearly maimed and disabled from supporting their families. But it is also a QUESTION OF PROFIT to the hundreds—or perhaps it would be better to say scores, or dozens—of capitalists who own the bonds and most of the paying stock of the railway companies, and whose unearned income would be reduced by the expense of proper equipment on their roads.

There is another abuse which accounts for a large proportion of the fatal railway accidents and which it is quite within the constitutional powers of the federal government to forbid. Engineers, conductors, train-dispatchers, and other railway employees, are almost always kept on their feet, and their own lives, but hundreds of others, are frequently required to work twelve, sixteen, or even twenty or more hours at a stretch. They know, as their masters know, the danger this involves. But they must obey or be discharged—with very little chance of getting another job; and as for the capitalists, they find it cheaper to take the risk of occasional permanent loss to themselves and show of increased income would be reduced by the expense of proper equipment on their roads.

If the President had sincerely meant one word of all the "taffy" that he gives to the working class in his message, he would have strenuously recommended a drastic measure extending a maximum of the law in question; providing, further, for an eight-hour day for all railway workers; and putting means into the hands of the railway unions to secure the strict enforcement of all its provisions.

But if the President had made such a recommendation as that, certain gentlemen bearing the names of Morgan, Rockefeller, Harriman, Vanderbilt, Gould, and Hill would have been deeply offended and Theodore Roosevelt would have had no hope of getting a re-nomination in the Republican convention of 1904. And Theodore Roosevelt, with all his strenuousness, is one of the numerous men who "would rather be president than his rights."

TO INJUNCTIONS.

The other question—that of the interference of the courts to help capitalists against striking, boycotting, or locked-out workmen—is pressing more and more upon the attention of the working people every day. The abuse of the power of injunction in such cases began many years ago. It has grown as the class struggle between Labor and Capital has become more intense. It has now reached a point where it is almost impossible to oppose all the interests that put him and his party in power and to oppose them upon a matter of vital importance to their system of exploitation. Obviously, he could not do that.

It is evident that Labor has little to hope from President Roosevelt or his Congress or from the party which they represent. Not until the workmen of the country cast a really formidable vote for a party that uncompromisingly demands the complete emancipation of Labor will they receive even partial concessions worthy of consideration. And not until they take possession of the political power through the agency of such a party will the government cease to be the tool of the capitalist class. Such a party exists. It cast a hundred thousand votes for Eugene V. Debs at the standard-bearer of the class-conscious Socialists last year. It will cast more from year to year. It will put a workman in the White House. Then we shall have a presidential message that will mark an epoch in the world's history. Till then—"words, words," as Hamlet says.

JEWELRY WORKERS' BAIL.

Jewelry Workers' Union No. 1 holds its third annual ball on Saturday evening, Dec. 14, at Arlington Hall, 19-23 St. Marks Place.

Which is the worst—an aristocracy which bequeaths its law-making power to incompetent offspring, or a plutocracy which does likewise with its industrial power?—Saginaw Exp.



## The Worker.

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### SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) ..... 2,069  
In 1890 ..... 13,331  
In 1892 (Presidential) ..... 21,157  
In 1894 ..... 33,133  
In 1896 (Presidential) ..... 36,564  
In 1898:  
S. L. P. ..... 82,201  
S. D. P. ..... 9,343  
In 1900 (Presidential):  
S. L. P. ..... 96,918  
S. D. P. ..... 33,450



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

Perhaps the President did make a  
well-aimed allusion to the question of in-  
junctions against strikers, after all.  
Perhaps that was what he had in mind  
when, after saying many sweet words  
about the trade unions, he added:  
"There must also in many cases be ac-  
tion by the government in order to  
safeguard the rights and interests of  
all." Perhaps his "all" means all the  
capitalists. Others don't count.

### INFLATION, CRISES, AND CONCENTRATION.

In another column we quote a para-  
graph from the London "Investor's Re-  
view" upon the monopolistic finance  
of America. The writer seems to find  
comfort in the fact that the great com-  
panies, commonly described as trusts,  
are overcapitalized and that this fact  
is likely to bring them to ruin. It is  
hard for us to see what comfort the  
workman can get from this consid-  
eration. It is perfectly true that many  
of the trusts are heavily overcapitalized  
and that, on the approach of a peri-  
od of depression—which is sure to  
come, sooner or later—many of them  
will break down. This may be regard-  
ed as a just punishment for the prom-  
oters, but it will by no means work  
restoration or reparation to the people  
whom they have robbed.

In a financial crisis, there are two  
sets of capitalists who generally lose.  
On the one hand, the promoters,  
manipulators, and speculators, who  
have made great fortunes out of  
the organization of trusts and the  
"floating" of their stock during  
the period of prosperity, are likely, un-  
less they trim their sails very carefully,  
to be swamped in the storm. On the  
other hand, the members of the middle  
class, who have been induced to invest  
their small capital in "industrial" are  
almost certain to be unmercifully  
fleeced.

But what the speculators and the  
small investors lose does not go back  
to the working class which produced it.  
The working class is affected by the  
crisis in another way—by the shutting  
down of factories and all the miseries  
included under the word "unemploy-  
ment." In this process the savings of  
the working people, also, are swept  
away.

All that is lost by speculators, by  
small investors, and by workmen,  
however, is not destroyed or used up  
during the hard times. Where, then,  
does it go? Who gets it? Evidently  
the only ones who profit by such a  
crisis are, in general, those great cap-  
italists, doing a "legitimate" business,  
who are able to command money or  
credit to tide over the period of de-  
pression. Securities which suddenly  
depreciate in value and which specu-  
lators and small investors are obliged to  
sell at a sacrifice pass into the hands of  
the "big" capitalists and thus, when the  
employment is over, the actual ownership of

the means of production is more fully  
concentrated than ever.

It is, then, a mistake to suppose that  
the break-down which regularly fol-  
lows a period of prosperity and over-  
capitalization redistributes the wealth  
that has been concentrated. If Social-  
ists look complacently on the process,  
it is because every recurring crisis ac-  
tually hastens the concentration of cap-  
ital, draws the class lines clearer, and  
brings nearer the day when the com-  
pletely trustified state must give way  
to the Socialist Commonwealth.

Some of our esteemed contemporaries  
who object to the phrase "the antagonism  
between capital and labor," claim-  
ing that this antagonism is between  
capitalists and laborers, not "capital"  
and "labor," overlook the fact that the  
words "capital" and "labor" are now  
used as collective nouns signifying  
classes of men as well as things.

The newspapers that are worrying so  
much over the "race question" have  
nothing to say about the class ques-  
tion. Why don't they settle the prob-  
lem of the negro by saying that there  
are no races. This would be just as  
reasonable as their statement that  
"there are no classes in America."

### PRESIDENT GOMPERS PRACTIS- ING PODSNAPPERY.

The light and airy manner in which  
President Gompers passed over three  
large and unpleasant facts to which it  
was necessary that he should refer in  
his annual report does not greatly in-  
crease our admiration either for his  
moral courage or for his breadth of  
view.

The existence of a large independent  
body, the Western Federation of  
Miners, covering the Rocky Mountain  
states—a body not only independent of,  
but more or less hostile to the Ameri-  
can Federation, and differing with it  
on very grave questions of policy—was  
surely a question that called for more  
than a perfunctory recommendation  
that a committee be appointed to see if  
unity could be re-established.

Still more important, perhaps, was  
the matter of the steel workers' strike  
of last summer, which he dismissed  
with a statement that it had failed, a  
broad hint that its failure was due  
either to incompetence or to dishonesty  
upon the part of the officials of the  
Amalgamated Association, and a  
stereotyped phrase of hope for the  
future.

The steel strike was in many respects  
the greatest that this country has ever  
seen. Never did so large a number of  
wage-workers array themselves against  
such a powerful capitalist organization.  
As the first great strike against a fully  
developed modern trust, it had a pecu-  
liar interest, because it might be sup-  
posed to be the first of a series of simi-  
lar gigantic struggles, since there can  
be little doubt of the continuance of the  
process of trustification.

This strike failed. There was nothing  
wonderful in that. But its sudden  
ending was never fully and satisfac-  
torily explained, as the working class  
at large had a right to expect. It is  
commonly understood that the officers  
of the Amalgamated Association have  
laid at least a part of the blame for its  
failure at the door of the Federation  
officers, claiming that they had been  
encouraged to expect support from  
that quarter and that they did not re-  
ceive it.

President Gompers may think that,  
so far as he is personally concerned,  
he can afford to let such suspicious go  
unanswered. But this is not a personal  
matter. The working class has, we re-  
peat it, a right to know whether any  
fault on the part of Gompers or of  
Shaffer or of both or of either or both  
of their organizations was wholly or  
partially responsible for so serious a  
defeat.

But even this is not the whole of the  
question. Even if there were no ques-  
tion of blame on any side, it would  
have become President Gompers' posi-  
tion better to give more serious atten-  
tion to the steel strike in his report.  
This was the event of the year in the  
trade-union movement. President  
Gompers is the recognized official head  
of the trade-union movement in this  
country. What would be thought of a  
president of the United States if, after a  
war in which this country had been  
defeated, he had ventured on the as-  
sembling of Congress, to inform that  
body, in the briefest terms, of the fact  
that we had been defeated and of his  
hope that it would not happen again,  
without discussing the causes of our  
failure and stating how, in his opinion,  
victory might be assured in future? Such  
a shuffling over of the subject would  
be especially blameable if the war in  
question had involved new condi-  
tions of far-reaching importance and  
conditions that were likely to continue  
and even to be intensified in the future.

The question is this: Either the steel  
strike failed through the folly or mis-  
conduct of some of the officers of some  
of the organizations concerned, or it  
failed in spite of their best united ef-  
forts. If the former was the case, we  
have a right to know who was to  
blame. If the failure was due to con-  
ditions which the combined strength of  
the Amalgamated Association and the  
American Federation of Labor could  
not overcome, we have an equal right  
to a very full and clear statement from  
President Gompers, as the head of the  
trade-union movement in the United  
States, as to the exact nature of those  
conditions, the causes of past failure,

the prospects of future victory, and the  
lessons to be drawn from the experi-  
ence.

We have got nothing of the sort. We  
are left entirely to our own conjectures.  
For ourselves, we have no desire to en-  
ter into discussions of quarrels be-  
tween labor organizations. That is not  
our business—though it is President  
Gompers' very proper business. In  
most such quarrels both sides are at  
fault and our part, as being with the  
trade-union movement but not of it, is  
constantly to urge the necessity of unit-  
ing solidly against the common foe.

In the present case we are not in-  
clined to attribute the failure of the  
steel strike to any wilful error in any  
quarter, but rather to believe that it  
was due to the fact that the steel work-  
ers were in battle against an enemy far  
too powerful to be overcome by the  
methods of pure and simple trade-union-  
ism; and if by this be so, we must in-  
fer, when we consider that the capital-  
ists of other industries are rapidly or-  
ganizing on the same basis, on which  
the Steel Trust now stands, that the  
working class will have to adapt its  
methods to the changed condition if it  
is to expect any measure of success in  
the future. There is no reason to sup-  
pose that President Gompers agrees  
with us in this view. But whether he  
does or not, a statement of his opinion  
and the grounds for it would have  
saved the very uncomfortable suspi-  
cion that the highest official of the  
American-trade unions was afraid of  
the most vital problem with which the  
trade unions are being called upon to  
deal.

The last of the three large and un-  
pleasant facts to which we have re-  
ferred is the strike of cigarmakers in  
Tampa. President Gompers says that  
"the situation in Tampa has recently  
improved to some extent." The final  
failure of the strike, after a long and  
most valiant struggle, is the only fact  
known to us—and President Gompers  
does not give us any others—upon  
which he can base his cheerful state-  
ment.

He also expresses his belief that "de-  
perate methods were employed by both  
contending parties." We knew from the  
capitalist press that unprecedented atroci-  
ties were employed by the capitalists—the  
methods of lynch law, of mob violence,  
of forcible kidnapping, of anonymous  
threats of assassination—as well as the more  
customary unlawful methods of black-  
listing and of using the powers of police  
and courts to persecute the strikers. We  
are not informed as to the "desperate  
methods" used by the strikers in re-  
turn; but for the credit of human na-  
ture we should hope that there was  
some vigorous retaliation; we hope  
that the Tampa cigarmakers were not  
afraid to strike back when they had a  
chance.

President Gompers further assures  
us that he helped the strikers, "but al-  
ways within our legal and moral  
rights"—surely it was not necessary to  
add that phrase; we could not possibly  
imagine him in the rôle of a lawbreak-  
er, however infamous the law. And he  
then proceeds, without the slightest  
word of condemnation for the capital-  
ist criminals or of sympathy with their  
working-class victims, to criticize these  
latter for not joining the C. M. L. U.  
and the A. F. of L.

We repeat, we do not care to discuss  
trade-union quarrels. But one thing we  
do know and say: The time of intense  
battle against the forces of capitalism,  
and especially the moment of defeat  
under capitalist lawlessness and out-  
rage of the worst sort, is not the time  
that a man in President Gompers' posi-  
tion should choose for attacking the  
union so fighting and so defeated. That  
is not the way to promote harmony.

"The working class, may it ever be  
right! But, right or wrong, the work-  
ing class." That is a perfectly sound  
motto. We may disapprove of the con-  
duct of some of our fellow workmen.  
But when those men are in battle,  
we have but one duty—to help them  
by all means in our power.

The Tampa affair raises a very im-  
portant question—as important as that  
raised by the steel strike, but a little  
different from it. The question is: In  
cases where the capitalist class aban-  
dons all pretense of common honesty,  
decency, and humanity, and openly  
violates all law and order, what steps  
are the workmen to take for the de-  
fense of their interests? We get no  
light on this subject from the head of  
the Federation.

President Gompers seems to have  
taken as his model the immortal Pod-  
snap, who put all troublesome ques-  
tions out of the way—put them out of  
existence—put them nowhere—with a  
majestic backward wave of the hand.  
It is not a good plan, though tempo-  
rarily convenient. The American trade  
unions have problems before them that  
cannot be solved by pious silence.

The editors of the prostitute press  
are horrified because some striking  
miners have closed down a mine by  
force and denied the scabs their "right  
to work." Yet when a trust closes  
down a half-dozen factories and de-  
prives thousands of the "right to work"  
these same gentlemen look upon it as  
an evidence of prosperity.

An Associated Press dispatch reports  
that the big farmers of Oregon and  
Washington are buying combined reapers  
and threshers, and that the saving  
in wheat and labor is enormous. The  
result will be that the little farmers  
will not be able to stand the competi-

tion. The railroads, the mortgage-hold-  
ers, trust prices, and the concentration  
of farming industries, are rapidly mak-  
ing a proletarian out of the farmer.  
And in transferring him from the mid-  
dle-class to the proletariat they are  
changing him from a Populist into a  
Socialist.

In another column we note the at-  
tempt of the teachers in the City Col-  
lege to intimidate a Socialist student—  
not the first instance, unfortunately,  
which has occurred there. We must  
congratulate the student concerned on  
his courage in standing by the colors—  
for we know it is not an easy thing to  
do, considering the power that teachers  
have to make a student's life uncom-  
fortable and we call upon all parents  
to watch closely and see that every  
child is powerful to be overcome by the  
methods of pure and simple trade-union-  
ism; and if by this be so, we must in-  
fer, when we consider that the capital-  
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with us in this view. But whether he  
does or not, a statement of his opinion  
and the grounds for it would have  
saved the very uncomfortable suspi-  
cion that the highest official of the  
American-trade unions was afraid of  
the most vital problem with which the  
trade unions are being called upon to  
deal.

### GOOD ADVICE FROM THE "MINERS' MAGAZINE."

In the month of August, in the city  
of Indianapolis, the Social Democratic  
and the dominant wing of the Socialist  
Labor Party met in convention and or-  
ganized what shall be known hereafter  
as the Socialist Party and adopted, a  
platform, which we print on another  
page for the benefit of our readers,  
especially the members of our organi-  
zation, which is worthy of their atten-  
tion.

It is refreshing to know that the de-  
legates attending the convention dis-  
played such wisdom and deliberation  
in the long standing and that divided  
issue of the ownership of the Social-  
ist principles. By their action the  
Socialists in both parties have set an  
example that should be followed by all  
men who believe in the principles of  
self-government.

All workmen who are not blind to  
their interests know full well that their  
interests are not protected by the  
Republican or Democratic parties and  
knowing this, it behooves them, if they  
wish to preserve what liberty they yet  
enjoy, to affiliate with the Socialist  
Party, which is the only political party  
that offers them any relief. It is use-  
less to find fault with and rail against  
the politicians in either of the old parties,  
because they are not to blame for the  
legislation now upon our statute  
books. They have carried out the wishes  
and obeyed the instructions of the  
capitalists who paid them for making  
such laws as were calculated to ad-  
vance capitalist interests.

The workmen of the United States  
and Canada have it in their power to  
change the unjust system of govern-  
ment under which they live if they  
will use their intelligence with the  
power they already enjoy. If we are  
to have a form of government we  
should have the best, obtainable, and  
all workmen who are not content  
when they vote for the present state  
of the bankers, speculators and  
stock jobbers.

Castling a retrospective glance over  
the history of old political parties, it is  
not hard to observe that under all cir-  
cumstances the interests of the labor-  
ing people have been neglected while  
the capitalists' interests have been  
conserved and pampered almost to the  
limit of human endurance. With this  
object lesson before the working peo-  
ple it now behooves them to cast aside  
their jealousies and foolish hickories  
and allow their minds to expand from  
the pure and simple trade-union move-  
ment and join their forces with the  
only political party that offers them  
any relief. If workmen exercise  
their political franchise they should  
exercise it with the greatest degree of  
intelligence that will result in the  
greatest good for the greatest number.

The government of the United States  
has been in the hands of the capitalists  
for many years, and we believe it will  
remain there for many years to come,  
unless the working people will look  
beyond the selfish and narrow views  
of the present and have recourse to  
action. With sufficient votes at their com-  
mand it is useless to complain about  
unjust laws and the tyranny of the  
military and courts, because those  
departments of government are simply  
the instruments in the hands of the  
people, and the majority of the people  
in this country are working people.  
Then why not throw aside the veil of  
party prejudice that has obscured our  
way in the past, and in the future, in  
our halls at our regular meetings dis-  
cuss in an intelligent manner those  
economic and political questions that  
are of vital interest to us?

We say that the economic and welfare  
of the laboring people depend entirely  
upon the degree of intelligence they  
exercise in behalf of their own inter-  
ests. We advise the members of the  
Western Federation of Miners to study  
carefully the platform of the Socialist  
Party, and if, after studying it, they  
find it offers the desired relief, to join  
this movement and advance its prin-  
ciples wherever it is possible.—Miners'  
Magazine.

The above article adds one more in-  
stance to the rapidly multiplying evi-  
dence that the labor press and labor  
organizations are owing to the  
fact that in political action with the  
Socialist Party lies the only hope of  
social justice, economic independence,  
and industrial freedom.

### THE ROBBERS.

Gone from the groves is the bandit bold;  
The pirate from the foam;  
And harpo from fennel hold—  
Our thieves are hence gone.  
No lance or broadsword in their hands,  
No blunderbuss they bear;  
They rob the white and the lands;  
They rob the white and the lands;  
With bribes and bonds and penned deeds,  
With chains and with codes,  
They grab the crowded city streets,  
They grab the crowded city streets.  
In factory hire and field of wheat,  
In mart and thoroughfare,  
Their tolls and profits wear and eat,  
Through all we eat and wear.  
The tolls they pay they share and clip;  
The price to all they quote;  
They have the merchant on the hip;  
They have the merchant on the hip.  
Down and deliver, lockless whist!  
They will not be denied;  
These robbers, armed with vested rights,  
And state fortified.  
When nations feel their human worth,  
And lose their craven awe,  
When the people feel the power of the earth,  
Will perish by the law.  
—Wm. R. Fox.

## THE ESSENTIAL POINT IN SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA.

Fallacies of Muddled Socialists—As to Government Ownership  
—Working Class Must First Capture Government—The  
Means Before the End—Psychology of the Confusionists  
—Toleration and Narrowness—Tactics.

BY COURTESY LEMON.

Many well meaning individuals  
whose professions of faith in Socialism  
are certainly sincere, and whose advo-  
cacy of it is commendably zealous, un-  
fortunately do great harm to the cause  
they profess to love. They do so by  
through lack of a thorough intellectual  
grasp of the science of social evolution  
underlying the Socialist movement.

In this category may be placed all  
those who define Socialism as govern-  
ment ownership; those who proclaim,  
without qualification, that Socialism  
is simply an extension of the functions  
of government; those who point to the  
Post Office Department or any other  
industrial function administered by the  
government as the model of Social-  
ism; and particularly those who claim  
that the government ownership of  
railroads, regardless of the political  
party or class in society by whom it  
might be brought about, would be "a  
step towards Socialism;" those who  
claim that Socialism or any step to-  
wards it, other than the regular pro-  
cesses of economic evolution, can be  
secured other than by the independent  
action of the working class; and those  
whose only method of propagandizing  
is to paint alluring pictures of the  
beauties and benefits of the future  
Co-operative Commonwealth.

### THEY OVERLOOK THE EXISTENCE OF CLASS RULE.

The common characteristic of those  
who adopt the muddled methods of  
propaganda outlined above is their in-  
sistence solely upon the end to be at-  
tained and their neglect of the method  
by which only it is possible to achieve  
that Co-operative Commonwealth which  
is the goal of the Socialist move-  
ment. They overlook or fail to realize  
the importance of the great fundamen-  
tal fact which confronts us in present  
society. That fact is the fact of class  
rule—the fact that the capitalist class,  
by reason of their ownership of the  
means of production, dominate and rule  
society economically, socially, political-  
ly, governmentally, and in every other  
way. The various changes in the meth-  
ods and tools of production, of which  
history tells us, have resulted in class  
struggles which have shifted the power  
to rule from one class to another; but  
the ruling power has ever remained in  
the hands of the class which, at any  
given time, was in control of the means  
of production, in whatever form they  
might be. The exploited class, how-  
ever, now has the power to gain con-  
trol of the state by uniting politically,  
and by this means to gain control of the  
means of production. The great aim of  
Socialist propaganda should therefore  
be to make the working class conscious  
of the existing class rule. From this  
class rule the necessity of a system of  
class-conscious revolutionary propa-  
ganda.

### GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.

Government, or the state, is, mainly,  
a machine for maintaining the suprema-  
cy of the ruling capitalist class.  
Therefore "an extension of the func-  
tions of government" or "government  
ownership" of this or that industry, as  
long as government remains in the con-  
trol of the capitalist class, would only  
serve to strengthen the power of that  
class. Accepting the Post Office De-  
partment as an example of "govern-  
ment ownership," we have recently  
had a striking illustration of how it  
strengthens the power of class rule.  
The government has recently been  
driven to issue a Socialist paper to  
Canada. Arbitrary rulings of the Post  
Office Department against trade union  
and Socialist papers threaten to make  
their existence impossible. Thus this  
misleading "example of Socialism" un-  
der a capitalist government, becomes a  
weapon in the hands of the capitalist  
class. The postal clerks are among the  
most overworked and least paid of  
the government employees. This should  
make it obvious that government own-  
ership is not common ownership nor  
co-operative ownership, and that it is  
in no way Socialistic. In Russia,  
where the government owns the rail-  
roads and many industries, the condi-  
tion of the working class is worse than  
in any other country. In France the  
government monopoly of the tobacco  
trade has been a curse to the people,  
which the working class must ever be  
guided. And this is a grave mistake.  
The principle of the class struggle, and  
the existence of class rule are the great  
essential points of the Socialist move-  
ment and should forever be unforgotten-  
ly proclaimed. Class-consciousness is the  
sine qua non of the movement and the  
guiding star of the working class.  
Class-consciousness is the compass by  
which the working class must ever be  
guided. And this is a grave mistake.  
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sine qua non of the movement and the  
guiding star of the working class.  
Class-consciousness is the compass by  
which the working class must ever be  
guided. And this is a grave mistake.

It is well to reiterate that those who  
advocate the government ownership of  
railroads; those who overlook the vital  
fact of class rule and claim that Social-  
ism or any part of it or any step to-  
wards it can be secured other than by  
the independent action of the working  
class itself, are simply laying the rails  
upon which the coming express train  
of Socialism may in the future be side-  
tracked by a ruling-class conscious of  
its own danger.

AS TO GOVERNMENT  
OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS  
Rumors have already gone the rounds  
of the capitalist press that the few  
capitalists who own the railroads of  
the country would be willing to sell  
out to the government. This would  
simply be putting the nation in pawn  
to a set of capitalists who would be re-  
bored of their industry and would  
draw interest instead of dividends.  
And the freeing of capital for new in-  
vestment which would result from  
their sale of the overcapitalized rail-  
roads would make competition fiercer  
and exploitation greater in other in-  
dustries. Those who propose the build-  
ing of parallel lines by the govern-  
ment are, as usual, blind to the exist-  
ence of class rule. The government  
ownership of railroads is also brought  
forward as a measure for the benefit  
of the middle class, as is shown by the  
following quotation from an editorial  
in the New York "Evening Journal" of  
Oct. 24:

"The owner of such a factory must  
accept such treatment as is given him.  
He can manufacture his goods, but he  
can only get them to market by per-  
mission of the railroad. And the rail-  
road can charge him so much, and milk  
his profits so thoroughly that it will be  
useless for him to undertake the bene-  
ficial task of supplying employment."  
"If the government owned the rail-  
roads, the railroads would be con-  
ducted in the interest of the people, and  
not in the interest of a few railroad own-  
ers. The man who might start a fac-  
tory and employ several thousand men  
would be sure of fair treatment," etc.  
That is to say, "if the government  
owned the railroads, the railroads  
would be conducted in the interest of

the people" who own factories, so that  
they might "undertake the beneficial  
task" of driving their factory slaves  
to death for profit.

The fact that we have not yet got  
government ownership of railroads is  
itself a proof of the impotence of the  
rapidly-disappearing class of small cap-  
italists. When the large capitalists get  
ready to sell the railroads at a large  
profit the demands of the middle class  
may bring about the government own-  
ership of railroads—not before. And in  
bringing about government ownership of  
railroads the middle class would be  
gaining at their own cost; for as soon  
as they had disposed of the railroads  
the large capitalists would turn their  
capital into the industries now in the  
hands of the middle class with the same  
old result—competition, concentration,  
monopoly, and the crushing out of the  
small capitalists. This, too, would finally  
lead to Socialism by a longer, rougher road  
than the immediate proletarian victory which  
is the object of our propaganda.

### PSYCHOLOGY OF THE CONFUSED.

The sincere but muddle-headed ad-  
vocates of Socialism who try to bring  
about the Co-operative Commonwealth  
by the methods of propaganda referred  
to at the beginning of this article, with  
the exception of those who are from  
ignorance of facts or lack of reading,  
would all be classified by psychologists  
under the same mental type. They are  
interesting but exasperating psycho-  
logical phenomena. Their great de-  
ficiency is a lack of ability to generalize  
from a mass of facts; they lack the  
power of consecutive, logical thought.  
They usually have more imagination  
than intellect, and a power of using  
language and abundant logic. They are  
able makers of epigrams and witty  
sayings, but cannot grasp fundamental  
principles. They have little power of  
abstract or generalized thought, but  
must forever deal in concrete illustra-  
tions, from which they are unable to  
induce fundamental principles. Such  
persons are very valuable in showing  
the inconsistencies and faults of the  
capitalist system, but have no power  
of constructive thought. Their abili-  
ties are all in the destructive, econo-  
mistic field. They need to study the  
principles of inductive reasoning and  
the scientific and historical side of  
the movement. The sincerity of such  
Socialists renders their "perilous activi-  
ties" all the more dangerous to the  
movement, and their power for con-  
fusion is increased by the promises in  
their own minds of the future which  
which is easily attracted by their su-  
perficial kind of thought. James Rus-  
sell Lowell portrayed this type of mind  
very accurately when he wrote:  
"With just enough learning, and skill  
for the using it,  
To prove he's a brain, by forever con-  
fusing it."

### TOLERATION AND "NARROWNESS."

Such people always cry "dogmatism"  
at the constant statement of a provable  
and therefore established truth because  
their own intellectual deficiencies pre-  
vent them from consistently holding a  
logical position. Toleration of error is  
not a sign of a liberal mind, but of in-  
tellectual weakness. Truth is natu-  
rally "narrow," but the broadness of  
error is infinite. Toleration of error in  
individual opinion and charity for the  
errors of individuals are permisable;  
but toleration of error in REA-  
SONING or public action never.

### TACTICS.

The materialistic conception of his-  
tory, the law of economic determin-  
ism which forms the basis of the So-  
cialist movement, and the class strug-  
gle which has brought the movement  
into being, by their very nature make  
the tactics to be pursued by that  
movement the one thing of supreme  
importance. Class-consciousness, the  
vital, essential point in Socialist  
propaganda. We may define the So-  
cialist movement itself as simply the  
CORRECT TACTICS for the working  
class to use in its necessary and in-  
evitable struggle against the capitalist  
class. Ideals and ideals are a valu-  
able and inevitable auxiliary to the  
movement of the working class, but the  
idealist becomes valuable only when  
he arrives at the correct tactics. The  
question of the fact that propaganda,  
to be effective, must be based on class in-  
terests. And the number of idealists  
who will become Socialists against  
their economic interests will always be  
limited by the fact that ideals, like so-  
cial institutions, are generally colored  
or colored by material interests.

Socialists must reasonably differ  
about the tactics of the Co-operative  
Commonwealth, for instance, or any  
other matter of speculation, but the  
very nature of the Socialist movement  
prove class-conscious tactics to be the  
only effective or safe course. There-  
fore, the existence of class rule, the  
principles of the class struggle, and  
the necessity of class-consciousness are  
the essential points to be made in So-  
cialist propaganda.

### INDIVIDUAL WORK AND ORGANIZED WORK.

Local Minneapolis has issued a cir-  
cular in which occurs the following  
passage, which applies so well all over  
the country that we quote it here:

Many Socialists are working outside  
the organization and think they can do as  
much as they can. This is a grave mistake.  
If Socialism teaches anything, it teaches  
that the only way to achieve Socialism  
is by the organized action of the work-  
ing class. Every individual should be active  
and do much, but the labor and work of  
the organization is the only way to achieve  
Socialism. Without the organization, the  
individual is powerless and his work  
is of no value. The organization is the  
only way to achieve Socialism. Every  
individual should be active and do much,  
but the labor and work of the organiza-  
tion is the only way to achieve Socialism.  
Without the organization, the individual  
is powerless and his work is of no value.  
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only way to achieve Socialism. Without  
the organization, the individual is power-  
less and his work is of no value. The  
organization is the only way to achieve  
Socialism. Every individual should be  
active and do much, but the labor and  
work of the organization is the only way  
to achieve Socialism. Without the orga-  
nization, the individual is powerless and  
his work is of no value. The organiza-  
tion is the only way to achieve Socialism.<



## Current Literature

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this column may be obtained through the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William Street, New York.

A new book by Herbert N. Casson, a history and defense of the American trade union movement, entitled "Organized Self-Defense," will soon be published.

In the December number of the "International Socialist Review" Wm. H. Noyes writes upon "Some Proposed Solutions of the Negro Problem." He admits the fact of race prejudice and inferiority, but insists on the policy of tolerance of the laborer. He thinks the recognition of which, he thinks, necessary to the coming of true freedom for all. Bolton Hall has an article on "The Common Aims of the Socialist and the Single Taxer," in which he endeavors to show that the single tax "would make wealth so abundant that instead of men giving a price or premium for the use of it, they would be willing to give a part of it for its more successful use." A correspondent in Manila tells of some of the outrages against laborers and the injustices which capitalism is perpetrating in the Philippines. Robert L. Rivers LaMont sends a most readable letter from New Zealand, dealing with social and industrial conditions and tendencies in that colony. Louis Bertrand, Socialist member of the Belgian parliament, writes further on "The Co-operative Movement in Belgium," and "Farcus" continues the discussion of opportunism.

The December "World's Work" keeps very well up to the idea indicated by the title, of giving a wide view of what is going on in all the principal fields of human activity. The department on "The March of Events" is always worth more or less careful reading. Among the subjects treated in special articles this month are the late Li Hong Chang, "The Rebuilding of New York," the long-distance trolley lines, the Boer war, and the Industrial Commission. The department "Among the World's Workers," a record of industry, is perhaps the most valuable part of the magazine—at least, to those who are especially interested in economic and industrial questions.

## PARTY NOTES.

THE 1ST, 3D, 5TH A. D. WILL meet at Comrade May's house, 240 W. Eleventh street, Monday evening, Dec. 16. All members are urged to attend, as also all residents of the districts who voted the Socialist Democratic ticket. All sympathizers should enroll themselves in the organization and work actively for the cause.

SIXTH AND TENTH A. D. NEW YORK.—The next regular meeting will be held on the fourth Friday of this month, December 27, and thereafter, regular meetings will be held on the second and fourth Fridays in each month instead of the first and third.

ONE OF THE VERY BEST LECTURES that has been delivered this season at Colonial Hall, One Hundred and First street and Columbus avenue, was that delivered by Morris Hillquit on "The Development of Socialism in the United States," last Sunday evening. Next Sunday, Dec. 15, Mr. Albert I. Vogel will lecture on "The President's Message." Every one is invited.

THE FIFTH A. D. BROOKLYN.—on the proposition of Comrade Dooley, has decided to ask the 6th A. D. to cooperate in holding weekly public lectures, as a part of a plan of systematic agitation in the Eastern district. All comrades living in that part of the city who are willing to assist in the project are asked to communicate with Joseph W. Dooley, 214 Lynch street, so that this work, which has been too long neglected, may be well under way when the new year opens.

ALGERNON LEE WILL LECTURE at the gymnasium of the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949-951 Willoughby avenue, Brooklyn, Sunday, Dec. 15, at 3 p. m., on "Labor Politics and Socialist Policies." Admission is free. Trade unionists are especially invited.

THE NEW YORK SOCIALIST LITERARY Society has removed its headquarters to 117 Forsyth street, first floor. Reading room will be open every evening from seven o'clock till eleven, and on Saturdays and Sundays from 11 a. m. Members and sympathizers are invited. J. GINSBERG, Sec'y.

THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL League of 215 E. Fifty-ninth street held a successful meeting last Sunday evening. P. Schmeider's exposition of "The Purpose of Life" was attentively listened to and a lively discussion ensued. Three visitors signified their intention to join the party. On Friday evening, Dec. 14, our junior comrades, Connelick and Weinberger, will debate the question, "Will education alone bring Socialism?" Sunday evening, Dec. 15, L. B. Bondin will speak on "Some Neglected Phases of Socialism." Comrades are requested to bring their friends. On the following Sunday, N. I. Stong will lecture on "Socialism and Trade Unionism," and on Dec. 20, L. Phillips will speak on "Current Events."

THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIAL Democratic Club of Yorkville, which did such good work for the party during the campaign, is continuing its meetings with unabated interest. Unless the older comrades of the 24th, 26th, and 28th Assembly Districts best themselves, the young people will soon have earned the right to lecture them on the duties of a Socialist. Comrade Lee's lectures on political economy are well attended, and the business sessions are lively, and after finishing their work the members always enjoy a pleasant social hour. At the last meeting a permanent constitution was adopted and it was resolved to cooperate with the Yorkville Agitation Committee in its plans for extending the circulation of The Worker in the districts. Meetings are held every

Thursday evening in the W. E. A. Club-house at 296 E. Eighty-sixth street. All young people in the Yorkville districts who are interested in the Socialist movement, especially young working people, are invited to join the Club. Dues are 10 cents a month.

THE WATERTOWN COMRADES decided that they were not making Socialists fast enough, although our vote there increased 200 per cent., so they refurnished their hall through and have thrown it open to the working-men of the city as a free reading room. Sunday afternoon lectures and entertainments will soon be given. Any contributions of literature from any source will be thankfully received, and should be sent to Alex. Knight, Secretary, 42 Riverside Plaza, Watertown, N. Y.

MOUNT VERNON CARPENTERS' Union was visited by Comrade Butcher last week. He was cordially received and requested to send a Socialist speaker to address the union on the last Monday of the month, Dec. 30.

COMRADE BUTSCHER HAS VISITED New Rochelle, Mount Vernon, and Port Chester during the past week and has met with decided success in his work for the organization of The Worker. The comrades at other places which he is to visit are requested to make preparations for his coming, so that no time shall be lost. If he is properly aided in his efforts the strength of the party organization in the state can be greatly increased and the vote will grow proportionately.

CHARTERS WERE ISSUED FROM National Headquarters on Dec. 6 to Baltimore, Md., Little Rock, Ark., Burman, Ark., Golden Colo., Idaho Falls, Idaho, Argus, Minn., Cedar City, Utah, Magnolia, Idaho, Norfolk, Va., Salt Lake City, Utah, Portland, Va.

BERGEN COUNTY, N. J., COUNTY Committee, S. P., was permanently organized last Sunday, with E. M. DeLoach, of Port Ledge, Chairman, P. E. Blum, Secretary, and Dr. P. P. Dwyer, of Ramsey as Organizer. Regular meetings will be held on the first Sunday of each month at the house of F. W. Marshall, Woodbridge. Comrades in good standing will be welcome at committee meetings.

SUMNER P. CLAFLIN HAS BEEN elected national committeeman from New Hampshire.

CHICOPEE SOCIALISTS HELD A good rally last week. George H. Wrenn of Springfield, John W. Brown of Hartford, and Franklin N. Graves, candidate for Alberman-at-large, spoke to an interested audience of workmen.

SOCIALISTS OF COLORADO will hold state convention at Denver on Dec. 29. Many of the applications for charters in Colorado contain the names of women, which is significant in view of the fact that women are permitted to vote in that state.

THE STATE ORGANIZATION OF Missouri has requested the national committee for two weeks dates on the proposed lecture tour of John C. Chase, Haverhill, Mass.

LOCAL ST. PAUL WILL GIVE AN entertainment and ball at Pfeiffer's Hall, corner of Eighth and Wabasha, on Sunday, Dec. 22, at 3 p. m. Tickets, 35 cents a couple.

CALIFORNIA, OREGON, AND Washington have organized a coast state lecture circuit in co-operation with the national committee.

LOCAL ALAMEDA, CAL., HAS passed a resolution supporting the action of the California State Committee in sending J. Stitt Wilson on a lecture tour through the state, and stating that he is a party member in good standing. This action was taken on account of the resolution recently passed by Local San Francisco, which protested against the Stitt Wilson tour on the ground that he was not a party member, and that his lectures were not thoroughly in accord with the principles of scientific Socialism.

## CAMPAIGN FUND.

To the Holders of Subscription Lists for the Campaign Fund of the Socialist Democratic Party of the City of New York:

Comrades and friends who still have subscription lists in their possession are requested to send the lists in at once, as the Campaign Committee would like to wind up its business before the expiration of this year, as the funds for the coming year would confer a favor on the committee by promptly returning lists and money collected, as it may help the committee to meet all its liabilities. Those who have not collected any money on their lists are also requested to turn in their lists, as this will greatly aid the auditing committee in auditing the accounts. Therefore, come rush in your lists with times, quarters, and dollars are preferred. But we want all, and the empty ones. Since last week we received the following amounts:

Previously acknowledged	\$2,070.25
List 452, C. Volmer	.10
List 504, R. S. Arb. Kr.	.10
Kasse, per G. Boeder	2.00
List 1857, Otto Steffen	1.00
List 149, A. Grief	1.00
List 1205, Fred Schmidt	1.00
List 740, John Franz	1.00
List 455, L. S.	.25
List 109, H. Haupt	.85
List 2057 to 2060, inclusive	.10
Per 23, Arb. Kr. Kasse	10.00
List 1480, Otto Seeger	.50
List 386, Wm. Schmidt	.25
Total	\$2,097.20

## LOCAL NEW YORK.

The subdivisions of Local New York will take action that the time for making nominations for a member of the National Committee of the party has been extended until Saturday, Dec. 14. Subdivisions which have not made any nominations will do so at once, and submit same to the Organizer. All nominations must reach the organizer not later than Saturday, Dec. 14, on which day the nominations close.

—The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

## LOCAL KINGS COUNTY.

An interesting meeting of the County Committee of Local Kings County was held on Sunday, Dec. 8, at the headquarters, Ralph avenue and Fulton street. Comrade Buck was in the chair. Seven applications for membership in the party were received and acted upon favorably. The State Secretary having notified the Local that it was entitled to another representative on the State Committee, Comrade Hanford was unanimously chosen to act in that capacity, and it is hoped that he will consent to serve, as his long experience and untiring vigor are needed in the party councils.

Nominations for National Committeeman and Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau were referred to the branches. On the roll call it was found that five branches were again not represented. These branches are once more urged to take part in the deliberations of the County Committee.

Comrade Smith made a strong plea for recognition by the Local of his "drum corps." He made a statement of its financial condition, which was found to be fairly prosperous. What he asked for was not financial assistance, but rather an official standing in and the patronage of the party. On motion, the drum corps was recognized officially as an organization under the jurisdiction of Local Kings County, and a committee elected to attend its meetings and take a general interest in its welfare, and report thereon from time to time. The committee consists of Comrades Speck, Krantz, and Durrant. The corps meets every Friday night at Oelschlaeger's Hall, 1142 Wiloughby avenue, and Comrade Smith extends a cordial invitation to party members to be present. Comrade Smith's address is 206 Hemlock street, Brooklyn, and the different branches are requested to communicate with him if they need his services.

The request of the "Volkzeitung" for payment for the insertion of the calendar of meetings and meeting places of the branches of Local Kings County was granted, and the paper asked to furnish a bill quarterly, such bill to be apportioned and paid for pro rata by the branches.

Comrades from The Worker Conference of New York was present, and asked for the formation of a similar body in the City of Churches. After some discussion it was decided to lay the matter over until after the election of officers, which occurs in January. This action was not taken through apathy for the party organ, but rather with the sincere desire to wait until the Local itself is in good working order before the party organ is asked to further the interests of that valuable adjunct to our propaganda.

The next meeting of the Local will take place on Sunday, Dec. 22, at 2 p. m., at the headquarters, Ralph avenue and Fulton street.

## NEW YORK GENERAL COMMITTEE.

A regular meeting of the General Committee of Local New York will be held at the Labor Lyceum, 61 East Fourth street, on Saturday evening, Dec. 14. A special order of business will be the report of the Committee on J. B. Law, to which were referred the recommendations of the Campaign Committee. This is a matter of the utmost importance and all delegates should be present punctually at eight o'clock, so that the business may be considered properly without continuing the meeting to too late an hour. Districts whose delegates are negligent in attendance should elect others in their place.

## THE WORKER CONFERENCE.

The Worker Conference will meet in the Labor Lyceum, 61 E. Fourth street, Monday, Dec. 16, at 8 p. m. sharp. The Conference has now very important work to do, on somewhat different lines from what it has been following in the past, and every district, as well as the various Socialist clubs and other organizations which take an interest in the paper, should have a delegate who will attend and work.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE COMMITTEE TO MEET.

A meeting of the New Hampshire State Committee of the Socialist Party will be held in January—the time and place to be fixed by a referendum of the members. The committee will receive reports of work done and install the new committee members and start the work for the coming year. The members of the new State Committee are: Edward Cole of Dover, Frank W. Tucker of Portsmouth, Michael H. O'Neill of Nashua, George Howie of Manchester, and James S. Murray of Concord. Louis Arnstein of Dover is to be State Secretary.

## OKLAHOMA SOCIALISTS TO HOLD CONVENTION.

A delegate convention of the Socialist Party of Oklahoma will be held at Kingfisher, in the old Opera House, on Friday, Dec. 27. Each local will be entitled to one delegate for every ten members or major fraction thereof. The Territorial Committee will meet at the same place, in the forenoon of the same day, to elect delegates and to report to the convention, whose duty it will be to elect a committee and officers for the next year, as well as a member of the National Committee, to draw up a constitution for the territorial organization, and take other measures for the good of the party. The Oklahoma Socialists first entered the political field in the fall of 1900, casting 815 votes for E. T. Tucker, candidate for Territorial Delegate. Much agitation has been done since that time and the organization greatly strengthened, so that a large gain may be expected in next fall's election.

—Suppose every party member in Greater New York makes it a point to send in at least one new subscription to The Worker every month from now till next Election Day. That would mean over twelve thousand new subscribers from this source alone, to say nothing of the fact that each of these new readers becomes in turn a canvasser for the paper. Can you guess how many hundred new party members that would mean, how many thousand new votes cast next November? It is worth accomplishing, and if each will really do his best, the average will run far above what we have suggested.

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## OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, Louis Greenbaum, Room 427, Emile Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.

CALIFORNIA STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, John M. Ryan, 425 Sutter street, San Francisco. Meets on first and third Fridays in the month.

CONNECTICUT STATE COMMITTEE.—A. R. Cornelius, Secretary, 478 Chapel street, New Haven. Meets on first and third Fridays in the month at Auburn Hall, 125 Union street, New Haven.

ILLINOIS STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, A. R. Morris, 36 N. Clark street, Chicago. Meets on first and third Fridays in the month at 20 Dearborn street.

KANSAS STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary-Treasurer, J. D. Haskell, Abilene.

KENTUCKY STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, Dr. Walter T. Roberts, 2214 West Main street, Louisville, Ky.

MAINE STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, N. W. Leonard, Thomaston.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, Squire E. Palmer, 4 Belmont street, Boston. Assistant Financial Secretary, Albert G. Clifford, Mount Auburn station, Cambridge, Mass.

MICHIGAN STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, Charles J. Neely, 811 John street, Saginaw, Mich. Meets at 121 N. Room street.

MINNESOTA STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, Geo. B. Leonard, Room 515, Andrew Bldg., corner Third, Second and Fifth streets, Minneapolis.

MISSOURI STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, Wm. J. Hager, Room 7, 22 North Fourth street.

NEBRASKA STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, George E. Baird, 810 N. Sixth street, Omaha.

NEW JERSEY STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, M. Heibel, 14 Bridge street, Newark. Meets second Saturday of the month, at 7:30 p. m., at 121 Market street, Newark, N. J.

NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, Leonard D. Abbott, 61 4th st., New York. Meets every Monday at 8 p. m., at above place.

OHIO STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, W. G. Critchlow, 1145 W. Third street, Dayton. Meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary-Treasurer, J. W. Quick, 623 Woodland avenue, Philadelphia.

VERMONT STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, P. V. Danahy, Brunswick House, Rutland.

WASHINGTON STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, Joseph G. Baker, 815 5th st., Seattle. Meets first Sunday in the month, at 2 p. m., at 220 Union street.

WISCONSIN STATE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, E. H. Thomas, 614 State street, Milwaukee.

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by January 1 p. m.

MASSACHUSETTS. To the City, Town, and Senatorial Committees of the Democratic Socialist Party of Massachusetts.

Comrades—You are hereby notified that according to the constitution of the party, the month of January is assigned for the organization of the city and town committees. The Secretary of the party is requested to forward to the Secretary of the State Committee for the year 1902, a list of the names and addresses of the members and officers of their several committees.

In order that the Secretary of the State Committee for the year of 1902 may compile the new committee together for organization, the Secretary of each Senatorial District, where there is no committee, or of town or city committees where senatorial conventions have been held, are requested to forward at once the names and addresses of those who have been elected to membership in the Senatorial District to the State Committee for the year 1902.

## NEW YORK.

GENERAL COMMITTEE. Regular meeting of the General Committee of Local New York will be held at the Labor Lyceum, 61 E. Fourth street, Monday, Dec. 16, at 8 p. m. sharp. Delegates should not fail to attend. The order of business and amount of business to transact, the meeting will be called at 8 p. m. sharp. Delegates are therefore requested to promptly on hand.

J. GERBER, Organizer.

NOTICE. To the Financial Secretaries of the subdivisions of Local New York.—Financial Secretaries are requested to at once send in their financial and membership reports to the Organizer, so as to enable him to make out the semi-annual financial report of the organization.

SQUIRE E. PALMER, Secretary.

SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CONVENTION. A convention to nominate a candidate for Representative in Congress from the Seventh Congressional District of New York will be held at the Labor Lyceum, 61 E. Fourth street, on Saturday, Dec. 14, at 8 p. m. sharp. Delegates are therefore requested to promptly on hand.

CHRISTOPHER WARD, Organizer, Richmond County.

3D A. D. A primary to elect delegates to the Convention of the Seventh Congressional District will be held at the Labor Lyceum, 61 E. Fourth street, on Saturday, Dec. 14, at 8 p. m. sharp. Delegates are therefore requested to promptly on hand.

4TH A. D. A special meeting of the 4th A. D. will take place Thursday evening, Dec. 12, at the clubhouse of the Voice of Labor, 217 Henry street. Members are requested to attend.

N. J. RUBINOFF, Secretary.

HARLEM EDUCATIONAL CLUB. By the joint efforts of the 31st, 32nd, and 33rd A. D. of the S. P. E. the Harlem Educational Club has been called to life and the undersigned have been elected as a committee to organize the club. The club will be organized on the basis of the principles of scientific Socialism, which would advance the cause of the working class and the cause of all friends and sympathizers of the cause.

To enlighten the masses and strengthen the class-consciousness for introducing a better social system in the social organization of our people, and to disseminate the principles promulgated by scientific Socialism, we are organizing a club, which will be organized on the basis of the principles of scientific Socialism, which would advance the cause of the working class and the cause of all friends and sympathizers of the cause.

The club will serve as the permanent headquarters of the above districts and of other similar clubs, and its members will be provided, and refreshments furnished to all members and their friends. Our plan is to open the clubhouse about January 1 next, but to make our club a success, and the rooms attractive, the committee needs more funds than they are ready furnished by our members. We are confident of the fact that we can count many sympathizers in the cause, although they are not formally affiliated with any of our district organizations, and to them we especially appeal to aid us in our undertaking. Contributions will be gratefully accepted.

## NO TRUSTS! NO PRISONS! NO SWEAT SHOPS! Shirts, Waists, Collars or Cuffs

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known by our temporary treasurer, Comrade Fred. Thomas, 2203 Fifth avenue, Borough of Manhattan, or may be sent to the office of the Workers' Union, 100 E. 10th street, New York. Applications for membership and for further information should be addressed to our temporary secretary, John I. Cohn, 220 E. One Hundred and Fourth street, by order of the Executive Committee, N. Y. C. D. P.

The committee on organization: FRID. THOMAS, Treasurer. JOHN I. COHN, Secretary. NICHOLAS KILIANOFF, JOSEPH COHN, J. H. PREYERSTEIN, M. LILL, J. A. KHIGUS, E. HERVEY.

OHIO. STATE COMMITTEE. To the Socialists of Ohio.

We take this opportunity to notify all local organizations, as well as all the unaffiliated comrades of Ohio, that the Ohio Socialist Party, which was organized on the 1st of January, 1902, we want all local branches of the party and all unaffiliated comrades to write us at once, so that we may be able to send you a copy of the party program, and in view of having him visit their locality, Comrade Strickland is too well known as a speaker and organizer to need any further introduction, but in order to carry on the work of building up the party movement, we now have twenty-six regular local branches in the state and the next state convention should record at least that number. We can do it with the support of the comrades. Write us at once for further detailed information regarding a lecture in your city by Comrade Strickland.

In towns and villages where there is no regular branch of the party, the comrades can do together and have a regular meeting on the 1st of January, 1902, and elect a local branch. In order to have him visit you for a lecture on Socialism in the future, the comrades should send the sum of \$2 for railroad fare and incidentals. Get the comrades together at once and apply for a ticket.

Ohio State Committee, Socialist Party, 1145 W. Third street, Dayton.

SOCIALIZE THEM! They say the trusts in American industries have enabled us to invade foreign markets, and the wild flights of eloquence of the trucking, subsidized press have heralded over this broad land the enormous increase in our foreign trade. This is true, but at what expense to the American people?

Every product of an American trust is sold from 10 to 25 per cent. cheaper to the foreigner than it is sold to the American consumer. The tariff wall prevents foreign competition in this market. The trust is thus sure of its prices at home, and only lowers them when it has to come into competition with foreign industries. Who, then, is paying the cost of this increased trade? The American consumers. But Bannum said—

But the trusts want to know how much you will bear, ye sons of liberty? The next congress will again try to increase the load of the pack mule. Not satisfied with making the American consumer pay the price of invading foreign markets, they wish him to subsidize ships to carry the goods. Of course, good patriots as he is, he will swallow the "ship subsidy bill." The trusts will scatter a few hundred thousand dollars among the subsidized press; the ships they are to permit will be granted out of the central mill, and distributed with a check in each paper. Ye patriotic sons of liberty will shrug your caps in the air and shout for your glorious country, ship subsidy bill, trusts, and all.—The Ironclad.

BROOKLYN LABOR LYCEUM ASSN. PUBLIC LECTURE

Under the auspices of the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum Association, on Sunday, Dec. 15, 1901, at 3 p. m. sharp, at the gymnasium of the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949-951 Willoughby avenue. Subject, "Labor Politics and Socialist Policies." Admission free.

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P. J. PROUD



**CHARITY AND JUSTICE.**

To the Editor of the Boston "Herald":

Dear Sir:-In your issue of Saturday last you have asked somebody to name an organization that is not "in it for the money" as many places as the Salvation Army. I would accept your invitation and cite you to the labor movement, which not only does not to alleviate present conditions for the good of the people than any other organization, but also has the most sincere regard toward the end that there will be no need of such organizations as the Salvation Army to dispense charity or relieve suffering.

I am sensible of the good done by the Salvation Army, but, after all, the assistance

[illegible]

But while the economic organizations do so much for the working class in the manner above indicated, the political phase of the labor movement, as represented by the Social Democratic Party, expresses that great and noble sentiment which is the inspiration of the existing class which is the inspiration of the working class everywhere. The Social Democratic Party points out the difference in the manner of the celebration of Christmas and the celebration of charity in the shape of free Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners to multitudes of honest people in a country

The more work the Salvation Army does, and has to do, the greater the reflection upon the present system. With the wonderful increase in inventive power, with the increased capacity of production and distribution, upon obtaining the aid and dis-

increased wealth produced, there should be a corresponding increase in the standard of living of the people and even before long. Just as we find that with each succeeding Thanksgiving the number of people who are able to share in the joys of the season increases, so the standard of living of the people and homes increases; more and more people are dependent upon others for the necessities of life. The participation in the ordinary festivities of the people is becoming more and more difficult because of the condition of things, and to obviate its recurrence, the Social Democratic Party has adopted the principle of the social collective ownership of the tools of production and distribution.

As the organized labor movement, in its economic and political capacity, does more good for many more people than it does harm, so the Social Army, and also has for its goal the emancipation of the working class from exploitation, that render them susceptible to the owners of the means of production and to the organized charity. Respectfully,

Boston, Mass., Dec. 2.

---

## THE NAMELESS HERO.

There are countless heroes who live and die,  
Of whom we have never heard;  
For the great, big, brawling world goes by,  
With hardly a look or word;  
And one of the bravest and best of all,  
Of whom the best can boast,  
Is the man who, fallen silent, still  
Lives on in the hearts of the brave.

The man who dies at his post,  
While his cheek is mantled with manhood's  
blush  
And the pathway of life looks bright,  
He is brought in a moment to face the  
gloom  
Surrounding the final night,  
He bravely sails for a sudden sea  
And is dashed on an unseen coast—  
Till the ship goes down at the helm stands  
he—  
The man who dies at his post.

And falls in the midst of fight,  
He knows that honor will hover o'er  
And cover his name with light;  
That he who passes known,  
He fears no applauding host;  
He goes in the dark to his fate, alone,  
The man who dies at his post.

Who bears with disease while death draws  
Near,  
Who faces his fate each day,  
Yet strives to comfort and help and cheer  
His comrades along the way,  
Who follows his work while he yet may do

It seems to me is a hero true—  
The man who dies at his post.  
There are plenty to laud and crown with  
bays  
The hero who falls in strife,  
But few who offer a word of praise  
To the crowdest hero of life.  
He does his duty and makes no claim;  
He saves the world and forgets.

To the silent martyr unknown to fame,  
The man who dies at his post.  
—Denver News.

---

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---

**A NATURAL ENEMY.**

When first trade unions were instituted the artisan saw clearly that his natural enemy was his employer, that

besides being looked upon as a social and political cipher. He was only interesting to his employer for what could be wrung from his sweat. The artisan organized in self-defense against the encroachments of his master; between wages and profit there was continual war. At present, and during recent times, this consciousness of inimical interests has become dulled owing to good wages, steady employment, fascinations of sport, and the illusion of party politics.—David Lowe, in the **Labor Leader**.

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VOL. XI.—NO. 38. NEW YORK, DECEMBER 22, 1901. PRICE 2 CENTS

## THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION. Parliamentary Trick Prevents Full Discussion of Socialist Resolutions.

Socialists in the Convention, However, Consider That Greater Strength Was Shown Than Ever Before—Opposition Did Not Venture to Allow a Clear Drawing of the Lines.

In the last day's session, Saturday, the convention of the A. F. of L. came to the consideration of the question of Socialism. Of course it was never expected that a Socialist resolution would be passed, but the methods by which its opponents prevented even a fair discussion and vote certainly did not redound to their credit and will not strengthen them in the long run.

As stated last week, a dozen Socialist resolutions were introduced by different bodies, some of them by instruction through delegates who were not Socialists. The Committee on Resolutions took advantage of this fact to virtually shelve the whole matter at the last moment.

About 11 a. m. on Saturday the report of the Resolution Committee was called for and at the same time the election of officers was set for 2 p. m. immediately after the noon recess. The Committee reported, through Delegate Agard, a long substitute resolution, setting forth that "the aims, desires, and aspirations of trade unionists comprise all that is necessary or possible to the well-being of the human family," expressing vague and general sympathy with the Socialists in their ideals, but pronouncing against "anarchism, politics, religious discussion, and race prejudice," recommending that trade unions and their members carefully study "all questions of a public nature having reference to industrial or political liberty and to give especial consideration to subjects directly affecting them as a class," and concluding, "but it is not within the power of this organization to dictate to members of our unions as to what political party they shall belong or which party ticket they shall vote."

The discussion of this resolution was barely opened by W. J. Croke—pointing out the fact that the Federation is already in politics in its lobbying policy and is gaining nothing by it when the morning session ended. It was taken up again after the election of officers.

Max Hayes took a leading part in the discussion, which was necessarily short. Hayes reproached the committee for its wilful sidetracking of the resolutions, but said that he did not wish to obstruct business by forcing a prolonged discussion; the Socialists can wait for other opportunities, when free discussion of such important subjects could not be avoided; the committee's report was over any problem action in this body. The Socialists, he said, would keep on till they won.

Brandt of St. Louis followed in the same strain. The Socialist delegates, he said, would yield this time out of consideration of important trade union matters that were pending. "But," he added, "nobody forced you into this trade unionism, and just as surely nobody will finally force you to accept Socialism. And if you who are here do not believe in trade unionism, yet they remained in the unions. In support of this shameful misrepresentation of the Socialist position, he read a part of the Philadelphia resolution on trade unionism, carefully omitting all that did not suit his purpose.

Harry White of New York followed and charged the Socialists with inconsistency. He said Socialists did not believe in trade unionism, yet they remained in the unions. In support of this shameful misrepresentation of the Socialist position, he read a part of the Philadelphia resolution on trade unionism, carefully omitting all that did not suit his purpose.

The report of the committee was adopted without a roll-call. The fact that the anti-Socialists did not dare to allow a clear test of strength and the concessions which they made in the resolutions are considered as showing the great increase of Socialist strength in the Federation.

The election of officers was devoid of interest. The whole administration was re-elected with little or no opposition. Alexander Bainbridge of Minneapolis, of the Brotherhood of Painters, was nominated for President; but he withdrew and Samuel Gompers' reelection was unanimous.

## BEGGING FOR WORK.

A Graphic Illustration of the Position of the Working Class Under the Capitalist System.

The Syracuse "Evening Herald" publishes this true story, illustrative of capitalist prosperity:

"Charles Travis and his wife came to Syracuse from Oswego County Saturday. He wanted work and couldn't find it, so he appealed to John Hazeltine for help and Hazeltine agreed to pay him \$1 if he would walk up and down Salina street between the Hotel Mowry and the Erie canal with Mrs. Travis, wearing signs showing their need. This would mean enough money to pay their fares to Onondaga if a job was not secured.

"At 8 o'clock this morning Mr. and Mrs. Travis started out. Mr. Travis had fastened on the front and back of his coat signs reading, 'I Want Work! Work! Work!' Mrs. Travis on the front of her jacket wore a sign bearing the mute appeal 'Me Too!' They walked up and down South Salina street until 8:45 o'clock, two trips, when they were stopped by instruction of William A. Sweet and told to go to the plant of the Street Street Company, corner of South West and Marcellus streets. Mr. Travis expected that he would be set to work at once; but this could not be done without the laying off of a man, and he was told to come around next Monday morning.

"Travis decided that he couldn't wait until Monday and became a pedestrian again. He resumed his walk, this time alone. Travelling returned to the Municipal Lodging House because she was tired out, and a bit embarrassed. She soon rejoined her husband, and they started to make another circuit. At 10:35 o'clock a representative of the 'Cash' Papworth grocery store stopped them and said that Mr. Papworth wanted Travis to go to work.

"Mr. and Mrs. Travis made a trip to the store, but Mr. Travis was told to go to work at 1 o'clock this afternoon. Mr. Papworth is having a cellar dug under his warehouse, and it is his intention to have Travis work there and drive horses. Travis has had experience around horses.

"Travis is 33 years old. His wife is 22 years old. They say that they have been working all summer in a Buffalo restaurant, where they were employed skipped without paying them."

"That story is perfectly typical of the capitalist system. We used to read in the Bible about the curse of labor, 'In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread.' Capitalism has changed all that. For the workmen it is the curse of involuntary idleness. 'Thou shalt not eat bread at all unless thy master can make a profit out of it.' And for the capitalist it is turned into a blessing. 'In the sweat of other people's brows shalt thou eat bread, with plenty of butter on it.'"

Under capitalism men and women have to beg for work—have to walk the streets and make an exhibition of themselves to get permission to toil and receive a half or a quarter of the product of labor. Under Socialism all will receive the product of their labor and none will have to beg. Which do you choose?

## THE "SUN" CHARGES CRIMINAL LIBEL.

Scab Paper Causes Arrest of E. P. Jennings, Jr., an Employee of The Worker.

Alleges That He Published Boycott Literature—Jennings Says He Will Take Pleasure in Proving Truth of Statements Said to Be Libelous.

The Worker seems to have become a thorn in the flesh to the publishers of the New York "Sun," and they have invoked the powers of the law to deter this paper from lending its aid to the organized workers of the printing trades in their battle with that enemy of labor.

Comrade E. P. Jennings, city subscription agent of The Worker and a member of Typographical Union No. 6, has been arrested upon a charge of criminal libel brought by the "Sun" Publishing Association, for publishing in the "Little Worker" at The Worker Fair in Grand Central Palace certain derogatory remarks in reference to the "Sun."

The charge, in all its pompous legal language, specifies: "That the defendant, E. P. Jennings, Jr., being a person evilly, wickedly, and maliciously disposed, and with criminal intent and wickedly and maliciously intending and conspiring to injure the said corporation, at the Grand Central Palace, on November 8th, did knowingly, willfully, maliciously, wickedly, and falsely make and publish and circulating the said 'Sun' Printing and Publishing Association, in a certain paper called 'The Worker,' the following false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory publications in writing and in printing:

Here follows the three items to which the "Sun" so seriously objects. In the first of these, Jennings, in the "Little Worker" of his high school days, when he used to "put" at football games, "dropped into poetry" to this effect: "Rats, rats run; rats, rats run; rats are scabbing on the N. Y. 'Sun'."

The second, addressed "To Shoppers," read thus: "Those who work and believe in fair wages in pay for honest work should not patronize the following firms, which advertise in the 'Sun': 'The Sun' and 'The Worker'." And then enumerated H. O'Neill & Co., Best & Co., Stern Bros., Altman & Co., James McCree & Co., Arnold, Constable & Co., Le Boulleir Bros., James McCutcheon, Koch & Co., and Lord & Taylor.

The third ran as follows: "Some advertising says. Some advertising does not. An ad in the 'Sun' says enemies. An ad in the 'Sun' says friends. Why? Because you want the working people's trade. The 'Sun' is their enemy. The Worker is their own paper, always used to uphold their rights."

The affidavit was sworn to by one "Patsy" Reynolds, a person who claims to be employed in the circulation department of the "Sun," but who is commonly reputed to be nothing more nor less than a professional spy for that paper.

## SUCCESS IN WASHINGTON.

Full Ticket Elected in Northport—Large Increase of Socialist Vote in Seattle and Everett.

The daily papers announce the election of the Socialist ticket in Northport, Wash., as follows:

Mayor, George Stillinger; Councilman-at-large, Fred Blair; Councilmen for two years, Henry C. Winkler and George Foster; City Clerk, Henry Charles Thompson; City Treasurer, Floyd C. Smith; Health Officer, John R. Connolly.

Northport has been the scene of a bitter fight of the Socialists' Union against an overbearing foreign corporation. The long strike included a sweeping injunction by Federal Judge Hainford, importation of scabs and finally bloodshed. As a result the political arena. But the Socialists had already put a ticket in the field. So the union men negotiated with the Socialists and got two of their men put on the Socialist ticket and elected it.

"They are still one short of a majority in the council, but this election is undoubtedly a victory for the working class in Northport. Whether they clearly recognized the full Socialist position or not, says the 'Socialist' of Seattle, they are not advised. The Socialist local there is only recently organized and may not be very well informed in Socialism themselves.

In Everett, Wash., we have in the vicinity of 100 votes. Vote last year was 11. The Everett campaign was conducted on clear-cut, class-conscious lines, says the 'Socialist' of Seattle, and every vote was knowingly cast for Socialism.

The Socialist Party in Seattle had to meet the united forces of both old parties in the late election of school directors. They had a job to do, with one Republican and one Democratic candidate. Our candidates made a clearly Socialist campaign and received 25 per cent. of the votes.

It is not claimed that all these Socialists votes, though the majority were certainly such. But the fact most conspicuous is this, that so many voters were willing to cast their votes for an avowed Socialist ticket.

Only one year ago in the national election when the excitement drew out the fullest possible vote we had less than 2 per cent. And now in the indifference of a school election we succeeded in casting 25 per cent.

Seattle holds a city election in April and the Socialists will then be heard from once more.

## TICKET IN READING.

Socialists Start Work for the City Campaign—Local in Good Condition.

The Socialists of Reading, Pa., have entered the political field again, nominating the following ticket for the coming municipal election:

For Mayor—Andrew B. Bowers, a member of the Cigar Makers' Union. For Treasurer—John Stokes, of the Molders' Union. For Controller—James Maurer of the Plumbers' Union. For Assessors—Robert B. Ringler, Philip F. R. East, and John Smith, members of the Watchmakers, Iron and Steel Workers', and Wool Hat Makers' Unions, respectively.

Local Reading is in good condition and full of fight. Twelve new members were taken in at the last meeting and others are coming.

## WILL DEBATE ON CLASS STRUGGLE.

Sunday evening, Dec. 22, a very interesting debate will be held at the meeting of the Socialist Propaganda Club, in Smith's Assembly Rooms, 702 Court street, Brooklyn, "The Class Struggle," will be discussed by W. P. Bliss and Leonard H. Abbott. Mr. Bliss is known as a Fabian, who considers collective ownership of the means of production a desirable thing; but who does not recognize the class struggle between wage-workers and capitalists, and does not believe in independent political action of the working class to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth. Comrade Abbott will, of course, represent the class-conscious position taken by the party.

## THEY ARE SENTENCED UNDER SPANISH LAW.

Iglesias, Conde, and Six Others Sent to Prison in Puerto Rico.

Their Crime Was Participating in a Strike to Raise Wages When Change of Coinage System Raised Prices of Food—Spanish Law Kept Under American Rule to Serve Capitalist Purposes—Roosevelt's Plain Promise Broken.

Our comrade, Santiago Iglesias, who went to Puerto Rico as an organizer for the American Federation of Labor a few weeks ago, and whose arrest at the moment of his landing has already been reported, was tried in the District Court of San Juan last week and sentenced on Thursday, Dec. 12, to three years, four months and eight days' imprisonment. Nine other Puerto Rican workmen were tried alongside with him, of whom two were acquitted and seven sentenced to four months' imprisonment—among them Comrade Eduardo Conde. The court also ordered the dissolution of the Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico (Federacion Libre), of which Iglesias was one of the most active organizers and which has recently become largely through his efforts, affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The charge against Iglesias, Conde, and the others is that they were "founders of an illegal association and conspiracy in August, 1900, to raise the price of labor in Puerto Rico." In ordinary language this means that they were active members of the trade unions which struck at that time for an advance of wages proportionate to the advance in the prices of food which had followed the change from the Spanish to the American coinage system.

## THE STRIKE OF 1900.

The story was told in the issue of this paper for Sept. 9, 1900. We quote from our Puerto Rican correspondence:

"In order to adjust the differences which arose on the establishment of the American monetary system and the abolition of the Spanish, the masons, carpenters, painters, blacksmiths, and other artisans demanded \$3 for eight hours' work, others demanded \$2.50, and the day laborers \$1.50. As the employers did not wish to pay these wages, a strike was declared in all the cities on the first of August, and the strikers deported themselves quietly and peaceably. The sugar and coffee plantations also joined the strike.

The capitalists were wild with rage. The like they had never experienced. The entire mass of the intelligent labor of the cities and a large part of the agricultural workers refused to accept the wages offered by the bosses. And they cried aloud for the police, the military, the courts, the judges. They should have liked it best if the strikers had made trouble and their leaders could have been shot down or hung on the gallows. But since the laborers behaved themselves quietly, they seized upon falsehood and slander and upon the statements of perjured curs. The secretaries and presidents of all the unions, the members of the arbitration commissions, the organizers and speakers—in short, all who stood for most in the ranks of the struggle for labor's rights, more than a hundred in all—were apprehended and thrown into prison."

The testimony of employers, contractors, police spies, and imported scabs was received against the prisoners, and the latter were not allowed an opportunity to make any defense before the court, but were summarily convicted. Iglesias and five others were sentenced to five months and ten days' imprisonment, two others to imprisonment for two months and one day and fines of 250 pesos each, and yet two others to two months' imprisonment, with costs.

An aggravating feature of the case was the persecution of Mrs. Iglesias. She was summoned as a witness, but being confined to her bed by illness, was unable to appear. For this she was sent to a fine of \$5 and five days in jail.

## AN EFFECTIVE PROTEST.

The Socialists of New York and in other parts of the United States in the daily made a public protest and added its voice in condemnation of the outrage. The result was that within a week, upon orders from Washington, the prisoners were released.

The persecution of organized workmen did not cease, however, and new charges were made against several leaders for their activity in the strike of August, 1900. Iglesias was twice summoned for trial, appeared both times, and was told that the case was postponed. Petty persecution and the impossibility of getting employment in the island compelled him to come to New York, where he lived for several months.

He was then sent back to Puerto Rico, with credentials from the A. F. of L., to organize the workmen in close affiliation with the unions in the United States. As he stepped on shore at San Juan he was arrested on the old charges. After considerable delay he was released on bail and at once took up his work of organization, in which he was warmly seconded by the officers and members of the Puerto Rican unions.

## TRIED BY SPANISH LAW.

The men have been tried and sentenced under a Spanish law which makes it a criminal offense for workmen to combine to get increased wages. Although the United States government found it very easy to abolish the Spanish coinage in order to facilitate the business of the American capitalists who have grabbed most of

the natural resources of the island. It has carefully preserved the Spanish law for use in such cases as this.

An appeal has been taken and the A. F. of L. will no doubt do all in its power to assist the persecuted men. It will have a good effect if Socialist locals and labor organizations in various parts of the country will use all means in their power to arouse public sentiment against such flagrant abuse of governmental power in the service of the capitalist class.

## ROOSEVELT'S BROKEN WORD.

What makes the affair especially shameful is the fact that just before starting for Puerto Rico, Comrade Iglesias, along with Mr. Gompers, had an interview with President Roosevelt, explained the purpose of Iglesias' return to the island, and was warmly assured by the President that "he believed in trade unions," and that he would give instructions to the Governor to see that Iglesias was protected in his work. The strenuous Roosevelt seems to find it as easy to break his direct promise as his predecessor did to reverse his ideas of "plain duty."

## CHRISTMAS BARGAINS.

When commonly in any trade we are so fortunate as to get a bargain, we bar the gain of the other party to the transaction; that is, we beat him.

When we get a Christmas bargain we do the other fellow up partly for our gain and partly to celebrate the birth of Jesus.

In every BARGAIN one party to the trade must lose—that the profit of the other may be gained.

When we buy a silk waist at a bargain it may be some consumptive girl of the sweatshop or factory that goes hungry or naked to the extent of our gain.

When we get a bargain in rare lace it may be some worn woman with dimmed eyes and patient fingers that is unrepaid.

Under present conditions either profit to the merchant or bargain to the purchaser means deprivation of the worker.

Whenever we buy a thing of any kind without paying the full value of it, somewhere down the line of production will be found human labor unrequited; the transaction bears upon its face the stain of human blood.

The coupling of the word bargain with the birthday of Christ exhibits a hideous infidelity, a profanation of human life.

Christianity is so defiled that its unconscious language, finding expression in common advertisements, publishes its glaring infamy.

To make the birth month of the gentle Jesus a time of bucksteking; to allow for a single insignificant association of his name with the idea of human exploitation, to debase his image and to drag his ideals in the mire—this is not singular that the Socialist, whom the average Christian in his little ignorance reckons an enemy of law and order, should feel called upon to defend Jesus against defamation at the hands of those who profess his philosophy.

Merry Christmas! This is Christ's holiday. Peace on Earth; good will to men.

Have you succeeded in getting any bargains in robbing or beating anybody? PRAISE THE LORD!—The Socialist Spirit.

## THE DIFFERENCE.

Charles M. Schwab, President of the Steel Trust, is going to Europe for a vacation. Mr. Schwab works hard they say, for six hours a day. A large part of the workmen in the steel mill work infinitely harder for twelve hours a day.

Part of Mr. Schwab's work is useful. All of the work the mill employees do is useful.

Mr. Schwab gets this year besides his dividends a salary of \$225,000; this is to increase regularly from year to year. This amounts to \$781 a day, or \$210 every minute of working time. The men—even the most highly skilled and best paid among them—get less than one per cent. of that rate.

Mr. Schwab said to the directors: "I want a rest." "Take it," promptly replied the directors; "go to Europe for two months on full pay." If a workman in one of the mills should say he wanted a rest, The Trust would just as promptly reply: "Take it. Go to the devil. You are discharged. There are plenty more where you came from."

That is the difference between being a common wage-worker and being a stockholder and manager of a trust.

But the interests of Capital and Labor are identical, aren't they?

## MUSICAL UNION ELECTION.

The Musical Mutual Protective Union, has elected officers as follows for the ensuing year: President, Alexander Bremer; Vice-President, Thomas W. Hindley; Treasurer, Ernest A. Hanson; Secretary, Anthony Adams; Frederick Fuhr and Jacob Weiss; Executive Board, E. H. Clarke, Charles P. Eller, Frank J. Hauser, Emil Koenigke, Robert Ruhlender, Henry Schneider, and William Sommeret, Jr.

In order that there may be one rich there must be many poor; and the absence of the new press—this indigence of the many.—Adam Smith.



# The Worker.

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As far as possible, reflected commu-  
nications will be returned if so desired  
and stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second-class matter at the  
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1901.



## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) ..... 2,068  
In 1890 ..... 13,331  
In 1892 (Presidential) ..... 21,157  
In 1894 ..... 33,133  
In 1896 (Presidential) ..... 36,564  
In 1898:  
S. L. P. .... 82,206  
S. D. P. .... 9,545  
In 1900 (Presidential):  
S. D. P. .... 96,918  
S. L. P. .... 33,450



THE PARTY'S EMBLEM.

The New York "Journal" says that  
"there is a magnificent breadth to  
President Roosevelt's message." We  
would add that our first impression  
was of its stupendous length and our  
second of its painful lack of depth. So  
there you have the three dimensions of  
Teddy's effort.

President Roosevelt listened to the  
request of the business men and recom-  
mended the establishment of a Depart-  
ment of Commerce, with a seat in the  
Cabinet. The American Federation of  
Labor begged for the establishment of  
a Department of Labor, with similar  
recognition, but the petition went into  
the waste-basket. Moral: Don't lobby,  
but vote.

"Reformers" Moss has made a grand-  
stand play by capturing "Policy King"  
Adams. We should like to see a raid  
on a certain policy joint at the corner  
of Broad and Wall streets, presided  
over by J. Pierpont Morgan. Where  
Adams has bunched people out of  
thousands, Morgan has bunched them  
out of millions. But Morgan's game  
will never be stopped by respectable  
"reformers," because they belong to  
the class that profits by the game of  
legalized policy known as capitalism.

We hear a great deal about the  
"wars" of capitalist corporations, such  
as the New York Central and the  
Pennsylvania Railroad. One thing is  
sure: No matter how vigorously cap-  
italists fight each other, they will al-  
ways unite to fight workmen. When  
will workmen learn the lesson and  
drop their petty quarrels in order to  
unite against the capitalists?

Mayor-elect Low is reported as hav-  
ing a hard time to find a man to accept  
the office of Commissioner of Public  
Works, because there is no salary at-  
tached to the place and no patronage  
for the Commissioner to get a rake-off  
on. It seems all the wealthy gentle-  
men of leisure who were so anxious to  
reform the city, and who were inspired  
only by the most disinterested motives,  
have had a bad attack of "cold feet."

## HOW TO PROTEST.

In another column we print an edi-  
torial comment of the New York  
"Evening Post" upon the imprisonment  
of Santiago Iglesias for activity in a  
strike in Puerto Rico. The "Post,"  
which is a thoroughly capitalistic pa-  
per—though of a relatively decent sort—  
would probably not have mentioned the  
matter had it not fallen in with its own  
position of mugwump and imperialism.  
The "Post" knows very well that even  
under American law similar judicial  
outrages have been committed against  
workmen—as in the imprisonment of  
Eugene V. Debs at Chicago or of  
Paul Corcoran in Idaho, both of which  
it approved. The fact that our Puerto  
Rican brothers have been sentenced  
under the forms of Spanish law is only

an incidental feature of the case, which  
emphasized the hypocrisy of the pre-  
tense that "we" have carried liberty to  
the Puerto Ricans. The essential point  
of the matter is that under capitalist  
government—Spanish law and Ameri-  
can administration—workmen have  
once more been imprisoned for no other  
crime than peacefully striking for an  
advance of wages.

The concluding words of the "Post"  
editorial are good, however—better,  
perhaps, than the "Post" really intend-  
ed: "The wage-earners of the United  
States should take action on this sub-  
ject and make their voices heard in  
Congress." They have the strongest  
motives of self-interest to come to the  
defense of their fellow-workers in  
Puerto Rico.

The workers all over the United  
States have indeed a most powerful  
motive of self-interest to act on this  
matter. Under American law we have  
had an alarming and constantly in-  
creasing perversion of the powers of  
the courts to help capitalists in putting  
down strikes and boycotts. Heretofore  
this has generally been done through  
the power of injunction, which is not,  
however, conveniently applicable to all  
cases. But if the workmen of the  
United States allow this Puerto Rican  
case to pass without effective protest,  
we may expect to see our own courts  
and legislatures proceed to the estab-  
lishment at home of those same prin-  
ciples of Spanish law under which our  
comrades are now suffering at San  
Juan.

It will not be enough, however, to  
pass resolutions of protest and send  
them to Washington—though this  
method should not be neglected. There  
is a far more effective way of protest-  
ing against governmental outrages  
upon workmen's rights. Every new  
Socialist vote cast in next fall's con-  
gressional election will count for more  
in restraining the persecutors of Labor  
than the most eloquently worded resolu-  
tions. Even before next fall many  
workmen will have a chance to regis-  
ter their protest at the ballot-box.  
Numerous city elections will be held  
within the next four months. Let the  
workmen cast heavily increased  
votes for Socialism in those city elec-  
tions, and even though they should not  
elect any of their candidates, their ac-  
tion will be noted and remembered by  
judges and legislators and mayors and  
governors and congressmen, and by the  
President himself, and will have its ef-  
fect when the interests of Labor are at  
stake.

What difference does it make to work-  
ingmen whether the Panama Canal  
Company or the Nicaragua Canal Com-  
pany wins in the United States Senate?  
Either way, we may be sure that the  
canal will be built by underpaid and  
overworked laborers, and that the pro-  
fits of it will go to the same capitalist  
class that is already exploiting Ameri-  
can labor here at home. If we had even  
one solitary workman in the Senate,  
put there by labor votes on a labor  
platform, the working class might hope  
for some consideration for its interests.  
But so long as they leave the govern-  
ment of the country to the Hannans and  
Deweyes, the Morgans and the Clarks,  
the masses will be required to do the  
work and fight the battles, while the  
capitalists divide the loot.

## IS IT CRIMINAL LIBEL TO BOYCOTT THE "SUN"?

The arrest of Comrade Jennings upon  
the charge of criminal libel at the in-  
stance of the New York "Sun" is really  
a surprising incident in the extraordi-  
nary career of that paper. It is not, of  
course, surprising that the publishers  
of the "Sun" should wish to clap into  
prison any and all who have joined to  
resist and punish their wanton attack  
upon the organized workmen of the  
printing trades or that they should see  
any means that the law puts into their  
hands to that end. But it is surprising  
that they should expect to succeed in  
getting a man convicted of criminal  
libel for advertising the undeniable  
fact that the "Sun" is a scab paper and  
an enemy of organized labor and for  
asking other people to refrain from  
patronizing it, directly or indirectly.

The publishers of the "Sun" had an-  
other legal course open to them, ap-  
parently much more promising of suc-  
cess for their malicious purposes. Judge  
Bookstaver's injunction, forbidding  
the officers and members of the  
printing trades unions and their agents  
to ask other people to refrain from  
working for, buying, advertising, or  
otherwise patronizing the "Sun," is, we  
believe, still in effect. If not, they  
could easily get another from any of  
the Republican or Democratic judges  
now on the bench in this district. Un-  
der such an injunction they could get  
boycotters arrested and punished for  
contempt of court with little difficulty,  
for jury trial cannot be demanded in  
such cases. Moreover, the simple pub-  
lication of boycott literature is punish-  
able under such an injunction, regard-  
less of its truth or falsehood.

On the other hand, in order to con-  
vict Comrade Jennings of the crime  
they have charged, the publishers of  
the "Sun" will have to prove to a jury,  
not only that he did publish the mat-  
ter on which the charge is based, but  
also that the matter in question is false  
as well as injurious. Just how they  
expect to succeed in this, we do not  
now see.

Perhaps the prosecution is a "bluff."  
Perhaps the publishers of the "Sun"  
expect only to annoy Comrade Jen-  
nings and, to frighten others, so that

the boycott will be dropped. If that  
is the idea, they will be greatly disap-  
pointed.

If, however, they expect to get a con-  
viction in this case, it can only be that  
they expect to get from some servile  
judge a ruling that will make it crim-  
inal libel for striking or locked-out  
workmen to publish injurious mat-  
ter against a scab employer, even  
though the matter published be entire-  
ly true. If they succeed in that, they  
will have scored an important point,  
indeed; for the penalty that can law-  
fully be imposed for criminal libel is  
far heavier than any judge would ven-  
ture to inflict for mere contempt of  
court. Such a decision would put boy-  
cotting on the same legal footing with  
grand larceny, perjury, and other seri-  
ous crimes, as a states-prison offense.

Such a decision—or even any expecta-  
tion of it on the part of the "Sun"—  
seems highly improbable. But in these  
days we can hardly say that any judi-  
cial or governmental outrage against  
Labor is impossible.

At any rate, we await the prosecu-  
tion of the case with interest and un-  
hesitatingly say that if Comrade Jen-  
nings did not publish the matter to  
which the "Sun" objects he ought to  
have done so; for the "Sun" is unques-  
tionably a scab paper and, both in its  
business management and in its edito-  
rial policy, an enemy of Labor, and  
neither it nor those who continue to  
support it should be supported by the  
working people or those who sym-  
pathize with them. If it is criminal libel  
to boycott the "Sun," let us all commit  
criminal libel and keep the new Dis-  
trict Attorney and the judges busy.  
And let us not forget—as most of the  
printers did—to boycott "Sun" candi-  
dates Election Day.

A correspondent says in regard to the  
Iglesias case: "If the workmen of  
this country were worth a five-cent  
cigar, they would declare a general  
strike from the Atlantic to the Pacific  
if these prisoners were not at once re-  
leased." The expression is hardly too  
strong. There is probably not a coun-  
try in the world where the workmen  
would quietly submit to an attack so  
utterly outrageous. Have America's  
working people utterly forgotten the  
traditions of the Boston Tea Party and  
of Harper's Ferry?

It is very easy, in case of railway ac-  
cidents, to lay the blame on the conductor  
or the engineer. It saves a great deal of  
unpleasantness for the capitalists who  
own the railways, and the conductor  
and engineer usually can't kick—  
because they're dead. But does it  
seem reasonable to suppose that a  
conductor or an engineer would be  
criminally negligent when he knows  
that his own life is in greater danger  
than that of any other person? It can  
hardly be assumed that the railway  
employees all suffer from suicidal  
mania, can it? And in view of what  
we know of the neglect or positive re-  
fusal of railway companies (in open de-  
fiance of law) to equip their roads with  
devices for the protection of the em-  
ployees' lives; in view, also, of the well-  
known fact that trainmen are often or-  
dered to work fifteen or twenty hours  
or even longer at a stretch and are  
compelled to obey by threat of dis-  
charge for insubordination—in view of  
these facts it seems to us more reason-  
able to believe that the capitalists who  
control the railway have a very seri-  
ous responsibility in the matter? The  
greed for profits has more human lives  
to answer for than the ambition of  
the kings and the fanaticism of all the  
religious zealots with which the world  
has been cursed.

## "HOLY JOHN" AS A WHOLESALE STEP-FATHER.

"Holy John" Wanaamaker advertises  
for one hundred boys—"fourteen years  
of age, well educated, honest, and  
manly"—to "learn the business, com-  
mencing as messengers." He promises  
to pay these boys the magnificent sum  
of \$3 a week. The advertisement con-  
tinues:

"Those who for good conduct are re-  
tained after the holidays will be for-  
mally introduced into a competent  
teacher, for six hours each week, to  
pursue their school studies. THEY  
WILL ALSO BE FORMED IN COM-  
PANIES FOR MILITARY DRILL."  
"Holy John"—one of the most notori-  
ous scoundrels in the country—thinks  
Socialism would be very bad, because  
"Socialism is paternalistic." Yet here  
he is, proposing to take charge of a  
hundred half-grown boys who ought to  
be in school, and, while he is making  
good profits for himself out of their la-  
bor, to put himself in the place of a  
father—or rather, a step-father—to  
them and "complete their education in  
such a way as to suit his purposes." In-  
cidentally, he is going to teach them to  
handle rifle and bayonet and to inspire  
them with the idea of military glory,  
so that when his class wants someone  
to shoot down wicked strikers these  
protoges of his will be ready.

And the worst of it is that there are  
thousands of bright boys in New York  
whose families are so poor—notwith-  
standing the parents have worked hard  
all their lives—that they will snap at  
this chance.

Do you want any worse paternalism  
than that? Can you conceive any worse  
form of paternalism than that which  
makes it possible for a hypocritical pro-  
fit-grinder like Wanaamaker to buy the  
lives of working-class children by the  
hundred and educate them into "Holy

John's"—and make a profit on the  
deal?

Socialists would give those boys an  
opportunity to go to high school and  
then, if they liked, to college. And  
when they were fully grown and had  
a fair start in a life-long education,  
mental, moral, and physical, it would  
give them work to do, at reasonable  
hours, and would give them the full  
product of their labor.

Socialism is fraternalism, brother-  
hood. "Holy Johnism" is paternalism,  
step-fatherhood. Which do you want  
for your children?

We have heard a great deal of late  
about the battle of "bulls" and "bears"  
in the Stock Exchange, fighting for  
control of copper stock. The losses or  
gains of those who are manipulating  
the market on both sides should have  
little interest for working people. So  
far, it is simply a matter of gambling—  
though Mr. Low and the "reformers"  
are not likely to institute raids on Wall  
Street to stop it. But there is another  
aspect of the matter which is worth  
noting: In every such battle there are  
large numbers of non-combatants—  
the middle-class men who have invest-  
ed their small accumulations—who are  
sure to lose, no matter which way the  
fight goes. We have no great pity for  
these small investors, these would-be  
capitalists. They deserve little. They  
are trying to get something for noth-  
ing, trying to get into a position where  
they can exploit Labor on a large scale  
and live in luxurious leisure on the di-  
vidends paid by the toil of miners and  
metal workers. They are not in our  
class. They are trying to get into the  
class of the Morgans and Rockefeller—  
but the point is that they are failing  
and by their failure are being FORCED  
down into our class.

Every flurry in  
the stock market helps to destroy the  
independent middle class, to transfer  
its wealth to the coffers of the great  
capitalists, and to transform its mem-  
bers into wage-workers. So-called honest  
workmen may look with perfect  
equanimity on such battles, knowing  
that they will help to draw the class  
lines clearer and bring nearer the day  
of Labor's emancipation.

## A POLICY OF EQUIVOCATION.

There are three amusing and instruc-  
tive features about the position of the  
victorious "reformers" of New York on  
the Sunday saloon question.

The first point is that, just as we pre-  
dicted, the different factions and in-  
dividuals in the "reform" combination  
have fallen to fighting as soon as their  
offices were secure. They were united  
only in opposition. As soon as they are  
given power to act their harmony dis-  
appears. This is the fatal weakness of  
all merely "reform" movements. We  
may be sure that the Sunday saloon  
question will not be the only bone of  
contention among them.

The second point is that, while some  
of the churchmen in the combine are  
in favor of allowing the saloons to keep  
their side doors open during certain  
hours on Sunday, they all agree that  
the saloons must be closed up tight  
during the hours when the churches  
hold their services. This looks very  
much as if they were afraid of being  
benten in fair competition with the sa-  
loons—a plain confession of weakness.  
If the churches have lost their attrac-  
tions for the working people to such an  
extent as this, it must be the fault of  
the churches themselves. It can be  
reasonably explained only by the fact  
that the churches are, in general, domi-  
nated by capitalist interests and that  
the workmen know it.

The third point is that a large num-  
ber of the godly, highly respectable,  
law-abiding citizens who compose the  
"reform" forces are in favor of keep-  
ing a law that requires the saloons to  
close on Sunday, but of tacitly allowing  
that law to be violated every Sunday  
in the year. Without charging that the  
"reform" administration is actuated in  
this manner by a desire to preserve  
Tammany's great source of blackmail,  
it is sufficient to say that the hypocrisy  
of the proposed course is quite charac-  
teristic of the capitalist class.

If Socialists, instead of "reformers,"  
controlled the city and state adminis-  
tration, we should not have this cowardly  
policy of dodging and equivoca-  
tion. The question would be plainly  
submitted to the people, either for the  
city as a whole or by assembly dis-  
tricts, to decide by direct popular vote  
what the law in the matter should be.  
And the administration would then en-  
force the law, because it would have  
nothing to gain by leaving it unen-  
forced.

It seems highly probable that Presi-  
dent Roosevelt—who is a great deal  
less strenuous and more wily than he  
wishes to have people think—may con-  
sider it a good stroke of politics to per-  
son Comrade Iglesias and his compan-  
ions. It is an old trick of the politi-  
cians to have their subordinates com-  
mit outrages in order that they may  
win the credit of rebuking them. Tam-  
many knows that trick, too. But the  
pardon of the men now imprisoned at  
San Juan will not right the matter.  
The reversal of the order dissolving the  
Federacion Libre and the abrogation  
of the law against combination to raise  
wages are absolutely necessary as a  
mere act of reparation. We shall owe  
the President no thanks for doing all  
of this—if he is shrewd enough to do it  
—for, as Dr. J. says, "Don't no man  
deserve nobility for doing what he'd  
order." We hope that the labor organi-

zations will not REQUEST the pardon  
of the Puerto Rican brothers, but that  
they will emphatically DEMAND that  
and more.

The congressmen who are trying to  
push through bills authorizing "river  
and harbor" and "irrigation" expendi-  
tures, and those back of the ship-sub-  
sidy raid are going to unite to help each  
other in the attempt to carry through  
their various deals. How long before  
the American working class will wake  
up to the I-tickle-you-and-you-tickle-me  
game played by the gang of glorified  
grafters who "represent" them?

Ella Wheeler Wilcox has something  
of a reputation as a sort of non-parti-  
san Socialist. She is employed by the  
New York "Journal," which talks such  
mild and harmless Socialism nine  
months in the year to catch the work-  
ingmen's attention in order that it may  
sell them out to the capitalist politi-  
cians in campaign time. Mrs. Wilcox  
has had two books of poems published  
lately. Whom did she select to publish  
them? No one but Conkey & Co., of  
Chicago, a scab house, and one of the  
most vicious enemies of Labor in the  
country. This is just what might have  
been expected. Whether it is due to  
Mrs. Wilcox's ignorance of the labor  
movement or to her contempt for it, it  
is characteristic of the sort of alleged  
Socialism that finds its expression in  
the "Journal."

## Current Literature

All books and pamphlets mentioned  
in this column may be obtained  
through the Socialist Literature Com-  
pany, 184 William street, New York.

An ambiguous advance notice misled  
us into saying last week that Robert  
Rives LaMonte would have an article  
on New Zealand in the December issue  
of the "International Socialist Re-  
view." The article in question is, in  
fact, a note on the "Paganism and  
Christianity" controversy and not on  
New Zealand at all.

Chas. H. Kerr & Co. have published  
in their "Pocket Library of Socialism"  
a Labor Day address by Comrade J.  
W. Kelley, member of the city council  
of Marion, Ind., under the title of "In-  
dustrial Democracy."

One of the most notable features of  
the "Socialist Spirit" for December is  
a sketch by William Mailly, "The  
Fruits of Victory," a story of the  
Metropolis which goes down to the  
heart of things as they are. Simple  
realism has a power greater than all  
manner of sentimental preachments  
and sanctimonious screeds; and there-  
fore the strength of this timely tale.  
The incisive pen of the man who writes  
from the Socialist standpoint goes be-  
neath the surface of the "reform wave"  
which has recently swept over New  
York, and discloses its underlying futil-  
ity with the eloquence of simplicity and  
the forcefulness of fact. A very read-  
able paper by Charles H. Kerr on "The  
Ideals of Buddhism and the Ideals of  
Socialism," is also worthy of mention.  
An able editorial on "Socialism and  
Catholicism" is reinforced by another  
on "The Catholic Blight," a terrific ar-  
raignment of the Roman Catholic  
Church, in which Mr. Wentworth sum-  
mons the facts of history to justify his  
sentimental satire and passionate denun-  
ciation. It is regrettable, however, that  
by his own frequent use of theological  
terminology, the writer leaves an open-  
ing for those who would substitute the  
inabilities of metaphysical speculation  
for the certainty of the materialistic  
conception. The editorial on Christmas  
bargains is strong enough to make even  
the most callous "Christian" think. Un-  
der the able editorship of Franklin H.  
Wentworth the "Socialist Spirit" is one  
of the most interesting periodicals con-  
tributions to the current literature of  
Socialism. C. L.

"The Whim" is a little monthly pub-  
lished for unconventional people who  
think whimsical thoughts. It is printed  
at Alwili Shop, which is in Ridge-  
wood, N. J. "The Whim" is small but  
good; good to look upon and good to  
read. The November number contain-  
ed a characteristic story of Tolstoy  
written by Ernest Howard Crosby's  
famous story, a good poem by J. W.  
Lloyd, some remarkable extracts from  
the writings of Gorki, a parable by Bol-  
ton Hall, and a delicious satire on the  
London literary letters of W. L. Alden.  
Correspondent of the "New York Times  
Saturday Review," by Whidden Gram-  
ham. We also find the following fable,  
from the German of Reinhard Volker,  
which sums up capitalism in a para-  
graph:

"A man had plundered a beehive,  
carried home the dripping comb and  
was just engaged in getting on the out-  
side of some of the honey—when a hun-  
gry little bee came buzzing around to  
eat a little of it. The 'idea' indignantly  
roared the infuriated man, 'Stealing  
my honey! and struck it dead!'"

Upon the cover of the booklet is the  
following critical and judicious ob-  
servation:

"A superficial observer might say  
that the times are out of joint. They  
are not. The joints of these times are  
all right. They are ball-bearing, self-  
adjusting, self-adjustable components of  
the machinery of Hell."

## HOW CAPITALISM KILLS ART.

J. T. Grein, the dramatic critic, lectur-  
ing in London last week, spoke se-  
verely of the "dollar-hunting propensi-  
ties of American theatrical managers."  
He admitted that American playgoers  
were exceedingly appreciative, highly  
intelligent and well informed, and that  
they encouraged good plays, but he  
denounced the trust system, which, he  
said, tended to demoralize the stage  
and to prevent good plays being pre-  
sented. It also had a disastrous effect  
upon dramatic criticism, said Mr.  
Grein, few newspapers being indepen-  
dent enough to publish their honest  
opinions at the risk of offending the  
syndicate.

## WORTHY OF NOTE.

### Significant Sayings of the "Bet- ter Element."

At the banquet of the Chamber of  
Commerce, held at Des Moines's last  
month, A. R. Cummins, Governor-elect  
of Iowa, said: "It is manifest that the  
workers of America, if they work effi-  
ciently, will produce something, and  
that what they produce must be sold.  
It is clear, therefore, that one of the  
most important duties before us is to  
so adjust our laws at home and so  
frame our treaties with other nations  
as to give to the people of the United  
States the maximum amount of work."  
The problem involved in this subject  
has totally changed within recent  
years. Formerly our chief concern was  
to prevent the producers of other coun-  
tries from invading and occupying the  
markets of the United States. It now  
is to invade and occupy the markets  
of other nations.

Here the governor lets the capitalis-  
tic cat out of the oratorical bag. Per-  
haps the dinner and the wine were so  
good that he thought his labor prod-  
ucts wouldn't get into the papers. But it  
is much more likely that he took it for  
granted that the workers of America are  
such fools that they wouldn't see through  
the game. We don't want the maximum  
amount of work? We want the maxi-  
mum amount of the things which work  
produces—the full product of our  
labor. Mr. Cummins says "it is man-  
ifest that they produce more than they  
sell." Notice he says what THEY  
produce, they meaning the workers.  
Mr. Cummins, the capitalist, don't  
produce anything. His speech is very  
sounding from a capitalist's point of  
view. But, from the standpoint of  
the workingmen's interests, why must  
"what THEY produce be sold?" Why not  
keep it here at home and use it  
ourselves. That is what Socialists pro-  
pose to do. The workingmen of Ameri-  
ca need the things their labor pro-  
duces; most of them are always in  
want. Then why must their product  
be sold to foreign countries. Why  
should not the working class keep the  
things they make and enjoy them  
themselves? The capitalists cannot  
sell the things their workmen pro-  
duce for them in this country, because  
the people cannot buy back all these  
things when they only receive a frac-  
tion of their value in wages as re-  
turn for producing them. It is to the  
interest of the capitalists that the  
workers have "the maximum amount  
of work" and "that what they produce  
be sold" to foreign countries for the  
profit of the capitalists. It is to the  
interest of the working class to get the  
full product of their labor and set the  
capitalists to doing some of that "maxi-  
mum amount of work" instead of let-  
ting them live off the profits from oth-  
er people's toil. The object of the So-  
cialist movement, which stands for the  
interests of the working class as op-  
posed to the interests of the capitalis-  
tic class, is to have the people own in  
common the land, the machinery,  
mines, factories, etc., with which they  
work, thus doing away with the cap-  
italists who draw profits from their  
productive efforts, and giving every one  
the full value of his labor. If you want  
nothing but "the maximum amount of  
work"—to be worked to death for an-  
other man's profit—support capitalism,  
and you will be lucky if you get even  
that, as you may be one of those who  
get no work and have to beg or starve.  
If you want the full product of labor  
and work whenever you wish it, vote  
for Socialism.

At the New York State Conference  
of Charities and Corrections held in  
this city last month, President Robert  
W. DeForest, in his address, in speak-  
ing of tenement house reform, declared  
that the tenement house dweller did  
not ask charity, but demanded as his  
right simple justice.

"Justice to the working classes is not  
the only reason why we should im-  
prove their housing conditions," said  
Mr. DeForest. "Justice to ourselves is  
equally important. Putting the question on  
the lowest plane of self-interest, will it  
not pay all of us to be better protect-  
ed from moral and physical CON-  
TAGION even if it involve a loss to  
our pockets?"

When there is danger of disease in  
the slums spreading to Fifth Avenue;  
when there is danger that by the open  
existence of vice THEIR daughters  
may be corrupted, then the capitalists  
get their sympathies in working order.  
What great-hearted philanthropists  
they are! How should we honor these  
men who are kind-hearted and benevo-  
lent "on the lowest plane of self-inter-  
est"? Capitalism produces poverty,  
misery, vice and disease and then of-  
fers the charity of criminals, who  
make benevolence a business. The  
necessity for charity is an indictment  
of our capitalist social system. Cap-  
italism, in three cardinal virtues.  
They are Force, Theft, and Hypocrisy  
and the last of these includes a great  
part of Charity. Truly, the Charity of  
capitalists covers a multitude of sins.  
If Mr. DeForest, who is certainly  
frank and seems to be a rather kind-  
hearted man, really desires to better  
social conditions, he had better stop  
his appeals to the capitalists who put  
their charity "on the lowest plane of  
self-interest," and join the Socialist  
movement.

COURTENAY LEMON.

## A FEW SHOTS AT CAPITALIST TARGETS.

"Under capitalism, the man who can  
invent the most perfect machinery of  
DESTRUCTION is highly honored.  
Under Socialism, the man who invents  
the most perfect machinery of PRO-  
DUCTION will receive that honor.  
Note the difference."

What a strange light is thrown upon  
the present system, when we look at  
the humiliating spectacle presented by  
the so-called "sandwich men," who  
are decked out with all sorts of con-  
trivances to catch the eye of the public,  
in order to call their attention to this or  
that thing, which some merchant  
wants to sell, in order to get ahead  
of his competitor. But the thing most  
kept up, even if it does degrade  
some men by making them look like  
clowns. "Competition is the life of  
trade," you know. But how about the  
lives of the sandwich men?

Just at present the newspapers are  
making a great ado about the division  
of the prize money on account of de-  
struction of the Spanish fleet at Santi-  
ago, Sampson, who was miles away  
from the engagement, gets \$25,000,  
while Schley, who was the thick of  
the fight, is allotted but \$216. Great  
editorials are written over this seem-  
ing injustice. But then this is merely  
APPLIED CAPITALISM. These same  
papers deem it perfectly just and prop-  
er that a "captain of industry" or the  
president of a great trust or railroad,  
who is usually travelling through Eu-  
rope, and in no way concerned about  
his enterprise, should receive from  
\$50,000 to \$100,000 a year as salary,  
while the wage slave who takes the  
risk of injury and possible death, the  
man who is in reality in the thick of  
the INDUSTRIAL FIGHT, merely  
gets the "full 7 dinner pail." Strange  
isn't it, that they never lose any words  
about this wrong?

Appropos of newspapers, which remind  
me that some newspapers which print  
half a column of labor news in the  
interest of some trade unions as "the  
friends of labor." These papers which  
are so liberal with their space usually  
devote from two to four pages to a  
horse show, a boxing match, or a foot-  
ball game, and half or one-fourth of  
a column to labor news! The working  
class should steer clear of such friend-  
ship. Work to break up the circulation  
of the "Workers" as we soon have  
A REAL DAILY LABOR PAPER.  
One that will merely give labor news a  
half column, but as many columns as  
the workingmen want. C. U.

It is the duty of each party mem-  
ber to assist in propagating the prin-  
ciples of Socialism and building up the  
organization. He should attend, when  
possible, all party meetings, whether  
for business, propaganda, or study,  
and be willing to render any reason-  
able service required of him for the  
good of the cause.

## Our Esteemed Contemporaries

AND OTHERS

The Public.  
What President Roosevelt is evident-  
ly reaching out for







## RECONCILING THE IRRECONCILABLE.

If any considerable success could be expected for the plan of "reconciling" Capital and Labor discussed and acted upon in the conference of trust magnates and labor leaders in New York this week, we should consider it one of the greatest dangers that has ever threatened the working class of America. The more nearly you seem to bring together and harmonize such absolutely and irreconcilably opposed forces, the more successfully you conceal the fact of their antagonism, the greater is the danger.

President Schwab and Senator Hanna have not supported this scheme without a purpose. It is an excellent scheme for them for the present. When it ceases to serve their purposes it will be easy enough for them to overthrow it.

With the close organization of the trusts, they have to take the upper hand. Last summer's experience taught the trade unions the hopelessness of fighting the modern trust armed only with the weapons of old-fashioned trade unionism.

The leaders of the trade unions—almost always more conservative than the rank and file—are not prepared to adopt new methods which would make victory possible in such conflicts. They therefore eagerly accept a plan by which they may hope, for a few years, to come, to avoid open trials of strength—which would be open proofs of their own weakness.

The trust magnates, on the other hand, while they are not afraid of defeat at the hands of pure and simple trade unions, have two good reasons to favor the conciliation plan. First, a

great strike, even though it may be expected to fail from the first, is annoying and expensive to the employers and the latter generally prefer to avoid it.

But in the second place, the trust magnates know that a few more victories in open battle like that which they won over the steel workers last summer would result in raising up against them a labor force far more formidable than any they have yet faced. There is nothing like defeat in an open fight to arouse the working class and discipline it and inspire and teach it. The workingmen know they have a weapon within reach more powerful than trade unionism. Open defeat on the trade union field prompts them to use the political weapon.

The Schwabs and Hannas are not particular about methods. If the leaders of the labor will serve their purposes better than the open-brute strength of the lion, they will cheerfully put on the lamb'skin; but the lion's teeth and claws will still be there, ready for use.

But the conciliation plan will probably not do much harm, for it will probably not work very effectively. Workingmen are learning to demand more than mere wages will be willing to concede, and they are learning to look below the surface of things. Messrs. Hanna, Schwab, and Company may fool all the people for a part of the time; they may fool a part of the people all the time; but they cannot keep the majority from knowing that Labor and Capital are enemies that cannot be reconciled—that one can win only by the defeat of the other.

## THE INFAMY OF THE BOER WAR.

Wholesale and Deliberate Starving of Women and Children in the Concentration Camps—Not the Infamy of Great Britain Alone, but of International Capitalism.

The official returns from the British concentration camps in South Africa for the months of October and November, which have just been published, show a simply appalling condition of affairs there. There are about 100,000 Boer prisoners of war, as they are euphemistically called, "refugees"—in the camps. In the month of October, 3,155 of these died, 2,633 being children; in November, there were 2,807 deaths, 2,271 of children. During the six months ending Nov. 30, there were 12,941 deaths, making a death-rate of about 253 per cent per thousand.

After deducting the number who would have died under normal conditions, the fact remains that the British government has started to death and otherwise murdered nearly 15,000 Boer non-combatants in the last six months—of whom about 10,000 were children and the majority of the remainder were women.

The dispatches say that the delay of the October returns was "due to the Government's desire to accompany the announcement of the pitifully high death-rate with some kind of official explanation." The "explanation" which the officials were able to work out after a month's cogitation consists in "blaming the death-rate on the filthy habits of the Boers, the concealment of diseases, the feeding of babies on meat, heavy dough bread, and stewed black coffee, and the admission to the camps of half-starved refugees, riddled with disease." In one instance, it is alleged, a batch of refugees included eight who were already at the point of death.

This is really a shame. The Boer mothers certainly ought to have been encouraged enough to leave their dying babies outside, so as to relieve the British government of the necessity of recording their deaths. As for the rationing, however, seeing these are doled out by the British authorities to the refugees whose houses they have burned, whose farms they have ravaged, and whom they have driven together into the camps, it is hard to see what option the refugees had in the matter.

The Boer war, as the latest in the history of capitalism, exhibits the cruelty and meanness of capitalist society in its most glaring light. Never before have such gigantic atrocities been deliberately committed under the name of civilization. The war as a whole and in all its details, in its origin and in its conduct by the British government, can be traced directly to the machinations of an international gang of capitalists who dictate the government policy, who exploit British labor at home and who are, by this criminal war, securing the opportunity to exploit Boer and Negro labor in the diamond fields of South Africa. The cruelty and perfidy shown by the British government in the Boer war, and its unhesitating support of the most brutal and inefficient of the British Empire, is still the leading capitalist nation of the world, and the complete moral and intellectual weakness exhibited in this South African affair shows how rotten capitalism has become and how nearly it is approaching its downfall.

Our comment is made in no spirit of American jingoism. The government of the United States is as deep in the mire. While the systematic murder of Boer women and children is going on under the British flag in South Africa our President sends messages of condolence on the death of Queen Victoria and of congratulation on the accession of King Edward, our statesmen ratify schemes for commercial alliances formulated by Wall Street money lords and "leaders of public opinion"—including such men as Archbishop Corrigan, Bishop Potter, and Mayor-elect Low—form "Anglo-American leagues to strengthen the combination of British and American capitalists against the workers of Britain, of America, and of the world.

It is no question of British wickedness or the wickedness of any other nation. It is solely a question of the utter infamy of the world-wide capitalist system, which foment wars to extend the opportunities of exploitation; which subsidizes every human interest to capitalist profit, which stifles every human virtue that it cannot pervert to its own service, but which—and here is the one ray of hope—will be now rapidly approaching economic as well as moral and intellectual bankruptcy, which is destroying the very means by which alone it can

## JOHN SWINTON DEAD.

One of the Great Figures of the Older Labor Movement Passes Into History.

The news of John Swinton's death, which occurred last Sunday evening, was heard with sorrow by thousands of workmen in New York and elsewhere. Many who radically differed from him in opinion and who had been compelled to oppose him during his life, yet admired his abilities and loved him for his honesty and courage and joined in mourning at his grave.

John Swinton was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, seventy-two years ago. His family emigrated to America while he was a boy, living first in Massachusetts and afterward in Illinois—what was then the "Far West." The father died while John was still a boy and the latter had to go to work for a living. He learned the printing trade and worked at it for some years.

His ambition, however, was to become a newspaper writer and he came to New York in his early manhood for that purpose. Continuing his studies, he gradually worked himself up in the newspaper world, and in 1870 became the chief editorial writer on the "Times." Then a comparatively young man, this place he held until 1870. From 1875 to 1897 he was an editorial writer on the "Sun." It was Charles A. Dana, an excellent judge of men, who said of him, "He is the only man I ever knew who had no axes of his own to grind."

Shortly before taking this position Swinton became actively interested in the labor movement. His first speech in this cause was at a great meeting in 1874—and it was the first of a long series. In the fall of 1874 he was nominated for Mayor by the "Industrial Political Party," the labor party which sprung up in that period of hard times, unemployment, and great strikes.

His activity in the labor movement, both on its political side and in the connection with the "Sun," it was his boast—and a boast whose truth no one could doubt—that, no matter who might be his employer, he never wrote a line that did not express his own honest belief. Nor was he afraid at any time to face personal danger, as when, addressing another mass meeting in Tompkins Square in 1877, surrounded by police and militia ready for the order to fire on the "mob," he used the words, "With eight thousand rifles and twelve hundred clubs drawn upon me," to open an eloquent speech in denunciation of the powers that had sent out the rifles and clubs in advocacy of the principles they desired to suppress.

Although Swinton's ability commanded large pay for his newspaper work, he never accumulated much wealth. He gave very liberally where funds were needed in the labor movement, and was too honest and single-minded a man to grow rich. In 1883 he established "John Swinton's Paper," which continued only for four years, but which occupied a very honorable place in the history of the labor press. At this time he spent all his money and gave it up only when the struggle became quite hopeless.

Swinton was active in the Progressive Labor Party of the middle eighties, in which he worked hand in hand with many who were afterward prominent in the Socialist Labor Party, and now in the Social Democratic Party. In 1887 he was the candidate of the latter party for Senator in the then Seventh Senatorial District, and cast a heavy vote.

He was not able, however, to take part in the clearer Socialist movement which slowly grew up after 1888, and, although he sympathized with it as a true labor party—even to the end, as shown by the fact that only a few weeks ago he came personally to headquarters of the Social Democratic Party to make a contribution to our campaign fund—he did not believe in its practicality.

Since leaving his position on the "Sun," four years ago, Swinton wrote for various papers, and showed great vigor, considering his advanced years. He never lost his interest in the struggles of Labor, as occasional speeches and writings proved even to the last day. At the meeting held in Cooper Union last spring, under the auspices of the C. P. U., to protest against the overthrow of labor laws by the Court of Appeals, his utterance of a man more than seventy-one years old was the only speech that struck the right revolutionary note.

It is more than his knowledge and eloquence as a speaker and writer that entitled John Swinton to remembrance. He was honest in every fibre, he seemed absolutely fearless when matters of principle were at stake, and he was thoroughly imbued with the feeling of loyalty to the working class.

It is not remarkable that a man of his age, a man whose ideals had been formed in youth under the influence of Scottish Calvinism and later under the individualistic conditions of American life in the middle of the last century, a man, too, who was quite fully endowed with that characteristic Scottish tenacity of opinion which enables him to hold fast to his opinions and not to be swayed by the coming and going of fashions, that he could not join in the step which younger and differently trained associates took thirteen years ago, when they started a definitely Socialist party and "burned the bridges" behind them. What we have to remember is, that John Swinton was not a Socialist, but that he was just the sort of man who had been born twenty years later, would have been a Socialist; that he took, in his time a position as radical as that of the Socialists today; that the way to show appreciation of his services is to go forward from his position as he went forward from the position of older radicals, and to carry into the Socialist movement of the present century the same truth, the same courage, and the same intense class feeling that he carried into the labor movement of the seventies and the eighties.

## SPELMAN TO SPEAK.

Sunday evening, Dec. 22, C. E. Spelman will lecture for the Workers' Library Society, 616 E. Fifth Street, on the subject: "The Materialistic Conception of History." A necessary basis of Scientific Socialism is the theory of the materialistic conception of history. All readers of The Worker are invited to attend and bring their friends.

## A REPLY TO ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN.

BY GEORGE E. BRITAIN.

(This article, the writer's personal view, was offered to the New York "World" at the time of Archbishop Corrigan's attack on Socialism. It was kept three weeks by the "World" and then not used.)

The article published in the New York "World" of Sunday, November 10, 1901, purporting to give the views of Archbishop Corrigan in regard to Socialism, opens with a quotation from the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the condition of labor, as follows:

"To remedy these evils the Socialists, working on the poor man's envy of the rich, endeavor to destroy private property and maintain that the individual possessions should become the common property of all, to be administered by the state or by municipal bodies. They hold that by thus transferring property from private persons to the community the present evil state of things will be set to rights, because each citizen will then have his equal share of whatever there is to enjoy."

"But their proposals are so clearly futile for all practical purposes that if they were carried out the workingman himself would be among the first to suffer. Moreover, they are emphatically unjust, because they would rob the lawful possessor, bring the state into a complete confusion in the community."

Taking these words of the Sovereign Pontiff, not as a guide, but as a text, let us first discover whether the state, and then we can afterwards "briefly consider the condition of the workingman."

The Pope, in the above quotation, admits, or infers, that evils do exist, he says: "To remedy these evils the Socialists, working on the poor man's envy of the rich, endeavor to destroy private property," etc. Right here, it seems to me, the Pope fails to realize, or else deliberately desires to misrepresent, the real motives and purposes of Socialists.

The leaders of Socialism have found out through a study of history that all the nations, kingdoms, and empires of the past have perished when the total wealth of a people has passed into the ownership and control of a small percentage of the population. They have also discovered that this concentration of wealth into the hands of a few people has always been accomplished by and through the private and individual ownership of land, or other means of production, and on account of the social privileges necessary and essential. Therefore, it is not true that the Socialists are endeavoring to destroy private property by working on the poor man's envy of the rich. Their motives and incentives are much higher and nobler than this. The American Socialist, seeing clearly the rocks upon which all previous civilizations have been wrecked, desires, with the loftiest patriotism, to save his country, and the people of all nations from a repetition of the inevitable results of further advance in the direction of this menacing danger. It is not a case of envy of the rich, but a case of self-preservation, for rich and poor alike. A case calling for prompt action, for Pope and Cardinal, and Archbishop and Bishop shall all be overthrown in one red ruin.

The dear old Pope goes on to say that the "proposals of the Socialists are so clearly futile and impractical that if they were carried out the workingman himself would be the first to suffer." So long as the workingman can be controlled by those who are reaping a benefit from his ignorance, so long as he can be made to distrust his own power, so long as the Church can intimidate him and prevent him from thinking for himself and from standing on his own feet, the workingman can have little hope or prospect of improving his condition. But the Pope and the Church are steadily losing ground in that direction, and the time is coming when the Pope will be compelled to advocate Socialism in order to save his position.

"Socialists," the Pope says further, "because they would rob the lawful possessor and cause complete confusion in the community." If, as Socialists believe, the private ownership of land and the means of life is a crime against humanity, there would be no injustice in changing the laws so that the individuals who now claim to be the lawful possessors, would be no longer entitled to that which is clearly the common heritage of the human race. If the Pope and all other men should diligently search for the cold truth in regard to the title by which individual or corporate ownership of land is held, they would discover that the entire history disclosed by a true abstract would demonstrate a vast system of robbery running back to prehistoric times, and the way would be laid for the most gladly recognize the glorious truth that humanity at large is the only lawful and legal owner and possessor of the land and sea and air, and those who might still desire to claim special rights and privileges, based upon individual ownership of land will be regarded as robbers and outlaws. For the Pope, and his followers, that time has not yet arrived—but it is coming, even for them. The Holy Father says that this change from private to public ownership would "cause complete confusion in the community"—and we agree with him in that statement. It would certainly bring confusion upon all those who have been beneficiaries of the present unjust and inhuman system, who have been enjoying steadily opposed any change or improvement. And this would cover and include, not only the mother church, presided over by His High Mightiness the Pope, but would also embrace all the numerous branches from the parent stem, all the cliques from the old block.

And now a few words in regard to the condition of the workingman. Brother Corrigan says that he has an innate right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and we all agree upon that matter. Under present conditions labor-saving machinery takes away the means whereby many of the workmen live. Of course, when this happens, the worker has more "liberty" in the way of choosing some other kind of occupation, if he can get it; and it also leaves him "free" to starve, when all other resources fail. His chief pursuit of happiness

consisting of a stern chase in pursuit of a job—at last, he becomes a recruit in the constantly growing army of the unemployed, which already numbers a million or two. When this army numbers scores of millions, what will happen then? Then, perhaps, the Socialist egg, which is now incubating, will be hatched. Then perhaps there may be a little flurry of excitement, and even some confusion. There is considerable stir in the vicinity when a new brood of chicks break through their shells of environment, and looking out upon the world for the first time, demand the means of existence. The chick has no definite plan or schedule; but he has instinct, and he is a philosopher from the first instant of his life, for he proceeds to "follow the lines of least resistance," and he soon finds that "his business is picking up." So it will be with the chick, Socialism. He will find a way to protect his life, without trying to follow a program made by his enemies. The only thing that Socialists can do is to try to provide a suitable environment, and to see that the chick is not hatched into an atmosphere of cold and frost. In all other respects, he will do very well indeed.

I can freely agree with Archbishop Corrigan in regard to the right to possession of personal and permanent property. That is one of the fundamental principles of Socialism; that each individual shall be protected in his right to the product of his own labor. Apply this test to the private ownership of land, and where is the man or association of men who ever PRODUCED any land. The universal elements, earth, air, water, etc., belong to all, and they are the conditions absolutely necessary to all life, and therefore, by the divine law of the universe, not subject to individual ownership. Whosoever violates this divine law will be compelled, sooner or later, to pay the inevitable penalty.

As said before, the Socialists and all other men who are free enough from the entanglements of prejudice to interpret the lessons of history, can clearly see that private ownership of land is the source of all evil. You shall not regard the world again in a ruin and decay—you shall not plunge humanity again into the abyss of selfishness and despair. It hangs out a beacon light upon the rocky coasts of Time to guide the ship of state safely into the harbor of brotherhood; and its motto, written across the horizon in words of living fire, is this:

only power by which ignorant men can be ruled. Superstition rules men through fear of the unknown. It would be better for men to be free from the bondage of superstition, no matter how far they might abuse the liberty, because they would gain the wisdom of self-control in the great school of experience. As it has been in the past, the mixture of religion and superstition has prevented men, through fear, from gaining this valuable experience. Hence the time has come to teach the necessity of divorcing religion and superstition. True religion consists of a clear understanding of the universal laws which bind the cosmos into a unity of harmony, peace and joy.

There is one point in Archbishop Corrigan's article to which I wish to call special attention. Note the following quotation:

"In this city, for instance, if all were Socialists, each of the four million inhabitants would contribute a four-millionth part to the common fund, and other things being equal, would be entitled to a four-millionth part of the entire proceeds; certainly not a glittering prize for personal ambition, nor the most tempting inducement in the world."

"Think of that as a spiritual teaching—'Personal Ambition.'—'By this sin fell the angels.' 'Tempting Inducement'—this from those who quote the Lord's prayer: 'Deliver us from temptation.' Analyze the sentence. Catch the inference. Mark the deduction. Unless a large percentage got less than their true share the privileged few would draw no 'glittering prizes.' I am sorry for you, a Archbishop Corrigan. I really thought better of you than that."

The time is coming when Socialists and Socialism will compel the churches to revise their creeds and confessions of faith, so as to teach the immorality of one man making a profit from the labor of another man. Until that time comes, Socialists can well afford to hear the approbrium cast upon them by the churches and their ministers. If our present civilization is Christian, "Good Lord deliver us" from that kind of Christianity. Again, I say that Socialism is the hope of the world. It alone offers an adequate protest against our headlong tendency to repeat the history of past civilizations. It says, with ever increasing insistence, the forces of evil. You shall not regard the world again in a ruin and decay—you shall not plunge humanity again into the abyss of selfishness and despair. It hangs out a beacon light upon the rocky coasts of Time to guide the ship of state safely into the harbor of brotherhood; and its motto, written across the horizon in words of living fire, is this:

THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

TOO MUCH WORK.

Men work too much, they work too hard. What do I mean? I mean that the man who is compelled to toil the most of his waking hours merely for the means of subsistence cannot live a high human life. He has no leisure for thought, no time to cultivate his mind, little time to cultivate the affectionate side of his nature.

This grinding, continuous toil means barbarism, a hard, squalid, hopeless kind of barbarism; and this is why I have always been in favor of shortening the hours of labor just as far and just as fast as it could practically be brought about. And much more can be done in this direction than has already been accomplished.

If the world were wise, if all the people were willing to carry their share of the burden, if a ne shirked, if none attempted to place upon other shoulders more than they ought to carry, the world's work could be accomplished in three or four hours a day, and all the rest of the time be free.

Free for what? Pure idleness? Why, would be in vain if it were nothing but that; for, because there is no more virtue in work than there is in play or rest, if you consider them apart, by themselves. And why should people not rest and play and sing and be happy if they can?

The world works too much; and there is no possibility of the higher, finer civilization except in release from this toil. There was no art, no literature, no music, no science, no religion, and finer things of human life, until some men earned release from what we call common drudgery, and were able to dream, able to think, able to feel, to create these nobler, sweeter, more human, more divine things than mere bread and houses and lands and horses and carriages, and the material accumulation of what we call civilized life.

The world works too much. The poor man because he has to, and the rich man because he will; and a large part of this labor goes for what? For bread, for houses, for horses and carriages, for all the material, the lower side of life. Men must stop this eternal grind and care, and learn that they are men, that thinking and feeling and loving and hoping and admiring and enjoying are infinitely more important than these common and lower things that make up so much of common existence. —Rev. M. J. Savage, in Boston Transcript.

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The party which this paper represents is known nationally as the Socialist Party, and such is its designation in most of the states. In New York, however, and in Massachusetts, it keeps the former name of Social Democratic Party, for reasons concerning the election laws. It has no connection with the Socialist Labor Party and does not approve of the "union smashing" tactics or the abusive methods used by that party. The Socialist or Social Democratic Party works in harmony with the trade unions, though without any organic connection. It holds itself free to criticize their policy when necessary, but it approves of the principle of trade unionism. It does not attempt to dictate to the unions, nor is it dictated by them. It calls upon all workmen to join the unions or their respective trades as a means of fighting the daily battle against the capitalist class and to join and work and vote for the Socialist Party as a means of putting an end to capitalism.

Of course I realize the force (or the lack of force) of the ancient argument that the power of the church is absolutely necessary in order to restrain and hold in check the ignorant masses, but I regard that assumption as a fallacy. There never has been an organized system of religion which has been free from superstition, and that is the

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## IOWA COMRADES ARE ACTIVE.

Socialists of Sioux City Attract Much Attention.

Comrade Brodsky, Addressing Ministerial Association, Explains Socialism—Local Daily Makes Report of His Paper Its Leading Feature.

The newly organized local of the Socialist Party in Sioux City, Iowa, is already attracting considerable attention. The "Sioux City Tribune" of Dec. 16 gives the most prominent place on its front page to a report of a meeting of the city ministerial association at which Comrade M. Brodsky read a paper on "The Principles of Socialism, Its Aims and the Means by Which We Hope to Achieve Them."

The "Tribune" reports Comrade Brodsky's address as follows:

**INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.**  
"Mr. Brodsky, in beginning, said he would dispense with the customary arrangement of the present competitive system and begin at once upon the theme of the paper. 'The cry of the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth is political democracy; the cry of the twentieth century is industrial democracy.'"

"One of the principles enunciated was that since it had been decided that all men had an equal right to life it must follow that everybody must have an equal right to that which makes life possible—the earth. 'To monopolize nature is wrong,' asserted the speaker. 'for it is a common inheritance, and every human being should have an equal access to it.'"

"Mr. Brodsky contended that the people who had made the great improvements in machinery were by rights entitled to participate in the benefits. 'Capitalism is based upon private ownership in the natural resources and means of production. It takes the place of the democracy of the past. For it assumes the right of taxing the consumers of the commodities under their control without the latter being represented.'"

"The right to work without begging any one for a job is one of the greatest principles upon which Socialism is based. With the right to work, the worker has another right and that of the full moral right to the product of his labor."

**A DAY IS COMING.**  
"We are facing a time when it will be considered wrong to buy any one for a single hour through the method of compulsory economic need, as it is considered now to compel any one to be sold for life."

"In speaking of the fearful conditions in the great cities and in rebuttal to a statement made by James Greelman in the 'Chicago American' in which he said there was no waste in the competitive system, Mr. Brodsky asserted that the only waste was in the waste of life itself. 'It is an absolute fact,' he stated, 'that aside from those who die for lack of proper food, lack of attention from their much overworked mothers and many forms of contagion bred under their unsanitary surroundings, 65 per cent. land in factories before their young bones are hardened. They remain there deprived of education, deprived of recreation and they become mere mechanisms and automata.'"

"The speaker said these children grew up and many found final lodgment in the jails of the country and many others filled drunkards' graves as they had been starved of the right to enjoy life—poorly equipped to contend with the temptations that surround them."

**A BASIC PRINCIPLE.**  
"The greatest of all great principles upon which Socialism rests is that there is nothing more precious amongst all this great universe than man himself."

"He contended that the natural trend of the present system was towards great inequality of opportunities. He quoted James J. Hill as stating that the late consolidation of railroads saved the labor of 60,000 men and said this was another indication that the horizon of opportunity was growing narrower all the time. He said the world was progressing and that the only way to do was to change a thing that had been good for something better. 'The aim of Socialism is the inevitable public ownership of the people's industries on a co-operative basis. Socialism disavows any sort of ill-will, whether it be in the tramp or in the millionaire.'"

"Socialism would eliminate corruption. It would make wealth a burden rather than a blessing."

**A REVOLUTION.**  
"The speaker said under the present regime the man who did the dirty work was compelled by society to do it for less pay than he who did the clean work. He said under the Socialist system the tables would be turned and the disagreeable work would be more highly paid for than easy and clean work."

"He said it was not the idea of Socialists to destroy, but to utilize the present scheme of things in rebuilding the structure of society. It was simply to readjust things in a rational manner and the great evils would be eradicated and the world be made better, where the masses of the people would have equal opportunity to life and their labor. He said the only way to obtain the great boon was voting for it."

## INJUNCTION PERMANENT.

Striking Coal Miners in Kentucky Are Enjoined.

Evicted by Operators, Their Paper Suppressed by Post Office Department, Now They Are Virtually Ordered Out of the State by Federal Court.

Judge Walter Evans of the Federal Court at Louisville, Ky., has made the Reinecke Coal Company of Hopkins County a nice Christmas gift by rendering permanent the injunction granted a month ago against the United Mine Workers of that region, forbidding the union men to 'interfere in any way with the scabs in the Reinecke mines and forbidding the establishment of a union camp in the vicinity.'

The camp, it may be explained, is the temporary habitation of the strikers, who have been evicted from the company houses. The effect of the injunction, if obeyed, would be to banish the strikers completely from that part of the state.

A special term of the United States Court, it is added, has been called at Owensboro to enforce and execute Judge Evans' orders. United States marshals, armed with Winchester rifles, will be called in and, as the Kentucky miners are pretty resolute men, it is not unlikely that President Roosevelt may have an opportunity to send troops to the scene of the strike. In that case, colored troops are likely to be employed, as the new prejudice which both the old parties systematically inflame makes them more ready to shoot white strikers.

It will be remembered that the official organ of the United Mine Workers in Kentucky was excluded from the mails and thus suppressed by the Post Office Department a few weeks ago. This was undoubtedly part of the plan to disorganize and intimidate the men.

## THE MINERS' CONVENTION.

President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers of America has issued the call for the national convention of that body to be held at Indianapolis, beginning Jan. 20, and for the joint conference of mine workers and bituminous operators (employers) of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois for the same place, beginning on Jan. 30, at which time the convention, it is supposed, will have finished its work.

The conference will probably not adjourn before Feb. 10. Over a thousand delegates are expected at the convention. The eight-hour law, it is said, will be demanded.

## SUPPLEMENT EACH OTHER.

While Judge Evans at Louisville was busy getting ready an injunction AGAINST workmen, his friend Judge Field, also at Louisville, did a good job in the way of a decision FOR the capitalists. Judge Field says that a law which attempts to regulate or affect the compensation of tobacco warehousemen is unconstitutional. The two decisions, rendered almost simultaneously and in the same city, admirably supplement each other and show how completely subservient is the old-party judiciary to capitalist interests.

## MORE PROFITS, LESS WAGES.

An amalgamation has been effected, which will be known as the United Box Board and Paper Company. Its capitalization will be \$30,000,000, and the mills which will be included in the combination have a capacity of producing 1,500 tons of boxboard a day. The object of the combination, as stated as "greater economy in the production and distribution of boxboard." It is stated that no increase in the price is contemplated, so the advantage to the capitalists concerned can come only in one of two ways—reduction of wages, direct or indirect, or reduction of the cost of production, either of which will be injurious to the workers. Socialism would mean a trust with all the workers as members and would reduce hours of labor. That's the difference.

## WESTERN TELEPHONE MERGER.

Immediately following the news of the absorption of the Erie Telephone and Telegraph Company, operating in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, by the Bell Company, comes an announcement that all the independent companies in these three states, heretofore competing with each other and with the Erie, will unite into a single system, both for local and for long-distance service.

## MIDDLE CLASS FAILURES.

For the last two weeks "Bradstreet's" reports 495 failures in the United States, as against 500, 422, 446, and 563 for the corresponding periods in the years 1900, 1897, 1895, and 1893. Of these failures, about 88 per cent. were of concerns whose capital was under \$50,000, about 6 per cent. of concerns whose capital was between \$50,000 and \$200,000.

## GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The General Committee of Local New York holds a regular meeting in the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. Fourth street, Saturday evening, Dec. 28.

## "THE COMRADE."

The January number of "The Comrade" will be delayed a few days on account of some of the material already in type having been destroyed by fire.

## STEEL TRUST AND COAL TRUST.

Frick, the Connecting Link—Independent Coal Companies Rapidly Being Absorbed.

It is now practically settled that H. C. Frick, a director in the United States Steel Corporation, will become a director of the Pittsburgh Coal Company, the railroad bituminous coal combination. Negotiations are under way which will practically eliminate from competition other than by Monongahela River, all of the independent coal concerns operating in the Pittsburgh district. The Shaw Coal Company, capitalized at \$2,000,000, Frick being the dominating spirit, is to be absorbed by the Pittsburgh Company.

Other moves of the Pittsburgh Company promise entire control of the independent companies in a short time. The Pittsburgh and Baltimore Coal Company, owning 3,000 acres of coal and capitalized at \$3,000,000, and the Shenandoah Coal Company, capital \$500,000, have been purchased, and options have been taken on the Crescent Coal Company, which owns nearly a million dollars' worth of mines and unmined coal, and on the Ella Coal Company. There is only one important concern which has refused to give options.

## INTERNATIONAL TOBACCO TRUST.

It is claimed in Berlin that the American Tobacco Company has acquired the Jasmatal Cigarette Company of Dresden and the business of Kyriazi Brothers of Berlin. Two other Dresden concerns, La Ferme and Sullma, will be called in and, as the Kentucky miners are pretty resolute men, it is not unlikely that President Roosevelt may have an opportunity to send troops to the scene of the strike. In that case, colored troops are likely to be employed, as the new prejudice which both the old parties systematically inflame makes them more ready to shoot white strikers.

It will be remembered that the official organ of the United Mine Workers in Kentucky was excluded from the mails and thus suppressed by the Post Office Department a few weeks ago. This was undoubtedly part of the plan to disorganize and intimidate the men.

## THE AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY.

Mr. Duke, president of the American Tobacco Company, who has been spending several days in Berlin, has gone to St. Petersburg for the purpose of buying more cigarette factories. The truth of the report is partly admitted and partly denied by the vice-president of the Trust. It seems to be customary for trust officials to deny all reports of the extension of their power until the plans are completely carried out, so this denial does not carry great weight.

The American Tobacco Company is certainly making rapid progress in its career of world-conquest. The time seems not far off when it will completely dominate the tobacco, cigar, and cigarette industry of all civilized countries. Capitalists are sensible. They do not allow national prejudice or jingo patriotism to stand in the way of their material interests. The working class is bound, sooner or later, to learn the lesson of international solidarity. If not from the preaching of the Socialists, then from the practice of the capitalists.

## FLINT GLASS BOTTLE COMBINE.

A movement is on foot for the formation of a large consolidated company in the flint glass bottle manufacturing. Several attempts have been made to regulate competition by selling agencies and pools, but they have always failed, so a more stable combination will be formed. About twenty-five firms in Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Ohio, most of them being near Pittsburgh, with a joint capital of a thousand pots, have given options on their properties to the combine of the combine. The new company, it is supposed, will have a capital of \$30,000,000.

## OTHER TRUST NOTES.

Several photographic supply companies have united, with a capitalization of \$2,500,000.

The American Bicycle Company, or Bicycle Trust, is reorganizing on the plan of the Steel Trust.

A consolidation of the four great combinations of window-glass manufacturing firms is said to be certain.

Five Massachusetts granite quarries have been consolidated under a syndicate of Chicago and New York building firms. The combine is the largest in the history of the industry.

An Anglo-American syndicate has taken twenty-eight of the richest claims in the Alaskan copper region.

The Corn Exchange Bank of New York is about to absorb the Mechanics and Traders of Brooklyn. The Queens County Bank was absorbed two years ago.

Large tobacco manufacturing firms of New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, affiliated with the Tobacco Trust, have organized subsidiary companies to control the raising of Sumatra leaf in Connecticut. This is in line with the tendency in other trusts to control the production of the raw material, as well as the manufacturing industry.

The American Lumber Company, capitalized at \$8,000,000, is one of the latest. Its charter authorizes it "to acquire timber and mineral lands, build and operate plants and works for the development of such lands, to handle and render commercially available the various products; also, in connection with the main objects, to control and operate transportation lines within or connected with properties of the company; to acquire and take over other corporations."

The Steel Trust announces that since its organization, nine months ago, it has "earned" enough to pay 5 per cent. interest on its bonds (\$15,200,000), 7 per cent. dividends on preferred stock (\$88,500,000), and 4 per cent. on common (\$22,000,000)—in all, \$75,000,000. The statement is given out, it is said, "as convincing proof of the prosperity of the iron and steel industry in general." The few hundred thousand men who do the work of making and transporting the iron and steel seem to be the only ones left out of this "general prosperity." They could get in, "on the ground floor," by voting for Socialism.

## THEY WANT A REPORT.

C. F. U. Asks Gompers About "Peace Conference."

To Whom Is Gompers Responsible for the Argument with Hanna?—Socialists Lead Fight to Demand Explanation—Win Also in Iglesias Case.

Last Sunday's session of the New York Central Federated Union was delivered by a vigorous discussion of the "peace conference" between alleged representatives of the trade unions and undoubted representatives of the capitalist class.

Delegate Morris Brown of Cigar Makers' Union No. 144 started the fun by moving that President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor be called upon to report and submit the agreement made by him and other labor leaders with Senator Hanna and the other capitalist representatives.

President Harris promptly ruled the motion out of order, but the house was evidently not in a mood to have discussion thus shut off, and Comrade Brown appealed from the ruling.

## IS HE RESPONSIBLE?

Harris justified his ruling by contending that "we don't even know officially that any agreement was made," and that, anyhow, Gompers attended the conference simply "an individual," not as a representative of the A. F. of L., and that therefore no one had any right to demand a report from him.

Brown insisted that the motion was a proper one. "We ought to be informed," he said, "why Gompers was at such a conference. Why were not other members of organized labor invited to confer with Messrs. Schwab, Rockefeller, Morgan, and Hanna? If Mr. Gompers did not represent the American Federation of Labor, whom did he represent? Surely not the cigar-makers."

Brown's appeal was sustained by the house and a lively debate ensued.

Delegate Donnelly of Typographical Union No. 6 then detailed the history of the Civic Federation, out of which this conference had grown. He said that Gompers had participated in the conference simply in order to find out the settlement of labor disputes by arbitration. Gompers and other labor leaders, he said, went to the conference only as individuals. He therefore hoped the C. F. U. would let the matter rest as it was.

Comrade Reich, delegate of the German Workers' Union, said that Gompers was certainly not officially responsible to the C. F. U. for moral action, but insisted that he and the other labor leaders concerned had acted as being in fact representatives of organized labor, and that they must be held responsible in fact.

Brown's motion was finally adopted without division—the opponents perhaps not caring to risk a clear comparison of strength. What answer President Gompers will make remains to be seen.

## THE IGLESIAS CASE.

Herman Robinson, delegate of the C. F. U. to the Scranton convention, made a glowing report as to the condition of the labor movement as there indicated.

He stated that the Executive Council of the Federation would take action in behalf of Santiago Iglesias, imprisoned under Spanish law for organizing a strike in Puerto Rico.

This brought up the motion made by Delegate Dooley of the Franklin Pressmen's Association, at the previous meeting, condemning the imprisonment of Iglesias as an outrage to labor and demanding his release. Another hot discussion ensued on this point.

Delegate Archibald opposed the motion, holding that it was inefficient to leave the matter in the hands of the Federation Council. Comrade Dooley insisted that the action of the Federation, as reported, was entirely outrageous. The condemnation of a workman to more than three years' imprisonment for simply organizing a strike was a glaring outrage and it ought to be vigorously resented by workmen everywhere. It was necessary to act promptly, he said, not to allow the matter to drag for weeks and be forgotten.

Brown spoke in the same strain, and the resolution of protest was carried by a large majority.

## LABOR LAWS VIOLATED.

The question of enforcing the labor laws as applied to work on the Rapid Transit Tunnel bids fair to be an eternal question. As soon as the contractors agree to observe the laws in one respect, or as soon as the city officials are sufficiently stirred up to promise to make them obey, the labor unions find that flagrant violations of law are being practiced somewhere else on the C. F. U. to attend to the matter is thus kept very busy.

The workmen having neglected to put men of their own class in office, pledged to direct employment and union wages and conditions, they are reduced to the alternative of begging for the enforcement of the law as a favor—and it takes a great deal of begging to get a very small measure of enforcement.

—Let opinion tremble in all its palace. Let oppressors shudder to think the oppressed may have their turn.—John Ruskin.

## IT IS BUSINESS.

Renewed Charges of Bribery Against Metropolitan Street Railway Company.

Methods by Which Corporation Escapes Paying Damages—No Probability of Punishment for Capitalists Own Courts—Natural Result of a Bad System.

The Metropolitan Street Railway Company is charged with attempted bribery in two more cases of suit brought against it for personal injury. In the case of Miss Olga Lehman of Hoboken, two of the witnesses testified before the court that detectives in the employ of the company offered them bribes to keep out of the way of subpoena orders. Judge Hazel, however, refused to enter a new trial, so the company saves its money and scurries off to the bargain.

In the case of Mrs. Mary Donovan, whose husband was killed on the Metropolitan line, two witnesses testified, one that he had been offered \$25 a day to give evidence favorable to the company, the other that he had been told he might have a steady job for the asking, on the same ground.

Less than a month ago, it will be remembered, the officials of the Metropolitan were indicted for bribing a boy witness to testify falsely in a case brought against the company by a poor widow.

Inasmuch as these capitalists have no hesitation in perjuring themselves in order to avoid paying taxes, it is no matter for surprise if they regularly bribe other people to commit perjury. This is a part of the "shift, entree, and business ability" by which capitalist fortunes are built up. The profit-and-wage system has many evil fruits, and among them is the utter moral corruption of the capitalist class itself.

What makes it still worse is that no one expects that these capitalists will be punished, no matter how clearly their guilt may be proved, because they own the judges as an adjunct to their profit-making plant. When workmen are put on the bench by workmen's votes it will be a different matter.

## THE PENSION SYSTEM.

A Fit of Self-Interested Generosity on the Part of the Reading Robbers.

A pension system for employees of fifty years' continuous service will be put in effect on the Reading Railway on June 1 next.

The statement authorized is that President Baer has given authority to retire all who have been continuously in the company's service fifty years or more. Their names will be retained on the payrolls and pensions will be fixed at the rate of 50 per cent. of the wages received at the time of their retirement, but in case this does not amount to \$30 a month then they will be given \$30 monthly.

It would be interesting to know how many employees of fifty years' continuous service there are. According to statistics of accidents to railway workers, resulting from the criminal neglect of the companies to provide safety appliances and the overworking of the men, a man who has seen fifty years' railway service might be said to have a charmed life.

Read, mark and inwardly digest the provision that if the man to be pensioned is getting under \$60 a month, he should be allowed at least \$20, or instead of 50 per cent. of the amount he was drawing in wages per month.

Think of it. Fifty years of hard, continuous service, fifty years of experience and a man may still be getting less than \$60 a month. A great system. No wonder the Reading wishes to publish its philanthropy to the world.

The first point is that this scheme gives the road a chance to get rid of all their old worn out employees. Even a railroad capitalist would hardly have the face to turn a man who had been a faithful slave for fifty years; so this pension system furnishes an easy way to put the old men out of a job under the pretext of kindness.

When the working class ceases to be thankful for the crumbs thrown to them by their masters they will rise in their might and establish Socialism, under which all will receive the full product of their labor and the old and infirm will be taken care of as anyone else, as a just recognition of their services to society. We want justice, not the philanthropy of parasites.

## TIGHTENING THE CHAINS.

The United States Steel Corporation has adopted something similar to a civil service system for the 2,000 employees on its lake steamers. A record is kept of each one and there are supposed to be promoted according to merit. This is recognized to be simply a scheme for picking out the discontented, those who counsel strikes, or demand a redress of grievances and show "a little independence." The crawling slave is the kind of a faithful servant the capitalists want.

## CANADIAN TELEGRAPHS.

Word comes from Montreal that the federal railway telegraphers of the Dominion are feeling their way to the making of a demand for higher wages from the three great railway systems of Canada—the Canadian Pacific, the Grand Trunk, and the Canada Atlantic systems. Some of the telegraphers are receiving as little as \$40 a month, and they feel that this state of affairs should not be allowed to continue.

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## HOW THEY HELP US.

Holiday Edition of Berlin "Vorwärts" Confiscated—Natural Result is a Great Demand for the Paper.

The holiday number of the Berlin "Vorwärts," the leading Social Democratic daily of Germany, has roused the ire of the police on account of an article on the unemployed, which the authorities alleged to be of a character calculated to provoke violent resistance to established institutions. The entire edition, numbering 30,000 copies, was confiscated.

Two years ago the holiday issue of "Vorwärts" was suppressed on a similar pretext, but the courts refused to sanction the action of the police and consequently "Vorwärts" did a big business, as everyone wanted a copy of the suppressed number.

It is no unusual experience for "Vorwärts" and other Socialist papers in Germany to have whole editions confiscated; but this generally results in their favor, for the suppression calls attention to the paper and large numbers of the suppressed editions are often circulated secretly under the very noses of the police.

It is only a few weeks since two of the editors of "Vorwärts" were sent to prison for short terms on account of articles in which the barbarous conduct of the German forces under von Waldersee in China was exposed and denounced. Such persecution only aids the cause of Socialism.

## BARBARISM IN THE PHILIPPINES.

American Army Using the Methods of Savage Conquerors to Serve American Capitalists in the Philippines.

The Manila "Times" outlines the plans of the American military authorities in the Philippines as follows: "The Cavite marines to the number of 320 are stationed at Balabac. These marines in conjunction with the soldiers of the Eleventh Infantry will operate from the south, SCOURING AND BURNING THE COUNTRY northwards until they meet and join hands with the Twenty-sixth, the Twelfth, the Seventh, and the Ninth regiments. This is the first part in the plan of campaign. When the southern part of the island is thoroughly cleared up, operations will then begin from Luzon down to the southern line of troops, thus rounding up Lukban's army for final extermination. SAMAR ISLAND WILL BE MADE A DESERT WHERE BIRDS CANNOT LIVE."

"There is a bare possibility that, awed by the terrible punishment about to be inflicted, Lukban and his followers will decide to throw themselves on the mercy of the Americans, trusting to any terms which may be given them. Lukban's friends have become so terrified that they have beseeched General Hughes to postpone his measures of retaliation until the rebel chief can be advised of the situation, and be given a chance to present himself to the American forces. These supplicants have received but slight encouragement from General Hughes, but they will be allowed to communicate with Lukban. He may possibly receive the treatment accorded prisoners of war, and the present measures of retaliation be thus avoided."

"The fleet of gunboats which has been patrolling the coasts of Samar has not been idle. Besides the work of capturing Hanan and occupying Insular, they are also engaged in BURNING THE COAST TOWNS and forcing the insurgents into the interior. The Pueblos on the shores of Leyte have also been devastated."

"We have no longer any need to go back to the history of Attila and Timur for pictures of barbarous methods of warfare. Americans have no right any longer to denounce the Spanish government for its conduct in Cuba or the British government for its conduct in South Africa. Under 'Old Glory' the methods of savage warfare are now being employed to win a footing for American capitalists in the Far East."

Capitalism breeds war and "war is hell." Against the infernal methods of capitalism in the Philippines, in China, and in South Africa, the Socialist movement makes an effective protest and Socialism alone can put an end to such iniquities.

## CANADIAN ENGINEERS.

GET AN ADVANCE.

The negotiations between the committee of locomotive engineers on the eastern division of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the general superintendent at Montreal, with regard to a new wage schedule, which have been in progress for the past fortnight, have resulted in a compromise in which the company has conceded an advance to the men, and the committee has receded from a portion of its first demands.

## NEW YORK CENTRAL INDICTED.

The Herkimer County Grand Jury has brought two indictments against the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company growing out of the roundhouse explosion at that village on Aug. 19 last, which resulted in six deaths and great damage to surrounding property.

One indictment was for manslaughter in the second degree, and the other for violating the Penal Code in the neglect and management of explosives. This is the first time in the history of the country that a corporation has been indicted.

Now we shall see whether the New York Central owns the courts in Herkimer County as completely as it owns the government of this city and of the state at large. Herkimer County has a chance to become famous by convicting and punishing this corporation for its habitual disregard of workmen's lives.

## LECTURES TO SOCIALISTS.

Morris Hillquit, instead of Algonquin Lee, will give the first four lectures in the course arranged by the City Executive to be held on Sunday afternoons, beginning January 5, at Happy Days Hall, 12 St. Mark's Place. The subjects will be as follows: Jan. 5.—The Forerunners of Modern Socialism. Jan. 12.—Modern Socialism. Jan. 19.—Communist Experiments in the United States. Jan. 26.—Proletarian Socialism in the United States.

—Make your trade union a school of Socialism. See that Socialist leaders and copies of The Worker are handed around from time to time.

## THE INDUSTRIAL PEACE CONFERENCE.

Not Likely to Be Important in Its Results, but Very Suggestive of Present Tendencies.

The "Industrial peace conference," of which we are now hearing so much, is, in one aspect, of the highest importance; while in another aspect, its importance does not at all justify the attention given to it.

This industrial peace conference will not settle the labor question, will not put an end to the war between Labor and Capital, any more than the famous international peace conference held at the Hague put an end to war between nations. Since the Hague Conference, the United States has gone right on with its war in the Philippines; within a few months England inaugurated a war of aggression in South Africa; then came the Chinese war, with many other conflicts. In fact, ever since the delegates of the various nations assembled in that conference promised to work for international peace, the world has been convulsed with war.

The reason is plain. The Hague Conference did not even try to REMOVE THE CAUSE OF WAR—the rivalry of capitalists in the world market. Leaving that cause in full operation, it was impossible that any peace pledges the nations might make should blind them when occasion for war arose.

In exactly the same way, this industrial peace conference has not tried to remove the cause of strikes, lockouts, boycotts, blacklists, and injunctions. That cause is the exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class, setting the interests of the two classes in direct opposition. That cause remains in full operation, the pledges made by Hanna and Schwab on the one hand or by Gompers and Mitchell on the other, however honestly made, NEITHER WILL OR CAN BIND THEIR RESPECTIVE PARTIES TO INDUSTRIAL PEACE WHEN THE OCCASION FOR INDUSTRIAL WAR ARISES.

The rank and file of the working class instinctively recognize this. They have no confidence in the pledges of the capitalists and, we fear, little confidence in the power of the labor leaders. They are even skeptical of the purposes of the conference and its decisions will have little weight with them.











## A MERRY-CHRISTMAS!

## A HAPPY NEW YEAR!

This is the Christmas season—a time that is supposed to be given up to rejoicing and good fellowship. It is a time when everyone is supposed to be well fed and warmly clothed and comfortably housed. It is a time when men and women are supposed to lay aside the cares and the animosities of everyday life and to enjoy social pleasures in a spirit of universal brotherhood.

All this is the ideal Christmas time. It is the condition which we read of in story books and which we piously pretend to believe actually exists.

But does it actually exist? We all know that it does not, except for a favored part of the community—and the very essence of the ideal Christmas is that its joys should extend to all.

A Merry Christmas!

Say it to the poor devil out of work—call him even a hobo. If you will—who shivers on the street corner and to whom a driving snowstorm would be a blessing, because it would give him a chance to earn a couple of warm meals and a bed by helping to clear the streets for holiday traffic. Is not "Merry Christmas" a mockery to him? A Merry Christmas!

Say it to the girl in the sweatshops, toiling feverishly by day and night, with aching back and burning eyes, to finish the costly gowns in time for the holiday revels that she will take no part in—toiling feverishly now, but thinking, between stitches, of the "dull times" to come, when she will not be permitted to work, because no sweater can then make a profit on her toil. Is not "Merry Christmas" a mockery to her? A Merry Christmas!

Say it to these laborers on strike, say it to these locked-out mechanics, say it to these laid-off factory "hands"—and such there are even at the Christmas season—all with their wives and little ones whom they would like to gladden with Christmas gifts and a Christmas feast. Is not "Merry Christmas" a mockery to them? A Merry Christmas!

The charity organizations—whose heartless and mechanical "relief work" covers, indeed, a multitude of sins—have been loudly appealing to the generous public, these many days past, not to forget the "worthy poor," whom, they hope and believe, we shall "have always with us." They have told how many thousands there are in all our great and rich cities, who will have no Christmas dinner—or even, perhaps, no dinner at all on Christmas Day—unless "charity" provides it; how many may celebrate their Savior's birth by dying of pneumonia, for, lacking, unless "charity" gives them some coat of oil and a few pounds of coal; how many may be evicted from their wretched homes, unless "charity" helps pay the rent. And these are the "worthy" poor, mind you; for organized charity has its strict standards of worthiness in the poor—and may the Devil take the unworthy.

On the whole, don't you think that Merry Christmas is a good deal of a mockery to a great many people whose labor makes Merry Christmas possible? Don't you think the talk of Christmas brotherhood—which is so plentiful in this season's great plums and nuts—is a mockery to them? Don't you think we might have a so-

cial and economic system which would make real merriment possible—not on the twenty-fifth day of December only, but all the year round—not for one class only, but for all—or, at least, let us say, for all who are "worthy," all who will do useful work?

In view of the fact that, as Senator Depew tells us, the people of this country create every year two billion dollars' worth more goods than they can afford to buy and use, don't you think that the appeals for "charity" at the Christmas season indicate something very unreasonable and unjust in our capitalist system?

And, finally, and most important of all—

Don't you think YOU, individually, as a citizen and a voter, could and should help to change these conditions? If so, you should begin now, when we are all wishing each other "A Happy New Year!"

What does it mean? Is it to be a new year just like all the old years that have crept away? This Old Year that we are ushering out has been, in truth, a year of rare prosperity—such prosperity as is possible under capitalism. And yet, at the very holiday season of this prosperous old year, while the few who own the earth are congratulating such other and exchanging good wishes, there are millions of hard-working people who are poor and tens of thousands who are in miserable want.

The millions are not quite so poor, perhaps, and there are not quite so many tens of thousands in misery, perhaps, as in some other old years. But still there is the fact of poverty, a standing rebuke to organized wealth, there is dire want within a stone's throw of boundless luxury.

And this is the very best that capitalism can give us, for this has been a year of unexampled prosperity. But even this cannot last, for under capitalism, present prosperity always means swiftly coming depression and "hard times."

Shall the New Year be no better than the Old? Shall we simply take our chances for this Happy New Year and for all the years to follow it—letting the game of capitalism go blindly on, allotting riches to a few and misery to many and poverty to the great majority, breeding purse-proud and servile envy, fostering corruption and stifling fraternal feeling? Shall we continue with the anarchic alternation of capitalist prosperity that means overwork for the producers and hard times that means unemployment and hunger?

Or shall we unite as workmen conscious of our class interests and of our duty to future generations, to build up a system of freedom, of equality, of brotherhood, and of order—a system in which all shall work and all shall enjoy the fruit of their labor—a system in which no class shall live by the toil of others and in which, therefore, the interest of one shall be the interest of all—in a word, to build up the Co-operative Commonwealth?

A Happy New Year! We say it to each of you, fellow workmen, and call upon each of you to make this a happier year for our class than any that has gone before. Make your New Year resolutions as workmen and stick to them.

## THE COST OF LIVING.

The average cost of living has advanced nearly 30 per cent within less than five years, according to a statistical comparison just issued by the "Dun's Review." In July, 1897, the average cost of a year's supplies for one person was \$72.45. To-day it is \$101.37. Forty years ago it was \$20 greater, the exact figures in January, 1859, being \$121.75. The present prices are higher than for many years, or since modern industrial distributive and agricultural conditions were introduced.

During the period mentioned it has been found that while the price of labor has fluctuated greatly the average was \$1.50 a day, or about the rate prevailing to-day. This would indicate that the increase in cost of living has not been met by an increase in ability to pay it. But to offset this there must be taken into account present steady employment and larger opportunities for advancement.—Pittsburg (Pa.) Dispatch.

The above seems to bear out the claim often advanced that an increase of wages does not benefit the worker as the cost of living advances out of proportion to the increase in pay. Take the "Dispatch" figures as a criterion. It will be seen that the cost of living has increased over 40 per cent during the past five years, while the average advance in wages for the same period has not exceeded 10 per cent. It is true that in some localities where labor organizations are well-offered and well-organized, there has been an increase in wages averaging fully 20 per cent, yet that liberal increase has not kept pace with the increase of living. The unorganized workers have not had an increase of wages averaging 5 per cent during that time, and it must forcibly impress itself upon them that they are falling greatly behind during the year. The figures seem to wipe out the claim of the trusts that they cheapen the cost of things, as almost everything that enters a home is under the domination of a trust of one sort or another. The figures plainly show that if there had been no labor unions to increase wages the great majority of workmen would be in a sad state.—United Mine Workers' Journal.

BUY UNION LABEL GOODS.

## THE "APPEAL" AND THE POSTOFFICE.

J. A. Wayland, publisher of the "Appeal to Reason," the Socialist paper of Girard, Kas., which Edwin C. Madden, Third Assistant Postmaster General, is trying to suppress, sent to the Post Office Department the signed statements of over 60,000 subscribers, stating that they had paid for the paper, together with a mass of other evidence that his subscription list is a legitimate one. Nevertheless, Carr Madden still refuses to allow the "Appeal's" right to a continuance of second class mail rates. He claims that he has discovered that certain people receive the "Appeal to Reason" who have not paid for it, and that the illegitimate subscriptions vitiate the whole list; and further declares that "unless they are eliminated by December 20 the certificate of entry will be cancelled." A large number of people subscribe for the "Appeal" for their friends. According to the tyrannical ruling of Madden all subscriptions not directly paid for by the person receiving the paper must be eliminated. Thus the mailing list of the "Appeal" will have to be entirely revised and cut down, at great expense and trouble to Wayland, and loss to subscribers. Tests made by various Socialists show that other papers are not subjected to the same rulings. It is the Socialist and trade union papers that Mr. Madden is after. He has already driven "Wishful's Magazine" to Canada on the peculiar charge that it was advertising its editor's ideas; and has caused annoyance to many other labor papers. These high-handed outrages are the plainest expression of class rule. How long will the working class of America sit in dumb submission while even the revolutionary rights won for us by the revolutionary forefathers are fading away? Injunctions have repeatedly been taken away the right of free speech; workmen are sent to jail in Puerto Rico for organizing labor unions; and now the right of a free press is denied by a half-idiot and half-tyrant Third Assistant Postmaster General. Is it not time for the American people to wake up?

—Those people who believe that the function of the capitalist is to "give employment" have seen to realize that he is quite as ready to take it away when more profits can be made by so doing.—Workers' Call.

## CONNECTICUT CONVENTION.

Meets in Hartford and Takes Action for Continuous Propaganda and Prepara for Next Campaign.

The state convention of the Socialist Party of Connecticut met in Turner Hall, Hartford, on Sunday, Dec. 15. Eleven delegates were present, representing eight locals, some locals in distant parts of the state not being represented.

The report of the State Secretary showed fourteen locals affiliated with the State Committee, with a total of 284 members. He also reported that the state constitution of the party as amended had been unanimously adopted by referendum. The estimated cost of a state paper he reported at \$15 per thousand copies.

All branches reported good financial condition and active agitation being done. New Haven and New London have open headquarters.

The following amendments were made to the constitution:

"Local Branches, Art. 4.—Any member three months in arrears who has been notified may be suspended by the local."

"General Rules, Art. 1.—No person shall be nominated as a candidate who is not a party member. No member who has not been a member at least three months shall be a candidate on the state or national ticket."

A resolution was adopted requesting the "Appeal to Reason" to publish the national platform adopted at Indianapolis, fourth of the net income of the State Committee was set aside for publication and purchase of leaflets not to include campaign leaflets, suitable for free distribution.

A branch in each county was appointed to elect a county committee, which shall collect and tabulate addresses and information regarding Socialists in unorganized towns.

It was resolved that all reports of state officers or committee shall be published in The Worker and that each branch secretary should be supplied with a subscription at the expense of the State Committee.

A. B. Cornelius of New Haven was elected State Secretary; Eugene Toomey, Treasurer; W. E. White, State Organizer for the ensuing year. A. B. Cornelius was elected delegate to the National Committee. Eugene V. Debs and John Harriman were nominated for Secretaries of International Bureau. It was voted that the delegate to the National Committee shall not attend the meeting in January unless the State Committee deems it necessary.

Branch 2, Waterbury, was selected to elect the State Court of Appeals.

It was resolved that the State Committee be authorized to issue a call for contributions for publishing a state paper during the state campaign of 1902.

New Haven was selected as the place for holding the next state convention. The state officers were instructed to act as a committee to ascertain the cost of maintaining an agitation wagon and report to the next convention, and the State Secretary was instructed to have 500 copies of the constitution printed in German and in English. The convention then adjourned.

## PERSECUTION AND PROGRESS.

At this particular time, it is of especial interest to notice how defamations and persecutions have traveled along in lockstep with progress. It is an old trick to "stone the prophets."

The bigoted ancients compelled Socrates to drink poison, but his death gave an increased impulse to philosophic investigation and boldness in the statement of truth. The crucified Christ, but his precepts, his glowing words have been woven into the web and woof of nineteen centuries. The forces of Galilee to recant, but the world still moves. The monarchs, the pope and the priests tried to suppress Luther, but their persecution only gave an increased impetus to the Reformation.

They burned Latimer and Ridley at the stake, and while the flames devoured their flesh the undaunted soul of the reformer rose above physical torture, and he uttered these immortal words: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." That candle sometimes flares, but it still burns.

Skipping to a later period, the Boston bigots subjected William Lloyd Garrison to brutal treatment, but later on they erected a monument to his memory, and millions of freemen rise up and call his name blessed. They threatened violence and rotten-gloved Wendell Phillips, but his glowing words in behalf of liberty are now treasured and quoted as gems of our best literature. They hung old John Brown, but the undaunted soul of freedom still marches on. "Bully" Brooks sought to brain the great Sumner, whose name and fame are now glorified in marble, emblazoned in oratory and immortalized in song, while the memory of his assassin has gone into merited obscurity—"unwept, unremembered and unused."

Now, in these strenuous days, we have the hireling Pinkertons with their guns, the chattel editors with their types, and the puppet judges with their injunctions. The last tumor to break out is in the postal departments. One of the sub-lunatics is taxing every particle of gray matter in his sluggish brain to find a pretext for excluding Socialist papers from the mail.

I mention only a few of the more notable targets of bigotry, superstition and greed. They might be multiplied almost indefinitely. These will suffice. To the philosophic student such things are mere steps in the progress of evolution. To him it is a great relief to find a pretext for excluding Socialist papers from the mail.

MARK TWAIN ON CHRISTENDOM.

"I bring you the stately matron named Christendom, returning bedraggled, besmirched and disheveled from pirate raids in Kishore, Manchuria, South Africa and the Philippines, with her soul full of meanness, her pocket full of boodle and her mouth full of pious hypocrites. Give her soap and towel, but hide the looking glass."

## IN NEW ZEALAND.

A Strike That Illustrates the Worthlessness of Government Ownership Established by a Capitalist Party.

The following item from the Rangitikei, New Zealand, "Advocate," of Nov. 22, is somewhat suggestive:

"A strike has occurred on the Tokoroa line, and about seventy men have thrown down their tools. They have been getting \$8 a day, but now demand an increase to \$9. They marched in a body through the town to the office of Mr. Purkert, the engineer in charge, and made a final demand which the department will not accede to. 'Fresh men will be engaged.'"

The point of this is that the railway line in question is owned by the government, and that the government as an employer is expressly exempted from the workings of the Compulsory Arbitration Act.

As the cost of living is higher in New Zealand than in most parts of the United States, the demand of the men for an advance from \$2 to \$2.25 a day will be seen to be very moderate.

The legislature has just passed an act authorizing a state coal mine and expressly exempting this also from the Arbitration Act.

The "Advocate," from which the item is taken, is a class-conscious representative of the farming class, which dominates New Zealand politics and is strongly in favor of "breaking the power of the ignorant labor unions"—much in the line of the New York "Sun."

The incident illustrates the utter worthlessness to the working people of government ownership established by a party not clearly representing the working class itself.

Our correspondent, Robert Rives La Monte, adds a postscript: "I saw sheep sheared by steam this week." As sheep raising is the leading industry of New Zealand, the introduction of machinery for shearing is very important, for labor-saving machinery brings a sharper distinction between capitalists and wage workers and accentuates the class struggle. New Zealand will be no exception.

## A DANGEROUS "AD."

In last Sunday's New York "Times" there appeared the following reading notice:

The Erie Army.

To render the efficient service of the Erie Railroad to-day is giving to the public the assistance of 32,000 employees.—Adv.

The publication of such an advertisement is this is dangerous. It might make people think. Sometimes you hear it said that a few capitalists are "running" a railroad. But it seems that the labor of thousands of other men is necessary. The capitalists are not necessary, however. Their labor consists in deciding how much they can safely bleed the people and in "fixing things" with legislatures. But "the assistance of 32,000 employees is required." Then think of the other thousands who mined the ore for the rails and cut the wood for the ties; the thousands who built the cars; the thousands whose labor furnished the raw material; and the thousands who prepared the food and made the clothes of the other thousands while they were being "run" by the capitalists.

And so if we keep on figuring it out we find that millions of men have either directly or indirectly helped build and operate the railroad—in short, that it is a product of social labor, the collective labor of all the people. Yet a few men, after advertising this fact, have the nerve to say that it is THEIR railroad. They get all the profit from it and the army of workers get subsistence wages, overwork and constant risk of injury and death. Quers, isn't it? And the army of workers vote for these few men and thank them for "giving employment." Very queer, isn't it? But some day they will wake up.

## FREEDOM.

The following is an iron-clad, oath-bound agreement which a man must sign before he can obtain work at the Toms Creek mines in Wise County, Virginia. Read it, ponder on it, and then say if this is a free country. It is free in the sense that a man has the undisputed right to sign a contract which destroys every vestige of his personal liberty:

THE OATH.

I, . . . . ., a Justice of the Peace, in and for the county of Wise and state of Virginia, do hereby certify that . . . . . has this day personally appeared before me, and made statement on oath, that he would not in any way aid or abet the labor organization known as the United Mine Workers of America, or any other labor organization calculated to bring about trouble between the Virginia Iron, Coal and Coke Company and its employees, in or near the vicinity of Toms Creek, Wise County, Virginia.

Witness my hand and seal, this . . . . . day of . . . . ., 1901.

—United Mine Workers' Journal.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

Socialism is not Anarchism, but its opposite. It is co-operation, not competition. It is a joining of human hands, hearts, and brains for the development of the earth's resources. It is science and certainly in the world's industries, not crudeness and haphazard. It is a combination of interests, not a division of loot. It is a lifting up of all not a pulling down of any. It is giving every man a chance, a fair chance, an equal chance. It is the only true school for the development of individualism. It is the brotherhood of man in practical operation.

Socialism will grow the world's fruits and gather and distribute them bountifully to all.

Socialism means the end of wars, the end of business panics, the end of the incoherent army of tramps. It means work for all, and a guarantee to each the full fruits of his labor. It does more. It multiplies these fruits by the general cooperation. Socialism means universal education, universal industry, universal plenty and universal peace. It means the quickening of human aspirations, the deepening of human emotions, the broadening of human thought. The prophet said, "I saw a new heaven and a new earth." Socialism means a New Earth.

JOHN KEARNS WHITE.

—A man was afraid of thunder and crawled into a hollow log as a place of safety, says a truthful exchange. The thunder roared and the rain poured down in torrents. The log began to swell and the poor fellow was wedged in. Past him began passing before him. Suddenly he remembered that he had not paid his newspaper subscription, and then he felt so small that he was able to back right out.

## NO USE FOR THE OLD.

Mr. E. Seymour Bell, British Commercial Agent in the United States, recently addressed a meeting of manufacturers held at the offices of the London Chamber of Commerce. He was asked what became of the old hands in America, it being remarked that one of the great difficulties of British manufacturers was to know what to do with their old employees. In reply, Mr. Bell said that the employment of old men was a serious question in the United States than in England. He did not know what became of the old employees, but it was a fact that a man of forty-five who was without employment found it most difficult to get anything to do. He believed that this question was going to be a serious one in the United States.

A manufacturer remarked that a man of forty-five ought to be all the more valuable, in consequence of his experience.

Mr. Bell replied that, owing to the perfection of machinery, not so much handwork was required, so that experience was discounted by activity.

Mr. Bell has evidently learned at least one thing while here. "Owing to the perfection of machinery, not so much handwork is required, so that experience is discounted," and is unnecessary, and men become mere turners of machines—just pieces of flesh and bone—mechanism regarded the same as cogs in the wheel.

As long as machinery is privately owned and used not to lighten the burdens of humanity but to increase the profits of the capitalists, it will continue to throw men out of employment.

Perhaps some millionaire philanthropist will found a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Workingmen and have the old and destitute workers killed like stray cats and dogs.

Socialists demand that machinery be owned collectively by all the people so that the work and the product may be evenly distributed, and labor-saving machinery thus made a blessing to all.

## CLASS RULE IN LOS ANGELES.

At the trial of a union man in Los Angeles, Cal., who was arrested for carrying a boycott banner, thirty citizens were disqualified as jurors BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT PROPERTY HOLDERS. The capitalists are in control of all the powers of government and the working class will be helped until it rests these offices from them by casting Socialist ballots.

## THE WAR OF THE SUGAR MEN.

The Sugar Trust, realizing that the protection—or bounty—on sugar may be terminated—afforded by the high tariff on sugar—is certain to result in the creation of an enormous beet sugar industry in this country, and as the Trust, which is really a sugar refiners' trust, cannot from the very nature of the case control or absorb the beet sugar factories, they being each of them sugar refiners as well as sugar producers, they are now seeking by every means in their power to secure the removal of the tariff on sugar, with the sole view of destroying the beet sugar interests of the country. It may be said that the proposition is now before the American people in this way: Maintain the tariff, break down the Trust, build up a great sugar producing interest at home and continue to pay high prices for sugar, or remove the tariff, get cheap sugar, destroy the beet sugar interest and continue to be ruled by the Trust. The people will have to choose which.—Exchange.

We have another alternative: Nationalize the trust by voting the Socialist ticket, thus getting good conditions of labor and full remuneration for the sugar workers and sugar at cost for all the people, and setting the Haveners and their ilk at some useful work.

## WHY WE ARE DISHONEST.

Read the following indictment of the system by a great ecclesiastic:

"We must look, as educators, most closely to those sides of the national life where there is the greatest menace of ruin. It is plain that our besetting sin as a people, is not intemperance or dishonesty, but dishonesty. From the watering of stocks, to the adulteration of food and drink, from the booming of towns and lands to the selling of votes and the buying of office, from the halls of congress to the policeman's beat, from the capitalist who controls trusts and syndicates to the worker who is sold out by his work, the taint of dishonesty is everywhere. We distrust one another, distrust those who manage public affairs, distrust our fixed will to suffer the worst that may befall rather than cheat, or steal, or lie. Dishonesty knows like mephitic about our newspapers, our legislative assemblies, the municipal government of our towns and cities, about our churches, even, since our religion itself seems to lack the highest kind of honesty, the downright and the thorough sin which is the breath of life."

Could there be a severer arraignment of the present system than the above, from the pen of that conservative, very able, and probably most scholarly of American Catholic prelates, Bishop J. S. Spalding? The Bishop's opinion is confirmed on every hand, everywhere, by all kinds of people. No one talks differently except the ignoramus or the demagogue seeking popular support. Socialists believe it is a bad system of which such things can be truthfully said. Socialists, however, do not believe that the people are naturally dishonest. Dishonesty, like every other evil, has a cause, and for that cause the Socialists made diligent search. It was found in the false ideals, generated by a false system, leading naturally to false methods for their realization.—M. W. Wilkins.

## "SOCIAL JUSTICE."

This publication will be resumed as a 30-page magazine. Old subscribers should send in their current address at once to Fred G. Strickland, 97 N. Kedzie avenue, Chicago. They will receive as many copies of the new series as was due them of the old series.

—A man was afraid of thunder and crawled into a hollow log as a place of safety, says a truthful exchange. The thunder roared and the rain poured down in torrents. The log began to swell and the poor fellow was wedged in. Past him began passing before him. Suddenly he remembered that he had not paid his newspaper subscription, and then he felt so small that he was able to back right out.

## A WRONG SYSTEM.

So Says the National Organ of the W. C. T. U.

The practise of devoting individual wealth to institutions designed for public benefit is a striking proof of the growing conviction among all people that the wealth of the world belongs to all humans and cannot rightly be appropriated to the exclusive use of a few individuals. The "prisoner of poverty" and the multi-millionaire alike perceive the terrible injustice of one man being able to spread a feast with strawberries at "three dollars a dozen," while his brother man, hungry and ragged, walks the streets in a vain quest for "bread or work."

The glitter of wealth cannot blind the eyes to the wrong of class division. The receiving arm of the multi-millionaire thousands of dollars in costly gems while his sister woman wears her life away in exhausting toil in a sweatshop. Neither luxury nor want have so deadened human sensibilities that any class of society can be satisfied with a social condition that rears one child in excessive luxury, and leaves another, naked and starving, to beg his bread from door to door.

The great giving on the part of the world's wealthy men is their open acknowledgment of the rightful claim of humanity to a share in the wealth which they have individually amassed. Not many of them, possibly, would agree with Mr. Carnegie in saying that the state by a process of taxation ought to appropriate the bulk of a rich man's wealth at his death, but it is clear that the majority of them believe that they are not stewards of the wealth which has come into their possession.

But munificent giving, beneficent as have been the results, is far from being a solution of the problem of wealth. That problem, briefly stated, consists on the one hand, of the absolute need that modern civilization has of the massing of enormous wealth, and on the other, of the evils and injustice incident to the present system of its concentration in the hands of individuals. To wrest from men what is rightfully his own and then bestow a part of it upon him in charity is not sound in theory, nor does it prove satisfactory in practise.

If Mr. Carnegie's suggestion should be carried out and the state appropriate the bulk of his property at his death, the state must become the owner of the mines, the railroads, the manufacturing establishments in which that wealth is invested. This, it seems to us, is the logical outcome to which the attempt of the wealthy class to meet the demands of the growing sentiment but adds another argument. Thus far, at least, it is the only solution in sight of the many sided wealth problem, for it is the only one founded on justice.

It is a good thing to pension one's employees when they are old. It is better to give them a just compensation for their toil, their rightful share in the common profits, so that in old age they shall have no more need than their employer for a pension, and will be able to have the comforts of life during their lifetime and to appropriate for themselves and their children the twentieth century's magnificent opportunity for all-around development.

It is a good thing for individual capitalists to endow schools and charitable institutions. It will be infinitely better, when under a different social system, the state takes care of all this, and one class of humanity is not pauperized by the gifts of another class whose members are composed of those who happen to be the fortunate creatures of the common environment.—Union Signal, Chicago, National Organ W. C. T. U.

## HOW TO ORGANIZE.

Instructions for Forming Locals of the Socialist Party.

- Five or more persons may organize a local branch, provided they subscribe to the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party, and sever their relations with other political parties:
- The officers to be elected are:
  - a. Chairman at each meeting.
  - b. Recording Secretary.
  - c. Financial Secretary.
  - d. Organizer.
- Literature Agent.
- Order of business—
  - a. Reading of the minutes.
  - b. Admission of new members.
  - c. Communications and bills.
  - d. Report of Organizer.
  - e. Reports of Committees.
  - f. Unfinished business.
  - g. New business.

4. A monthly payment, computed on a basis of five cents for each member, for the maintenance of the National organization, shall be sent to the National Secretary. Local branches may levy dues if they so choose, or may raise funds altogether through voluntary contributions and pay National dues out of their general funds.

5. A full report of the meeting in which organization was decided on, the names of persons participating, together with five cents for each member, should be sent with application for charter; after receipt of which, upon approval of National Committee, charter will be granted.

6. Each local branch should hold a meeting at least once a week, for the transaction of business or the discussion of political and economic questions.

7. Semi-annual reports of the membership and the financial condition of each local branch, as well as upon the progress made by the Party and its prospects in the locality, shall be sent regularly to the National Secretary.

8. Any person living in a city or locality, where no local branch exists, may apply directly to the National Secretary for admission to the Party, enclosing one month's dues, and will be enrolled as a member-at-large.

9. For further information not contained herein, address Leon Greenbaum, National Secretary, Room 427, Emille Building, St. Louis, Mo.

## THE BEAUTIES OF CIVILIZATION.

A little girl was given a scripture text with the request that she hang it on the wall at home.

"Please, teacher, we haven't got any wall; we live in the middle."

This was found to be the actual fact—five families occupied one room; one in each corner, and one in the middle.—A. F. S., in Los Angeles Socialist.

## National Platform of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Party of America in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the maelstrom of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate the entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profits; wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act

as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines. No